









Universal  
HISTORY  
OF THE WORLD

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*VOLUME TWO*



# UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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From the Hittite Empire  
to Fifth Century Athens



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VOLUME TWO

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# THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES

Describing the only Period in three thousand Years  
when Asia Minor has been a centre of Imperial Power

By JOHN GARSTANG D.Sc. F.S.A.

John Rankin Professor of Archaeology, Liverpool University; Late Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; Author of *The Land of the Hittites*, etc.

**B**ETWEEN the culture areas of nearer Asia and that of south-eastern Europe, between the Old World and the New, there stretched the peninsula of Asia Minor, the land bridge that formed both bond and barrier between the old civilizations of Syria and the Euphrates, and the nascent but more vigorous societies of southern Russia, the Danube and the Balkans.

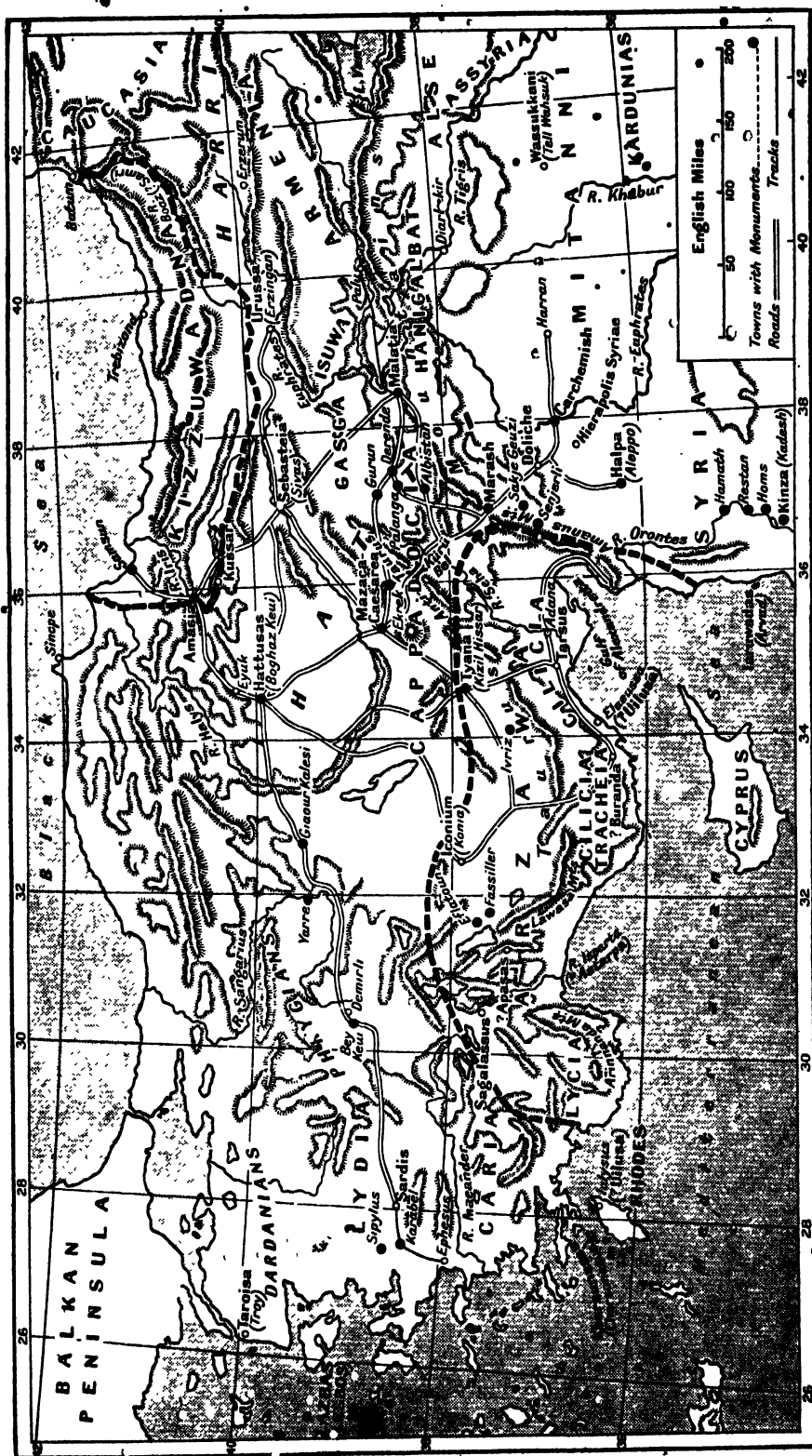
Asia Minor, however, is rarely shown upon the maps in the setting that would suggest its real place and rôle in history. Usually it appears as a corner of western Asia, or of the former 'Turkey in Asia'; while in the classical world it forms an inconspicuous part successively of the great Persian, Macedonian and Roman Empires. Indeed, maps of Asia Minor in which the physical features are not clearly defined almost warrant the conclusion that this peninsula can hardly have had a separate history of its own. Though only three hundred miles across the neck, from the Gulf of Alexandretta northwards to Samsun, it reaches out twice that distance westwards, exposing more than two thousand miles of coast to the navigable waters of three inland seas, the opposite shores of which were, at the dawn of history, teeming with human life and activity. Geographically it would appear to have been not only the natural passage between two continents, destined to be traversed by every migratory horde or conquering army that desired to pass, but at the mercy of pirates, rovers and settlers, attracted by its fertile creeks.

So indeed it seemed until after the Great War, and the impression was only strengthened by the ease with which the coastlands became Greek colonies within

historic times, and by the fact that all through the Middle Ages it was ruled from without by an Oriental power seated incongruously, albeit precariously, on the nearest point of Europe. During this time, indeed, it was almost lost to sight as a familiar portion of the Ottoman dominions, only noticed when some repercussion of European incidents led to the expulsion of Greeks from their historic settlements around the coast, or when the sword was bared in revival of immemorial feuds against one or other of its constituent racial groups.

There is, then, little (except modern political developments) to prepare us for the revelation of a period of independent and vigorous history long effaced from memory. In **When Asia Minor was independent** B.C., however, Asia Minor stood, as to some extent it stands again to-day, a land self-contained, ruled from within, an organized centre, with a political horizon that embraced the Balkans and Caucasia as well as Babylonia, Syria and Egypt, influenced by and influencing the destinies of each of these historic areas where civilization and organized society first evolved.

Recent discovery and research have shown us that, for more than a thousand years ending with 1200 B.C., the Hittites bound the land in a political and military union so strong that during this period no waves of migration or conquering armies passed from one continent to the other, like those which succeeded one another after the breakdown of the Hittite organization. During that time, on the Asiatic side, Babylonia, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Assyria each in turn arose and



**HOMELAND OF THE TRIBE OF HATTI AND OF THE IMPERIAL CONFEDERATION THAT IT DOMINATED**

Besides identifying the various place-names in the chapter which it accompanies, this map of Asia Minor is intended to show the geographical reasons for the existence of an independent Hittite realm in a land that has seldom known independence, the political distribution of the various states involved in contemporary history, and the strategic position of Hattusas, capital of the dominant tribe of Hatti. It will be seen how formidable mountains guard both the frontier towards the south-east, and the long coast-line except at its westernmost extremity—the Hittites were well protected save against Europe.

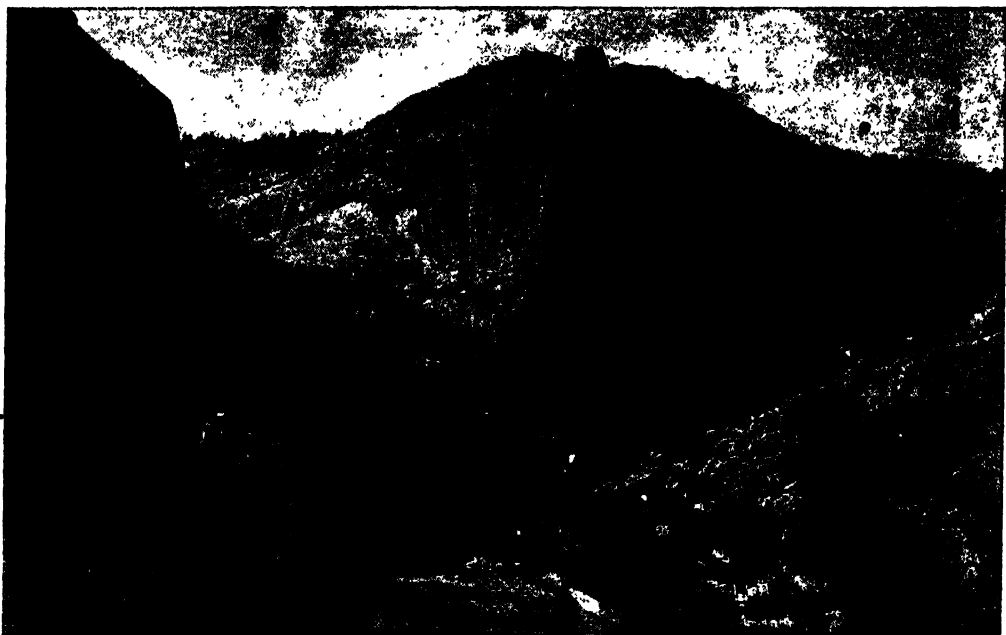
*From materials supplied by Professor Garstang*

made a bid for the empire of the East. In the Armenian mountains the warlike Harri, the Hittites' hereditary rivals, appear to have been a constant menace, ever seeking an opportunity to pillage or to settle. On the sea the island power of Cnossus attained its zenith; ships passed constantly around the coast, but so far as can be seen no permanent hold on the mainland was effected or indeed attempted until the first appearance of the Achaeans with the Dawn.

From the side of Europe there is indeed no evidence of organized movement from the time when the Hittite aristocracy had established itself until the coming of the Achaeans. Social development during the long centuries of the Bronze Age was apparently less active there than in nearer Asia. Yet it was from Europe, with the rise of the Iron Age, that new peoples eventually forced the Hittites from the positions they had held so long. The significance of these facts is obvious. The Hittite bridge-head, that had proved impregnable on the side of Asia, was taken as it were from behind. What was there,

then, in the physical character of their land that enabled the Hittites to resist for centuries the ambitious and organized monarchies of the East, to remain proof against the warrior tribes of Armenia and the island power of Crete, only to yield without much apparent struggle as soon as a semi-organized movement manifested itself in south-eastern Europe?

• Any good physical map of Asia Minor will furnish the answer, which is threefold. First, formidable mountain ranges separate the northern and southern coastlands from the higher ground within. These ranges as they trend westward become lower and more broken, it is true, but they are sufficiently pronounced to form natural barriers, which, together with the uncertain temper of the seas themselves, afforded good protection to the plateau from the north and south. Secondly, on the east continuous mountain systems (Taurus, Anti-Taurus and the rough watersheds of northern Armenia), ranging obliquely north-east almost from sea to sea, from Alexandretta to Batum, separate the Hittite lands from the rest of Asia



**EASTWARD BASTION OF THE NATURAL DEFENCES GUARDING THE HITTITES**

The sort of country that bastions the Hittite homeland towards the east is well shown in this photograph of one of the gorges by which the River Pyramus (Seha) makes its way through the Taurus country from its source in the Anti-Taurus mountains. These ranges form the south-westward end of the continuous barrier that begins with the Armenian mountains in the north.

*Photo, Professor Garstang*

Through this formidable barrier there are few natural passes, and such as existed were controlled by the Hittites from their dominant strategic positions on the adjoining plateau.

On the other hand, towards the west and north-west, the plateau itself falls away, particularly in the latter direction where lie the nearest points of Europe; while several sheltered estuaries and broad valleys around this coast, from the Macander to the Sangarius, make access to the interior easier from this side.

Our question is answered. Asia Minor formed indeed a natural land-bridge between the earliest areas of civilization in western Asia and the Balkan Peninsula. But across the bridge lay the barrier of Taurus with its outliers; and the bridge-head was occupied securely by the Hittites. History is still mute as to the earlier

happenings on the side of Europe, and though a good insight is now afforded of the struggles on the side of Asia, between the rise of Babylon and the fall of Troy many mighty movements, the record of which is lost as yet to history, must have surged against this wall of Taurus. One fact remains clear, that throughout the critical centuries of the Bronze Age, while western civilization was emerging and taking form, the organization of the Hittites behind Taurus maintained itself as the bulwark of Europe in Asia.

The Twilight discloses Asia Minor peopled by a number of Hittite tribes, among whom six different languages at least were spoken. How far these differences of speech and language are indications of an original difference of race is not clear, but there is a suggestion that they were partly derived from assimilation with a population that had preceded the Hittite settlement. Later Egyptian representations distinguish clearly four or five racial strains among the bands of Hittite warriors who fought against Pharaoh, but some of these may have been relatively newcomers, or mercenaries of non-Hittite stock. Later again the full light of history reflects these distinctions; and even to-day Asia Minor is peopled by heterogeneous elements, amongst whom, under the overlordship of the Turks, the Circassians, Armenians, Kurds and Greeks are distinct in race and retain their own languages despite political submergence. Indeed the face of Asia Minor, broken up as it is into central plateau, eastern highlands and coastal plains, separated by strong physical features, has always tended to foster such differences; the number of languages

#### HITTITES IN RELATION TO NEIGHBOURING POWERS

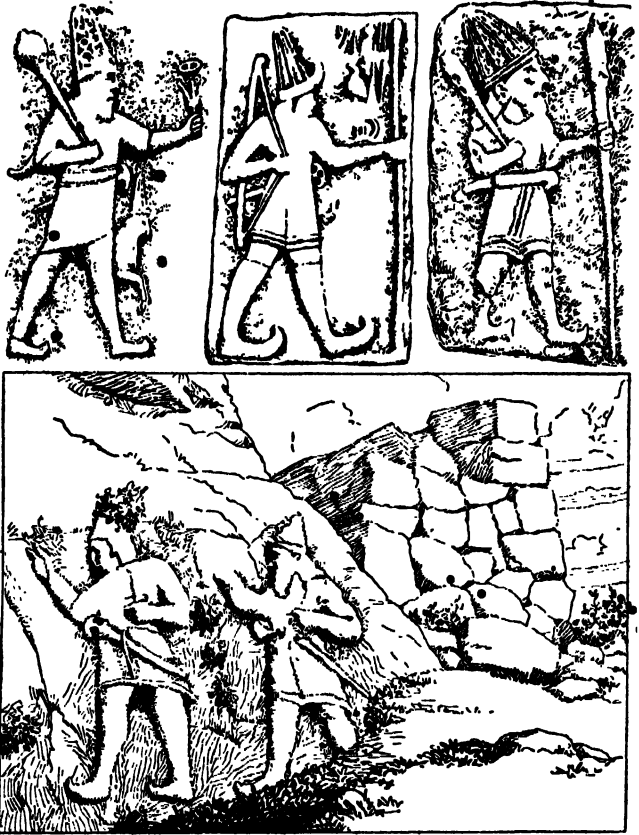
Kings	Dates B.C.	Notes and Synchronisms
<b>Important Kings</b>		
PAMBA .. ..	Before 2500	'King of Hatti.' Temp. Naram-Sin of Agade.
BIYUSIIS ..	2100??	'King of Hatti.' Temp. Anittas of Kussar.
TLABARNAS ..	2000?	'King of Hatti.' Ruling from Kussar?
HATTUSIL I ..	1975?	'King of Hatti.' Conquered Aleppo; founded Hattusas?
MURSIL I ..	1925?	Ruled from Hattusas; conquered Aleppo and raided Babylon.
TELIDINUS ..	1775?	Ruled from Hattusas; ruled Syria as far south as Damascus during Hyksos period.
DUDKHALIAS I	1475?	Sent presents to Thothmes III (1468 B.C.).
<b>Continuous Dynasty ruling from Hattusas</b>		
SUBBILULUMA	c. 1395	Reigned 45 years. Contemp., Egypt: Amenhotep III to Tutankhamen; Mitanni: Dushratta, Matiuaza. Dates now give succession to throne.
ARNUNDAS II	c. 1350	Son; rebellious interlude of less than 50 years. Contemp. Horemheb.
MURSIL III <sup>a</sup> ..	c. 1345	Brother; reigned 25 years. Contemp., Egypt: Horemheb (treaty), Rameses I; Achaeans: 'Andreas and Eteocles' of Lesbos.
MEJALLIS ..	c. 1330	Son; reigned 25 years. Contemp., Egypt: Seti I, Rameses II (Battle of Kadesh, 1296 B.C.); Achaeans: 'Alaksandus of Uilusa.'
HATTUSIL III	c. 1295	Brother; reigned 35 years. Contemp., Babylonia: Kadashman Enlil; Assyria: Shalmaneser I; Egypt: Treaty with Rameses II, c. 1280, V. 1, c. 1267.
DUDKHALIAS III	c. 1260	Son; reigned 30 years. Contemp., Assyria: Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta I; Achaeans: 'Attarisiyas.'
ARNUNDAS III	c. 1230	Son and co-regent; length of reign unknown. Contemp. Merneptah.
DUDKHALIAS IV	c. 1210?	Fall of dynasty approx. 1200 B.C. Hordes including Philistines and Hittite elements traverse Syria as far as frontiers of Egypt, temp. Rameses III, 1190.

spoken in Hittite and various later times was probably not much greater than it is to-day, and cannot compare with the number and variety of tongues in some of the Caucasian and Himalayan areas.

Nor is it clear to what extent these racial elements may be regarded as 'indigenous.' Certainly they were settled or settling as tribes when the Twilight first discloses them, though a new aristocracy of European affinities seems to have come in with the Bronze Age. However that may be, they were tending, when first seen, to be welded together in political union, and after a series of internal struggles are disclosed with the increasing light as subjected generally to the central power of the dominant tribe of Hatti, whose capital, Hattusas, lay within the circuit of the Halys River. The modern village of Boghaz Keui marks its site.

[It should here be noted that the letter with which Hatti, Hattusas, etc., begin was pronounced very hard; for euphony in English it will here be transliterated as 'h' at the beginning of words, but more fully as 'kh,' in the middle. The 's' also had not quite the sound of the English letter; it is often transliterated as 'sh,' but more probably approximated to a 'z.']

It might be inferred from the position of the capital and the course of the Halys (now called the Kizil Irmak) that the tract of country enclosed by the circuit of that river would constitute the homelands of the Hatti tribe. That may indeed have been so originally; but rivers do not form natural boundaries except where they are too difficult to cross, and the Halys, though carrying a considerable flood of water, is fordable in several places before turning northwards. Consequently, it will not be surprising to find that the contiguous tract to the south of the river around Caesarea (Mazaca) and as far as Tyana,



#### UNIFORMITY OF HITTITE ART

It is the object of these drawings (clearer than photographs of the much weathered rock) to show that the Hittite monuments were the output of a homogeneous culture, and should more properly be called 'Hattic,' after the dominant tribe of the Hittite confederacy. Top, from Boghaz Keui (Hattusas), Karabel and Malatya; below, from Giauour Kalesi.

and the plain that reaches westward towards Konia (Iconium), are to be comprised within the Hattic territory. (The more familiar names of Anatolian and Syrian sites are used throughout, whether Classical or Turkish.) This area, which forms the south-eastern half of the central plateau, is, in fact, distinguished by a number of peculiar monuments identified with the special hieroglyphic script familiarly called by the more general term 'Hittite.'

These carvings are in general so like to one another in their distinctive features, and so unlike all others in the district we are considering, that we attribute them to a common civilization. They represent common types of dress, of divinities, of ritual, of writing, and other motives in art. They



are (in our view) local expressions of some central culture. Similar monuments occur elsewhere, but the great concentration is within this area, and they are of a style which finds its culmination in the Hattic capital. These monuments seem then to be not merely Hittite, but Hattic.

Further, it is peculiarly significant to find that the two chief routes from that region to the south and east, which lead down to the key-positions of Marash and Malatia respectively, are perfectly defined by a chain of similar monuments, as witness those of Ekrek, Gurun, Derende, Palanga and Albistan, as well as the palace sculptures of Marash and Malatia themselves. It is, then, to be concluded that from the time when the Hattic kings established their dominion over the agglomeration of Hittite tribes, they themselves occupied a strategic position in the eastern and southern portions of the Anatolian plateau commanding the passes of Anti-Taurus in those directions, the control of which was vital to their safety and to their hopes of empire.



**HITTITES IN THE TAURUS**

With differences of detail that may be explained by foreign influence or later date, the rock carving at Ivriz in the Taurus is still almost as characteristically Hittite as the more northern examples in the preceding page. It portrays a king adorning an agricultural deity.

*From cast in Berlin Museum*

What then of the west? In this direction the monuments are few, but their distribution contributes an item of testimony even more striking; for through a country totally devoid of Hittite works there stretches out a single line of monuments, by Giaour Kalesi and Yarre, through Phrygia, to the coast near Ephesus by the pass of Karabel. These monuments are as typically Hattic as those of the capital and the east. The Hittites may have occupied or dominated wider tracts of territory in the west, without leaving surface monuments as witness to the fact. Excavation and exploration may still throw much light on their disposition; but so far as the evidence of the recorded monuments justifies a conclusion, they indicate that at one phase of ascendancy the Hittite armies moved freely to and from the coast of the Aegean.

For the present it will suffice to say that the immediate neighbours of Hatti were all apparently of Hittite kin. This is suggested by the general likeness but difference of detail found in the monuments of those areas bordering on Hatti to the south and west. Thus the rock carving of Ivriz in the mountain region of Taurus, the curious sculptures at Eflatoun and Fassiller in the lake country west of Konia and the whole group of Phrygian tombs in the broad tract west of the lower Halys present sufficient resemblance to the Hattic work to betray Hittite influence, even though their peculiarities are attributable in some measure to a difference of time and circumstance.

As in the west, no final inference as to the distribution of the Hittite tribes can be made until an exhaustive survey of the district and excavations have been undertaken; but the monuments of the south-east already known not only seem to be of Hattic origin, but indicate, in our view, the Hattic homelands in particular. For their very nature (whether boundary stones, high places, shrines to the gods of springs, or palace façades) denotes a settled population rather than the outlying souvenirs of raid or conquest. They are, as has been said, local expressions of the civilization which has its recognized centre in Hattusas.

The Turkish name Boghaz Keui, meaning the 'village of the gorge,' appropriately suggests the site of the Hattic capital. Defended on two sides by deep ravines and on the north by rocks with precipitous scarps, the position was naturally a strong one. To the south alone it lay somewhat exposed, and in this direction human agency closed the circuit of defences by a continuous high rampart of earth revetted with stone and crowned in Hittite times with battlemented walls. The keynote of the site is its defensibility, which is amplified by the relative difficulty and roughness of its approaches. It would seem to have been

more suitable for a brigands' retreat or the headquarters of a raiding tribal chief than for the administrative centre of an empire. Such indeed was probably its origin.

Its geographical position was, however, a potent factor in its destiny, and may have determined the ultimate ascendancy of the tribe of Hatti. It will be seen from a second glance at the map that Hattusas was in fact at the focus of a radiating web of natural lines of communication, on which, towards the east and south, the important road centres, Amasia, Sivas, Mazaca-Caesarea, Tyana and Konia, form a first circle of strategic centres. These in turn are connected by transverse roads, while the radiating lines lead on beyond them to their respective strategic objectives. Thus from Amasia may be gained the Black Sea ports of Samsun and Sinope. From Sivas runs the highland road to Caucasus by way of Erzerum, and the cross road over lesser Armenia to Malatia. From Mazaca-Caesarea leads the chief pass over the Anti-Taurus to Malatia and Armenia, while a main branch and other tracks lead down to Marash, the key to Syria. From Tyana and from Konia are gained the passes of Taurus giving access to the Mediterranean harbours and the Cilician coasts, whence also the passes of Amanus connect with Syria.



**BRONZE FROM MARASH**

Little of Hittite smaller art has survived, but this bronze figure, which was found at Marash, reveals the methods of the metal worker.

*Photo, Professor Garstang*

These routes and their connexions were the gift of nature. They presented all the elements of a perfect system of military communications to the kings ruling in Hattusas, who, being warriors by birthright and necessity, doubtless improved the immediate approaches to the capital as experience and imperial fervour taught them its strategic value.

The opening up of the roads to Hattusas exposed it, however, to the attacks of enemies and rebels. Early lessons showed that the king with his household troops would not go warring or raiding in distant parts of Asia Minor without the dan-

ger of retaliation or disaffection menacing the capital itself. The artificial defences of the city were strengthened; redoubts were constructed on the brink of the unscalable cliffs; great stone walls surrounded the whole city, following now the edge of the precipitous ravines and now again the crests of the mighty ramparts on the more exposed sides, where also the mural defence was ultimately doubled.

The circuit of these walls was more than four miles; it may still be traced, the nameless and impressive witness to centuries of human effort and activity, the heart of an empire that has long ceased to beat. The gateways were adorned with lions in high relief, sphinxes and other sculptures. Within the walls were enclosed the palaces or palace-temples and other public buildings as well as the barracks and stables of the army, the workshops and private dwellings.

The main sanctuary, a primitive open-air cave of the mother goddess of Earth, was about three miles distant on the gentle slope of a hill. Its rocky sides are decorated with figures in relief, the theme being a religious rite in which the statue of the chief Hattic deity, the sky god, is borne in procession, accompanied by other local deities and their priests, to the shrine of the mother goddess who stands



**WHERE STOOD THE CITY THAT 3,300 YEARS AGO HELD SWAY OVER ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA**

This view over the site of Hattusas, ancient capital of the tribe of Hatti and later of the Hittite imperial dynasty, carries the eye in a northerly direction towards its greatest palace-temple and the modern village of Boghaz Keui. To the left may be distinguished the debouchment of the ravine guarding it on the west; there is another on the east. The ruined foundations are those of the palace-temple, while in the long trench in front of the bell tent were unearthed those tablets of the royal archives from which so much of the Hittite story has been recovered

*Photo, Professor Garlang*

on her lion, attended by her consort and by a numerous retinue of priestesses. The figures are named in Hittite hieroglyphs; and they form the standard series from which, by study of dress and armour no less than the religious symbolism and the main theme itself, nearly all other Hattic sculptures may be recognized.

At a later stage, with the prosperity of empire, the area of the township was extended to the north, enclosing lower ground less readily defensible. Herein was built the greatest of the palace-temples, and in it excavation has brought to light part of the royal libraries containing the long-lost archives of the Empire.

This library consists of tablets written in eight languages, for to the six Hittite tongues must be added the Babylonian language of diplomacy and that of Mitanni. It embraces a great variety of subjects, from international correspondence to a treatise on the breeding of horses. Dictionaries helped in the interpretation of foreign or unfamiliar

words. A staff of scribes and clerks was kept busy on the transcribing, cataloguing and arranging of the documents, for the tablets were very numerous. About twenty thousand fragments have been recovered, and so far as examination has proceeded these prove to include about 700 historical texts, of which some 260 have now been published. The original number must have been much greater, and the ordering of the contents was no light task. The treatises alone were so numerous as to demand a catalogue; in



#### **MASONRY THAT SURVIVES IN THE IMPERIAL CITY OF HATTUSAS**

The oldest fortification of Hattusas that can be traced is an earth ramp covering the southern approach; later this was crowned by walls, and even the brinks of the ravines were lined with cyclopean blocks. Interlocking masonry, like that in the upper photograph, is a special feature of the great palace-temple. Below are the two lions that flank a gateway to the royal city.

*Photos, Professor Garstang*

which they were classified under the authors' names.

The bulk of the texts is concerned with religious ceremonials, temple ritual, omens and the like. There are legal codes and detailed military regulations, such as the organization of camps under differing circumstances, including the depth of ditches, length of palisades, etc.; also numerous inventories and land registers. Of more interest are the royal decrees, kings' speeches and documents bearing on international and imperial affairs. Most valuable to the historian are a number of treaties with confederate vassals and allies, and also with foreign powers. These are commonly prefaced with historical preambles, which give a concise

account of the earlier relations between the contracting parties.

The whole evidently throws a new and vivid direct light upon Hittite society and civilization, as well as on military incidents and political situations. No analysis of the published contents of these documents can attain as yet any degree of finality; but certain elements in the constitution of the Hittite society and government are already discernible and the attempt at reconstruction is justified.

The preliminary study of these tablets clearly shows the Hittic kingship to be a development of tribal leadership; though hereditary, its powers and prestige were only preserved by a ready sword. The strength of the throne, as in all early monarchies, was relative to the personality of the king.

A first glimpse at the character of the kingship and the social fabric recalls in some aspects the phases through which early England passed; for not only is there a system comparable to the folk-moots of Anglo-Saxon times, but also the essence of a primitive feudalism and a religious element in the nature of the kingship. In some cases the names of the various offices



#### GODS OF ALL THE HITTITES TAKE PART IN A RELIGIOUS CEREMONY.

An open air shrine formed the chief sanctuary of Hattusas. It lay in the natural recess to the left of the rocky outcrop here visible; no architectural features were added, but the walls were carved with a representation of the most important yearly ceremony that took place there. On the sides are long processions (above) of minor deities—local versions of the Hittite warrior god, Teshub—attended by priests, all facing towards the culminating scene of the Divine Marriage.

Photos. Professor Garstang

are virtually identical, and comparison assumes a special interest in view of the strong Indo-European element among the Hittites.

The Hattic king was the active head of the army and chief priest, as well as civil ruler. All offices or properties were held primarily from him on terms of military or personal service; or the service might be given in some trade such as carpentry or metal or leather working required at the palace, or in cultivation of the royal domains. Such undertakings, if to the king's satisfaction, would tend to become permanent; while the control of properties held from the crown necessitated inventories and a land register, with the host of functionaries that such tasks must involve.

The execution of the numerous royal functions gradually enfolded the throne with an organized personnel and ceremonial, with court dignitaries in the immediate entourage of the king in addition to the government officials, such titles as 'Gold Sceptre' and 'Chief of the Wine' implying that they were of different rank, style and power. There existed also many servants and functionaries of the household, such as stewards, cup-bearers, butchers, cooks, cheese-makers and brewers, as well as those who carried on their trade by royal appointment but not necessarily inside the palace area, such as tanners, shoemakers, cartwrights, cloth-weavers, goldsmiths and water-carriers.

The principle of personal service to the king was so firmly established that all these servants and functionaries, whether of the household or of the state, were sworn in separately to their various appointments. The chief executive officer seems to have remained in relative obscurity, as apparently no single individual could replace the monarch, except during a minority or in sickness, when a regent was appointed from the royal family.



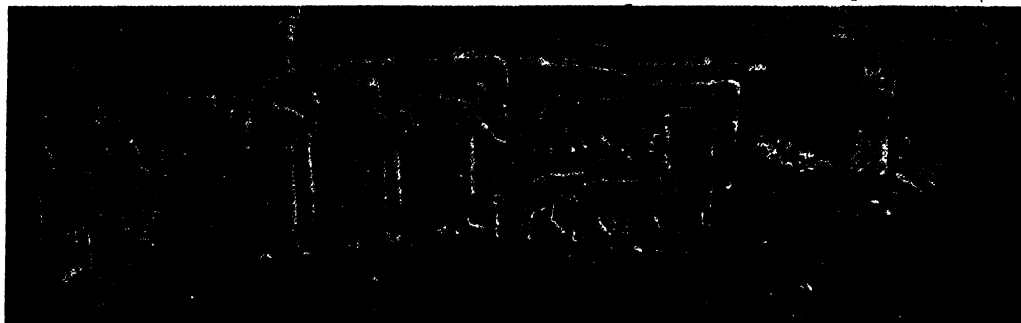
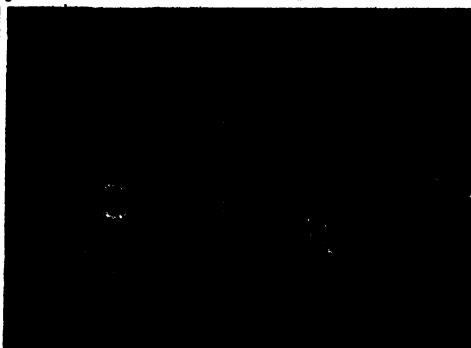
#### TESHUB WEDDED TO THE MOTHER GODDESS

The divine marriage of the Hattusas shrine was between the native Hittite god Teshub and the primeval mother goddess of Anatolia. He appears on the left, borne by four priests, she on the right, carried on a lioness and attended by minor goddesses on an eagle. The remaining personage is probably her son. Teshub is made clearer in page 717 (top left).

*Photo, Liverpool Institute of Archaeology*

The community in general was divided so far as can be seen into but two classes: the freemen, who were owners of property in return for services due to the king, and the slaves, who had no political status and may have been originally prisoners of war. The freemen constituted or nominated a general assembly, the chief functions of which were to advise the king as regards the law and constitutional procedure. The king himself was president of this assembly, and doubtless the discussion of national policy, peace and war, lay within its prerogatives; but the assembly had no voice, so far as can be seen at present, in the selection of the king—his throne was hereditary. Everything possible seems to have been arranged to secure the safety of the throne, doubtless from experience of the dangers to which the king was exposed as the giver of decisions and appointments.

Apart from the royal princes at court or in the army, there seems to have been no privileged class or nobility whose title was hereditary. Their rôle in the organization was fulfilled by the kinglets and chieftains of the confederated tribes, some of whom exercised great political and



The lion from the palace at Marash is remarkable in that bands of Hittite hieroglyphs run across it, after the style of some Assyrian reliefs. Below, we see at Eynk a sacrificial procession headed by the priest-king and his queen, who, standing before an altar, do honour to the divine bull (see continuation, top right). The figures with a ladder on the left are masons finishing the palace walls.



A remarkable uniformity of motive in the construction of palace gateways manifests itself throughout Hittite lands. The entrance is nearly always recessed, with bas-reliefs on the flanking walls, and half disengaged figures of lions acting as guardians at each corner. In this late palace at Sakje Geuzi the recess is so broad that it demanded a central column; and this, it is interesting to note, was borne on a pedestal of two sphinxes. The sculpture is very like that at Carchemish.

#### HOW HITTITE KINGS ADORNED THE APPROACHES TO THEIR PALACE-TEMPLES

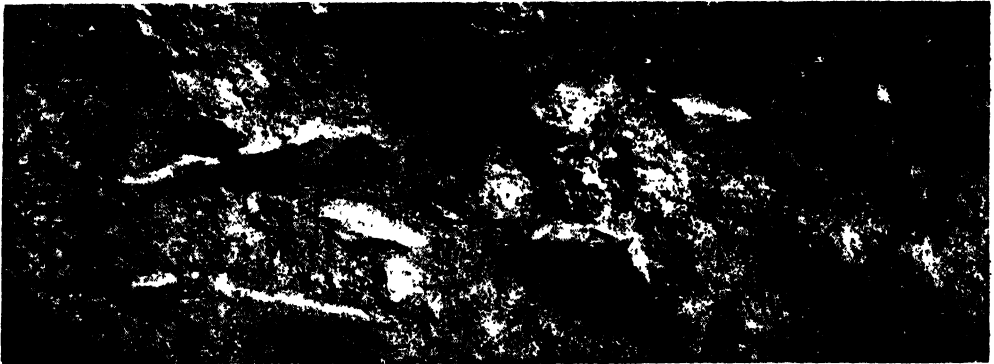
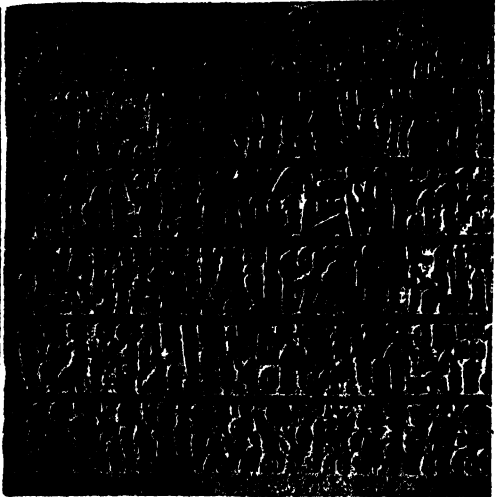
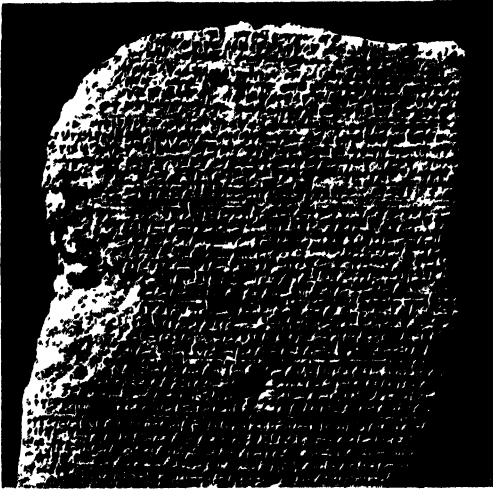
*Photos, Professor Garstang*

personal influence and were among those granted high positions at the central court. Every opportunity was taken of securing even these princedoms for the royal sons, so that the king might be surrounded more and more with allies and counsellors of the royal blood, sharing the ambitions and participating in the fortunes of his throne.

Even with these precautions, the national spirit was such that the succession to the throne could be disputed. It is on record that numerous states openly revolted on the accession of Mursil III, defying the new king on account of his youth. These same states, being subject to the levy, and vassals of his father, would in the ordinary course have been

represented at the general assembly. Their claim to interfere in the succession may not have been constitutional, but it was real; and it was based, as we have seen, not on defiance of the throne or the ruling family, but on lack of confidence in the individual. It required ten years of rigorous campaigning for the king to re-establish his authority, but he proved himself a born leader. He broke up one of the vassal states into several principalities, granting the headship in several cases to the local chieftains, on whom he imposed new terms of feudal service defined by separate treaties.

It is, then, clear that the king was the real head of the government, but that in practice the administration was in the



**MATERIALS READ AND UNREAD FOR THE RECOVERY OF HITTITE HISTORY**

Two methods of writing were practised by the Hittites—their own peculiar hieroglyphic system and the international cuneiform of Babylonia. The former remains undeciphered; but luckily it achieved popularity rather late, so that the state archives of the important imperial phase—below we see the tablets as they were actually discovered—were kept in a legible script. Above, a cuneiform tablet (left) and a door-jamb from Carchemish covered with hieroglyphs.

*Photos, Professor Garstang and (top right) British Museum*



hands of semi-permanent officials, and followed more or less constitutional lines. In addition to the general assembly there are records of similar local assemblies set up to advise the headman of town or village on matters of local administration. The laws affecting property, slaves, women's rights and other matters were codified, and their application was entrusted to special law officers. The system throughout involved the personal responsibility of the king, from whom all these offices and powers were directly held; and this internal administration was only one aspect of his rule and leadership.

Foreign affairs and imperial diplomacy required both time and thought, and would appear to have been aspects of the royal duties to which certain Hittite kings gave personal attention. Thus through three successive reigns during which the menace of Egypt, the disruption



#### KING OR AMAZON?

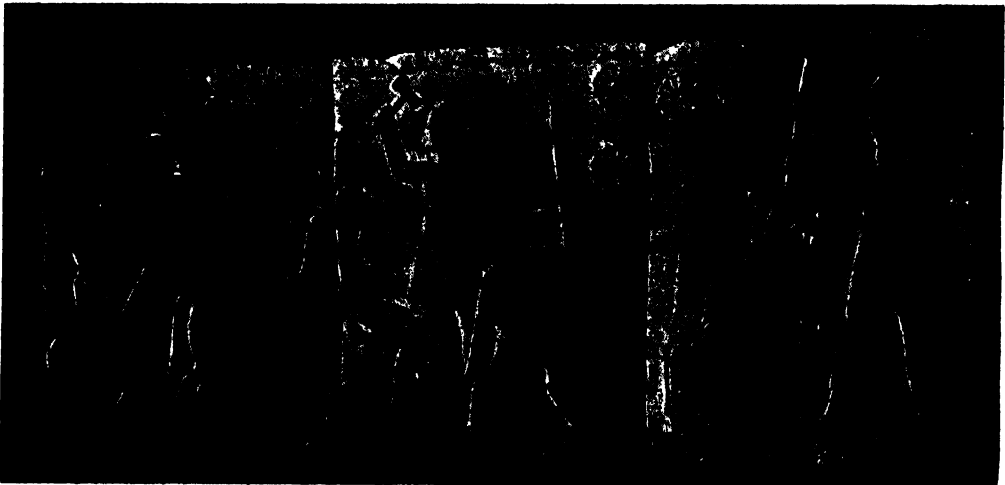
It suggests the priestly functions of the Hittite kings that it should be disputed whether this relief adorning a Hattusas gateway represents a king or a god; or, as has been claimed, an Amazon.

*From Puchstein, 'Boghaz-Köi'*

of Mitanni and the rise of Assyria were successive problems, a continuity of policy may be traced in the treaties and campaigns that were undertaken. The steps taken for the education of the heirs to the throne in king-craft no doubt contributed to this result; and they show at the same time an advanced realization of the responsibilities of office. More than one prince is known to have gained his experience in statecraft and administration by being placed successively at the head of smaller states, progressively increasing in importance.

These appointments and the functions were real, but we may point exceptionally to one title, 'Prince of Gasga,' of which

we may imagine the rôle to have been less pleasing than the title; for no principality was more turbulent than this, which bordered upon the Euphrates in what later was known as Lesser Armenia. It



#### PRINCE OF A PROVINCIAL CITY GOES FORTH TO HUNT

In the provincial cities of the Hittite empire there was probably no distinction between the king's palace and the chief temple; even at Hattusas the great palace seems to have had its religious side. On the walls of such structures the king appears impartially as high priest or as hunter and warrior; Sakje Geuzi has yielded this spirited impression of a lion hunt—possibly of the tenth century B.C.

*Berlin Museum*



**CHIEF HITTITE GOD**

Teshub, god of war and storm, appears in Hittite art with battle-axe and forked lightning. This stele was found at Babylon, whither it must have been carried as spoil.

*From Meyer, 'Reich und Kultur der Hethiter'*

was broken up into numerous small states of half Hittite tribes, ever ready to take advantage of their political situation on the frontier of the Hittite realm, supported by the powerful rival kingdom of Harri across the river, to deny their obligations or throw off their allegiance. They were naturally aided by the roughness and remoteness of the land they peopled. The title seems to have been conveyed after the repression of one of these general risings.

Numerous documents describe the

pre-Hittite religion of the land was apparently nature worship, amid which the cult of elemental forces took root, personified in that of the earth mother. These two strains were welded in due time (possibly as a political compromise) by the divine marriage of the two principal divinities. The sculptures of the chief sanctuary have left a picture of the ceremony. Twice yearly the rite was enacted as a religious custom, the king, clothed as a high priest, being the chief personage present. This picture does not mislead, for a religious text lays down in detail the ceremonial to be performed at the 'festival of all the gods,' and while specially selected religious singers successively chant the appointed prayers or invocations in the appropriate tongue, it is the king in person who performs in each case the supreme rite of tendering the sacramental bowl and bread.

Nor were the king's priestly duties confined to any particular rite or shrine. At the outset of his military career the young King Mursil III (about 1345 B.C.) visited the chief sanctuary of his people, that of the sun goddess of Arinna, the goddess of war, to invoke her blessing ;

king's active rôle in his military and priestly capacity. From the earliest times the Hittite kings united in their functions the high priesthood of the country's gods, and maintained by due fulfilment of the rites a strength of position in the popular mind which argues a theocratic element behind the temporal power. In the provinces and vassal states the home of the leader was at once palace and temple. The scenes which decorated their approaches were an instructive combination of hunting and war on the one hand and divine rites on the other. It is significant that no lands or properties could be held by the priesthood except as a personal gift from the king.

The chief Hittite deity, like that of the Hittite people as a whole, was the sky god Teshub, lord of heaven and earth, whose high priest was the king. The



**ANIMAL DEITIES AT CARCHEMISH**

In religion, as in much else, the Hittites were influenced, more and more as the centuries passed, by the culture of Mesopotamia. These lion-headed and bull-hoofed demons at Carchemish remind one instantly of Babylonian seals and Assyrian wall reliefs.

*Photo, C. Leonard Woolley*

and at the end of each campaign he never failed to render to her due tribute, honour and glory, ascribing to her the success which his own brilliant leadership assured. This deity was at the head of the Hittite pantheon : she was also the ' maker and de-throner of kings, ' witness of oaths, guardian of treaties and protector of fugitives.

The instinct that guided Mursil's attitude was national ; a deep religious feeling pervades the later documents, and national crises which menaced

Religious instinct  
of Hittite kings

more and more from this time onwards were attributed to neglect of the

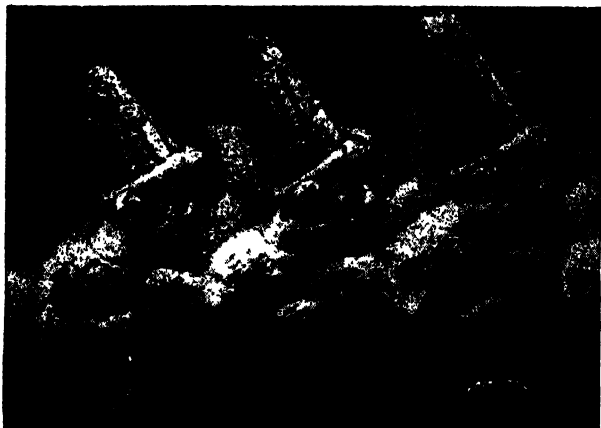
offended gods. King Hattusil, who followed, sought particularly the assistance of Teshub, at a local shrine where he had been initiated in the priestly function. The royal seal of this age, as described in Egyptian texts, shows the Hittite king in the embrace of this god whose high priest he was ; while the queen is described as chief priestess of the sun goddess of Arinna. Both Mursil and Hattusil had cause to seek divine intervention in the troubles that increasingly beset the Hattic throne.

The situation claims at this stage an examination of the disposition and organization of the Hittite confederacy as a whole, and in this connexion a further glance at the physical map of Asia Minor will be helpful. It has been seen that the

natural frontier of Asia Minor on the side of Asia trends north-eastwards from the Gulf of Alexandretta, following the lines of Taurus, Anti-Taurus and the heights north of the upper Euphrates towards Batum. Inside this frontier are three main areas : the central position in classical Cappadocia, which we have assigned to Hatti ; the left wing in Pontus, which in our theory we assign to the allied state of Kizzuwadna ; and the right wing in Cilicia, separated from Hatti by the main range of Taurus, which formed the separate but normally vassal kingdom of Arzawa.

The mountain region of Lesser Armenia we believe to have been occupied by the confederated tribes of Gasga. Beyond the Euphrates, before the time of Subbiliuma (therefore probably in the fifteenth century B.C.), the former powerful kingdom of Hanigalbat had been dismembered. The northern portion, Armenia proper, was peopled by the Harri ; while the southern portion, Mesopotamia, formed the kingdom of Mitanni, which for some generations was politically allied with Egypt. Assyria was beginning to gain a foothold on the upper Tigris ; while lower down the Euphrates the old kingdom of Babylonia, under its Kassite kings, lay athwart both rivers.

Syria, where Amorite and Canaanitish cities prospered and shared the cultural fruits of Phoenician trade, was politically disunited, preyed on constantly by Egypt-



#### HITTITES AS SEEN BY THEMSELVES AND BY THEIR EGYPTIAN ENEMIES

Some of the clearest self-made portraits of the Hittites occur in an inner recess of the open sanctuary at Hattusas (left) ; wearing the typical tall head-dress, they bear sickles and seem to be engaged in a harvest celebration. Egypt has also left portraits of her redoubtable enemies, such as these (right) in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos. But except that they are Anatolian, we cannot be sure that they are genuinely ' Hattic ' and not an allied element in the army of Mutalis.

tian and Mitannian rulers, and coveted by the Hattic kings. In the north of Syria Aleppo and Carchemish were old and organized centres hitherto claiming for the most part individual kingship and territory. The dividing line between Semitic Syria and the Hittite area was probably much as it is now between the Arabic-speaking and the Turkish peoples, in the vicinity of Aintab, between Marash and Aleppo or Carchemish. •

The three countries most immediately concerned, Hatti, Harri and Mitanni, form a group that was distinguished from the Semitic lands bordering on them to the south by the fact that each contained a pronounced Aryan element, which reveals itself in various ways. The distinction was probably original, being derived from separate migrations of Indo-Europeans coming from different areas. Hatti, Egypt and Babylonia constituted the 'big three' of the time; and each sent ambassadors to the others' courts. Mitanni occupied the unenviable middle position between the three ambitious neighbours, and in the struggle for empire was soon effaced. The Harri, in their fastnesses, were in a more advantageous position, and threw in their lot with one or the other as circumstances decided, taking advantage of lulls in the situation to descend and claim their share of plunder from the plains.

The development of the situation in nearer Asia as a whole is well reflected by the diplomacy of the Hittite rulers in successive generations. At

**Three phases of Hattic strategy** which in the age of Thothmes III had secured the alliance of Mitanni, had been countered by a treaty and military understanding between Hatti and Harri. This the Hittite found ready reason to denounce when he judged the moment favourable for intervention in Mitanni, Egypt under Akhnaton having withdrawn temporarily from the arena. In the second or intermediate phase the Hittites, now allied with Mitanni and the Amorites in Syria, inserted a political wedge between the dwindling sphere of Egypt on the one side and the growing power of Harri with young Assyria on the other. In the third phase the original situation was completely



**MOUNTED HITTITE HORSEMAN**

Whether 'Hattic' or not, this Hittite horseman, as sculptured by the Egyptians in the Luxor temple is of peculiar interest, as the practice of riding mounted instead of in chariots came late to the East, and may reflect the Indo-European element in Hittite civilization.

*Photo, Liverpool Institute of Archaeology*

reversed. The former enemies, Hatti and Egypt, who at Kadesh had tried their strength in battle no less strenuous than their diplomacy, now found themselves united by treaty against Assyria and her neighbours. The line contested a century before had been east and west, Hatti allied with the Harri against Egypt (in northern Syria) and Mitanni. It lay now north and south, with Hatti and Egypt allied against Harri and the new menace of Assyria in the east. •

The same mind or instinct that guided the external policy of the Hittite empire was busy also with its internal organization. The maintenance of the lines of communication with Syria, and the consolidation of the strategic frontier towards Asia, were matters of vital and immediate concern. It was during this stage in the fortunes of Hatti that Subbiluliuma and his successors disclosed the full genius of the Hittite kings both as military leaders and strategists.

The situation and the moment at the beginning of the first phase were both favourable for an attempt to secure their hold upon the coveted lands of northern Syria, which earlier kings had indeed attempted but had not been able to maintain. From the time when the ancestors of their line had established the capital at Hattusas (an event which had marked the final ascendancy of Hatti over the other Hittite tribes), the strategic

advantage of the new centre had given further strength to their arms.

Almost at once King Mursil, the first monarch of that name, had found it possible to descend upon Aleppo, and to send back rich booty to the capital. Inspired by this success he had pushed on boldly to distant Babylon, which was captured, overturning by this feat the first dynasty that had reigned from there over Babylonia as a whole. The dynasty was that in which Hammurabi remains the most conspicuous figure; and the date of this event, though not agreed, must lie between 1950 B.C. and 1750 B.C.

This is not the first record of conflict between these distant territories; older

Babylonian legend claims that, centuries before, Sargon of Agade

had penetrated victoriously into Asia Minor and gained a victory over its disunited tribes; the kings of Hatti are named in these earliest records. But now the situation was reversed. The Hittite tribes, after long struggles, were bound together under the Hattic kings, and the success of this adventure cannot but have strengthened the bonds of union. It is probable, indeed, that at the same time the Hittite expansion had been felt in Syria farther southwards, even as far as Palestine; at any rate a later king, Telibinus, claimed dominion over Damaskhunas, which seems to indicate Damascus.

The Hyksos period obscures the continuity of history in this phase; but the events connected with the later kings now preparing to renew their conquests are clear, and they are richly illustrated by the new documents as well as by the synchronous records from Egyptian and Assyrian sources.

Archaeological indications also point to the high organization of the capital at this time. Experience had taught a useful lesson. Walls of unparalleled strength now surrounded the city, that it might be left secure by king and soldiers bent on distant enterprise. The communications, locally difficult, notwithstanding the central position of the capital, had doubtless been made passable for chariots, that full advantage might be

taken of its strategic situation. Main roads, as has been noted, radiated from it in all directions, and are still largely traceable or in use to-day.

The routes which were of primary importance to Subbiluliuma's projects were those which led from Mazaca-Caesarea over the passes of Anti-Taurus, and so eastward to the main crossing of the Euphrates near Malatia, and southward down to Marash, the key to northern Syria. Malatia could indeed be approached by the highland route from Sivas, but this passed through the Gasga territory, where the tribes were not always loyal to the Hittite cause. Similarly the lines of approach to Syria from Cilicia by the somewhat tedious passes of Amanus, though practicable, were open to much the same objection as lines of communication, in that only doubtful confidence could be reposed in the attitude of the Arzawan allies on that wing during the absence of the main Hittite force.

The weakest element of the Hittite position lay, in fact, in the political bonds which alone united the allies on the wings; but so long as these held, stiffened, no doubt, by the hope of rewards that victory might bring, or by fear of stern reprisals, the advantage for both attack and defence lay with the Hattic rulers. In any case the witness of

the monuments, as **Strength and weakness of Hittite position** we have seen, confirms the tendency

of these considerations, and indicates the central routes as the main lines of communication. The military situation was safeguarded by the lateral routes between the advanced centres, Amasia, Sivas, Mazaca and Tyana, as well as by the mountain tracks which linked up the more advanced positions along their mountain frontier.

The political horizon to the south-east was also favourable to the success of Subbiluliuma's enterprise. The combination that in the previous century had bound the whole of western Armenia and Mesopotamia under a single power had now for some time been breaking up. At the height of its extension this kingdom, called Hanigalbat in the Hittite texts, had reached beyond the Euphrates west-

ward and held dominion over the important centres of Malatia and Aleppo, a strategic situation which had effectively barred the way to Hittite expansion in those directions.

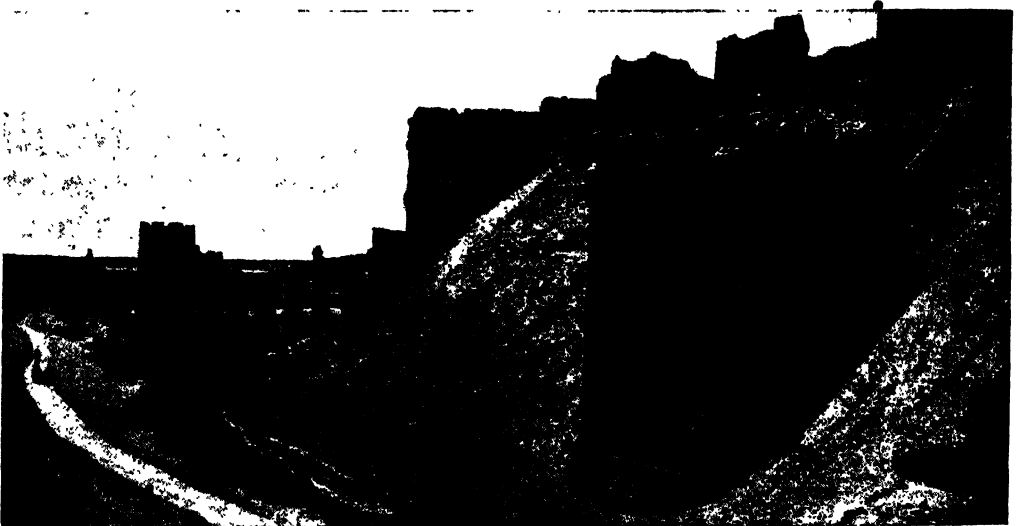
Now, however, the northern part of this area east of the Euphrates had fallen to the Harri; and Subbiluliuma had taken military measures to bring back to the control of Hatti all the small states on the near side of the Euphrates, from the Gasga lands of Lesser Armenia around the great bend of that river as far, seemingly, as Erzerum, and to the sea at Trebizond. By setting free the refugees and former prisoners he had redressed the unsettled state of these areas; while the treaty with Harri gave him a temporary, albeit uncertain, measure of security on his northern front.

The southern portion of Hanigalbat (that is, the northern Mesopotamian plains) had fallen at the same time to the Mitannian rulers. These, menaced on the east by the expansion of Assyria and by the more northerly state of Alse on the Tigris, had sought and obtained alliance with the Egyptian Pharaohs, who, as a result of several expeditions, had claimed a transient suzerainty over central and

northern Syria. Thothmes III in one such incursion seems to have come into contact with Hattic troops or envoys, and claims in his thirty-third year (c. 1468 B.C.), and also later, to have received tribute or presents from 'Kheta.' The Mitannians had however profited by their position and alliance to secure the effective control of northern Syria, including Carchemish and Aleppo; while even the strong cities in the Orontes valley were occupied under the arrangement with Egypt by Mitannian troops. The Amorite chieftains (seated possibly in what is now the Jebel Druze), together with the petty states of Lebanon and the sea-board of Syria, were however still regarded as Egyptian allies or vassals.

The relaxing of Egypt's grip under the aged Amenhotep III and his successor Akhnaton, by shaking the confidence of the Syrian states and leaving Mitanni without assistance, produced the critical situation for which Subbiluliuma was prepared.

A first tentative descent of the Hittites into Syria, as far as the district of Nukhasse between Aleppo and the Orontes, had apparently not met with full success. At any rate, the Mitannian king Dushratta informed the Pharaoh that the raid had



**OUTPOST OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE : THE CITY MOUND AT ALEPPO**

North Syrian rather than Hittite, and once capital of a powerful independent principedom, Aleppo (Halpa) became an important outpost of the Hittite confederation during the later empire. The great antiquity of this strategic site is indicated by the size of the mound or 'tell,' which represents the debris of successive cities and is to-day occupied by remains of the medieval citadel.

*Photo, Professor Garstang*

been repulsed, and he forwarded a portion of the booty taken. The attempt would seem indeed to have courted considerable risks; with only one main line of descent into Syria, that of Marash, Subbiluliuma's column as it advanced southwards exposed its flank to attack from the side of Carchemish and Aleppo, cities still, it would seem, in Dushratta's power. Clearly it would be impossible to move farther southwards under these conditions without endangering the extending line of communication.

Profiting then by the arrangement with Harri, he now laid his plans on wider strategic lines. Crossing the Euphrates

higher up, presumably at Malatia, he devastated the opposite territory of Isuwa, which still apparently acknowledged Dushratta's supremacy, and reducing its population to servitude secured that all-important line for his great advance. Having completed his preparations, he crossed the Euphrates in force, and advanced deliberately eastward until he reached the land of Alse at the bend of the Tigris, where he stormed the fortress of Kutmar (near the modern Erzen). Descending next southwards towards the plains he gained entrance to the fortress of Suta and finally appeared before Was-sukkanni, the Mitannian capital, itself. This may be presumed to have been situated at the sources of the Khabur River, and possibly Tell Wahsuk preserves the name. Dushratta is said to have avoided battle; but whether he was absent in Syria or evacuated the place before the Hittite advance is not known.

Directing now his line of march westward Subbiluliuma apparently crossed the Euphrates below Carchemish, and having thus widened out his sphere of operations, he marched directly against Aleppo, which he secured. His way was now open; Carchemish, if still in enemy hands, was isolated; and without loss of time he pushed forward towards the valley of the Orontes, overcoming the resistance of local chieftains combined against him. One by one the cities beside that river fell before him or opened their gates. He had not proposed to attack Kadesh, the key position to the Amorite country, but the Mitannian generals still in occupation themselves came out to battle against him with their chariots. Their ultimate defeat, after being routed and besieged in a neighbouring town, possibly at Homs, established Subbiluliuma as overlord of northern Syria.



#### SYRIA DURING THE AMARNA AGE

During the age of the Amarna letters Syria was slipping from Egypt's grasp, and the Hittites were quick to seize their opportunity. This map shows the cities mentioned in the Hittite or Egyptian archives; many names, more familiar in modern guise, are given as they appear in the original documents.

From materials supplied by Professor Garstang

It had proved a brilliant expedition. The Mitannian alliance with Egypt was ruptured. Mitanni, isolated, was on the verge of annihilation, and the prestige of Egypt had received a fateful blow. The local chieftains hastened to tender their allegiance, and even the powerful Amorite rulers entered into negotiations for alliance, though writing at the same time to the Pharaoh protesting their enduring loyalty. Farther south, as far as the frontiers of Palestine, the repercussion of this exploit produced a profound effect. Bands of Hittites passed on, one city after another falling to them or to the Amorites.

Despairing letters from the Egyptian representatives in Syria warned the Pharaoh of the imminent disaster, but in vain. The young king Akhnaton was busy with his ideals, and Egypt, torn internally on the vital matter

of national religion, was not in a position or mood for imperial intervention. The Hittites were now master. Treaties with

the states and princes laid down terms of alliance or of vassalage. Matters at issue between the states were settled by Subbiluliuma from the throne of Hatti. The warrior king had become an emperor; and a new organization on imperial lines came into being.

In Mitanni itself the death of Dushratta, and the fact that the king's son fled to Subbiluliuma seeking protection and assistance from the rulers of Harri who had seized the throne, presented the Hittite monarch with a favourable opportunity to complete his aspirations. After consulting the oracle, Subbiluliuma denounced his treaty with Harri, and threw in his lot in favour of Dushratta's son. The prince was re-established under the protection of the Hittite king over a portion of the Mitannian dominion that lay eastward of the Euphrates.



#### SUBBILULIUMA'S SYRIAN MASTER STROKE

The campaign by which Subbiluliuma the Hittite subjugated North Syria can be worked out from the state archives, but its last phases are obscure. Apparently after taking Katna, he made a detour into Nukhasso, but was attacked by Mitannian troops from Kadesh. Turning, he besieged them in Abzu (? Homs) before continuing southward.

From materials supplied by Professor Garstang

The re-establishment of the fortunes of Mitanni, even on this reduced scale, was destined however to prove unavailing. Subbiluliuma, when he saw the distressful condition into which the land had fallen, even sent administrators with stocks of horses, sheep and cattle, in an effort to restore its life; but the tentacles of Assyria were upon it. Already the spoils of Dushratta's earlier victories had been reclaimed, and during the next generation the Hittite protection ceased to be effective. When finally, about 1275 B.C., the forces of Shalmaneser appeared before Malatia, not only was all semblance of Mitannian independence at an end, but the new danger was to threaten the integrity of the Hittite empire itself.

For the time being, however, Subbiluliuma's conquests were secured. He had taken possession of Carchemish, and he retained the territories of northern Syria. The throne of Carchemish, with wise forethought, passed into the royal family of Hatti, and was destined to remain the



chief centre of Hittite power in Syria for centuries after the name of Hatti had disappeared from Anatolia.

Notwithstanding his precautions Subbiluliuma's absence with his chief forces in Mesopotamia and in Syria had given rise to complications nearer home. The rupture of the treaty with the Harri in particular had exposed the left wing of his main position to the political inroads of his rival, followed by local risings that called for military measures; and the situation was hardly redressed when Subbiluliuma 'mounted the Hill' (in Hittite phrase) and his son Mursil III shortly afterwards became Great King (c. 1345 B.C.).

Mursil's youth, as already noted, was the cause of more widespread disaffection, which culminated in the open rebellion of the Gasga states upon the Euphrates and of Arzawa south of Taurus. The young monarch saw the danger that menaced his seat upon the throne, and his genius was equal to the emergency. Taking command in person, he led his

troops in a series of vigorous campaigns, and at the end of ten years had established his position, while maintaining effectively, it may be gathered, the treaty obligations of the Syrian states.

His tactics would to-day be called Napoleonic. His first blow (if we interpret rightly the difficult Hittite names) was aimed at the heart of the Gasga territory, by a quick march up the passes of Anti-Taurus from Maṣaca, whence the rebels were struck as it were in their left flank. Descending, and without delay, he passed northwards, by the main cross route of the defensive system, to Sivas, whence another blow was delivered upon the rebels' right. Most of the towns and princes with whom he came in contact capitulated at once and others were captured. Concerted action between them was no longer possible. The rebellion was nipped in the bud.

But the situation in Arzawa was more serious. This state, which was situated primarily in Cilicia Tracheia, with ramifications in Cilicia proper on the one hand and as far as Lycia on the other, was never, apparently, wholly Hittite. The country was difficult; and separated as it was from the plateau of Hatti by the range of Taurus, a spirit of independence lingered there, despite the nominal allegiance of its king during this imperial age. United against Hatti it would have proved dangerous.



#### PROOFS OF HITTITE DOMINATION IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The Hittites had very thoroughly taken advantage of Egyptian weakness under Akhnaton to penetrate and organize Syria. One is apt to think their domination short-lived, but it actually lasted some three hundred years (e.g. from the Stuart accession until to-day); and these typically Hittite sculptures extend the period, as far as Syria is concerned, by two centuries. Above, a lion from near Damascus; below, lions and gazelles from as far south as Tiberias by the Lake of Galilee.

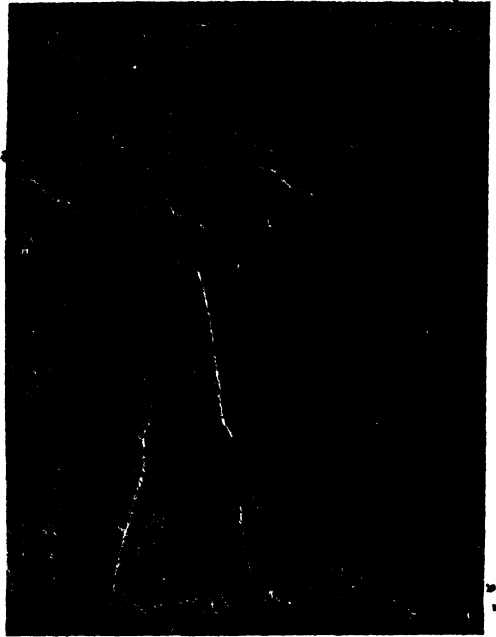
*Photos, Professor Garstang*

Mursil left no time for the situation to get worse. Returning to Hattusas to refit his army, and turning aside only to visit the sanctuary of the sun goddess of Arinna to invoke her blessing, he marched directly with his warriors and horses against the rebels. His objective was apparently to prevent their union, and in this he was entirely successful. Crossing by the mountain region of Lawasa (a name which seems to survive in the classical Lauzados and the modern Lavza), where he and his troops were encouraged by an omen, he seems at once to have interrupted the rebels' communications. The rebel king was awaiting him at Apasas (in Pamphylia) gathering strength; but Mursil intercepted his son, who with warriors and horses was approaching to effect a junction, on the bank of the river Astarpa (a name which suggests its identity with the modern Isparta), and there defeated him in a pitched battle followed by a pursuit.

His first point gained, Mursil advanced next upon Apasas, to find the rebel leader fled towards the plains, while a part of his forces had retreated in a different direction (to Buranda). The enemy was now divided into three, and Mursil proceeded to deal with each group separately. He first pursued those who had fled to the mountain region of Arinnanda, which we believe to be in south-eastern Lycia, and having signally defeated them he sent back numerous prisoners to the capital. Winter

being now upon them, in order not to relinquish the advantage of position he had secured, Mursil enclosed a fortified camp upon the river Astarpa and went into 'winter quarters.'

In the spring, pursuing his tactics, Mursil moved without delay towards the plains. The rebel king, however, had in the meanwhile died; as his followers had decamped, Mursil turned against those who had retired on Buranda, and laid siege to the town. The leader escaped by night, and was remustering his troops when Mursil, by cutting through his lines, assured the completion of his victories. Other inhabitants of Arzawa now submitted, coming forward, men and women, to make obeisance as the conqueror approached.



#### AFTERMATH OF HITTITE POWER

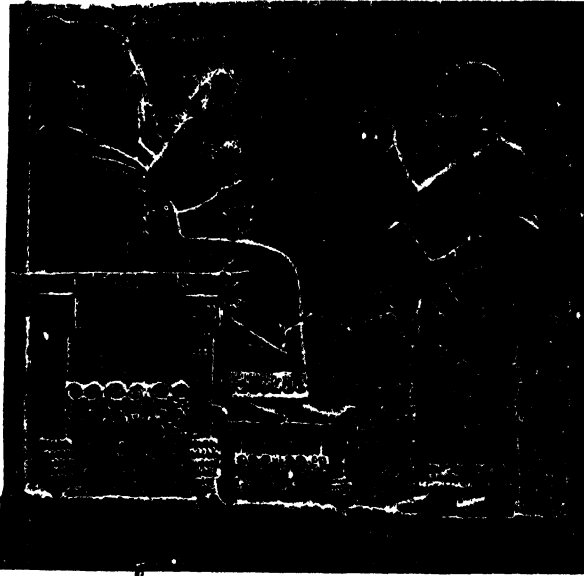
When the Hittite power, that had long stood against the East, collapsed before western irruptions, centres of culture maintained themselves in Syria, notably at Carchemish, where these priests carrying gazelles decorate a palace wall.

*Photo, C. Leonard Woolley*

Mursil's next task was the reorganization and pacification of the provinces he had retaken. This was accomplished by retaining some of the local chieftains and reinstating others. All were bound separately by treaty to terms of vassalage. The boundaries to each province were defined, and any changes specified. The kingdom of Arzawa was dismembered, and a number of principalities took its place, each effectively a fief of the central throne. In Syria also the Great King's suzerainty was maintained, and treaties were renewed with the most important rulers, of Aleppo and the Amorites.

Mursil's troubles were by no means ended; and the situation, on the Euphrates particularly, could only grow worse with the Assyrian advance. These exploits of Subbiluliuma and Mursil illustrate, none the less, the military genius and statesmanship of the Hittite kings.

The last phase of imperial affairs takes us once more into Syria, where Egypt, recovered from its apathy, was seeking under Seti I and Rameses II to re-establish



#### MINGLING OF HITTITE AND SEMITE

The later Hittite communities in Syria, though not unwarlike, never again achieved confederation and were laid increasingly open to Assyrian influence until they were finally engulfed by that power. The Hittite characteristics in this relief from Senjerli are just apparent beneath the Assyrian gloss; but the king's name is Semitic—Barrekub.

*Berlin Museum*

itself, and had, in fact, already organized an important part of northern Palestine. It fell to the lot of Mursil's successor, Mutallis, to decide the issue, and to this end he called together all the resources of his country.

The area on the north-east of the capital bordering the Black Sea coast, where disaffection had so frequently shown itself, was now pacified by the grant of royal independence; and the new state, which was geographically contiguous to Hatti, was called Kizzuwadna. This step placed a convenient buffer between Hatti and the northern Harri; and at the same time the treaty of alliance engaged the forces of its rulers in the Hittite wars. In a fresh treaty with the Amorites the possibility of a conflict with Egypt was foreseen.

New warriors were enlisted in the ranks, and among them were some whose names have become familiar in the Homeric catalogue of the Trojan allies. The Pharaohs' account ascribes their coming to the Hittite gold; and it is probable that both sides employed mercenaries in

the final conflict. The battle was fought at Kadesh on the upper Orontes in 1296 B.C., but the issue was indecisive. Both armies retired crippled from the scene, and though the Pharaoh (Rameses II) vaunted his personal prowess on the Egyptian temple walls the Hittite ascendancy in Syria was maintained. On the other hand there is a suggestion that Mutallis was murdered; in any case he did not long survive the battle. His ultimate successor, Hattusil, found himself confronted with a new and more fateful problem.

The new menace came from the west. Already, in the time of Mursil, Hittite diplomacy had recognized the independence and status of kings of Achaia and Lesbos, whose names look like Hittite versions of Andreus and Eteocles, the founders of the kingdom of Orchomenus. Whether or not the persons are to be regarded as the same, there is every indication that Achaean groups had

appeared upon the Aegean sea and were seeking to grasp the island positions upon the western coasts of Asia Minor. The leaders were addressed

respectfully as brothers by the Hittite monarch. In the reign of Mutallis,

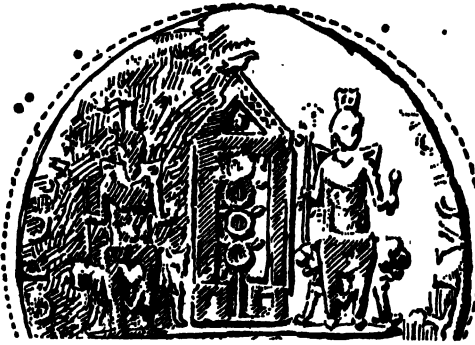
**Achaean menace  
to Hittite power**

in addition to the Dardanian bands who fought on the Hittite side at Kadesh, there appeared a prince named Alaksandus, newly bound to the Hittite king by a treaty which at the same time recognized him as settled at the head of an island state upon the southern coast of Cilicia Tracheia.

Its Hittite name, Uilusa, and the context may indicate identity with Elaeussa, about which there are suggestive traditions. An alternative identification would be Ialysus on the island of Rhodes, the landward promontory of which was called Achaia in Greek times. But Alaksandus is a Trojan rather than an Achaean name, and the Achaeans were clearly masters of the sea and islands. No doubt they used this promontory during their raids on Caria.

In any case, the background for the Trojan war was already taking shape. Dardanian groups are seen to be admitted as allies upon the soil of the peninsula, while the Achaeans are seeking by raid and incursion around the coast to gain a footing.

Meanwhile the Assyrian forces were at the Euphrates, and in face of these developments, Hattusil, who had succeeded to the Hittite throne, proposed a treaty with Egypt, while making strenuous diplomatic overtures to secure the active co-operation of Babylonia also. The treaty with Egypt was ceremoniously concluded about 1279-80 B.C., and some years later it was cemented by the marriage of a Hittite



**HITTITE INFLUENCE 1,500 YEARS AFTER**

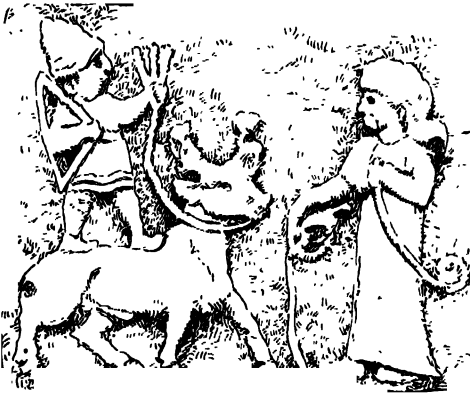
The whole widespread episode of the 'Divine Marriage' is probably due to the Hittites, but especially in the cult of Hierapolis Syriae, as described by Lucian, we recognize their influence. This, from a third century coin of that city, shows the god throned on bulls, the goddess on lions.

*From Strong and Garstang, The Syrian Goddess'*

The Achaean power was now so far developed that in the time of the Hittite. Dudkhalias (about 1240 B.C.) the Achaean king is placed on the same diplomatic footing as those of Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt. Twice repulsed from Caria, the Achaeans about 1225 B.C. gained a footing in Cyprus. From this base, accompanied by hands from the opposite coasts and mainland of Asia

Minor, they raided far, descending even upon Egypt, in the age of Merneptah.

We can only surmise the end. A great movement or series of migrations from Europe was afoot; and about 1200 B.C. the Hittite lands were overwhelmed. The clash of arms around Troy was only an



princess to the Pharaoh, to whom also the Hittite king took the unprecedented step of paying a visit in person.

The Assyrian menace was checked, but the Achaean inroads continued. About 1250 B.C. bands with 100 ships under the leadership of Attarisiyas descended on Caria. The tract is indicated by the obvious identity of the curious place-name Khursunassa in the texts with the classical Chersonesus; and several other names in the locality seem to have survived.



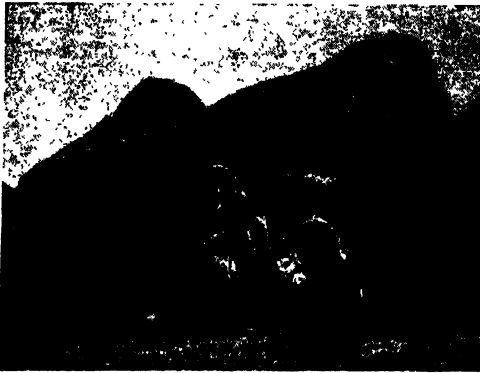
**ROMAN WORSHIP OF A HITTITE GOD**

Hittite survivals were not confined to the homeland in Anatolia. Into the remotest parts of Europe the Roman soldiery carried the worship of a god whom they found at Doliche, compare this Roman bronze discovered near Frankfort with the Hittite sculpture at Malatya (left).

*Right, from Meyer, 'Reich und Kultur der Chetiter.'*

incident in the great crisis that submerged the Hattic dynasty and the Hittite Empire. The records of Rameses III tell how the isles were disturbed, and how the Hittites, with other peoples, fled or were led in a great inroad upon Syria, which menaced Egypt and left the Philistines settled on the plains of Palestine. In Asia Minor, to judge from Homeric legend, it would appear that the Phrygians replaced the Hattic kings in fame.

Thereafter only the states of Syria remained to carry on the Hittite tradition, until in the eighth century B.C. these too fell before Assyria. But Carchemish, Aleppo and various states upon the Afrin and the Orontes had retained considerable power. Frequent coalitions throughout these centuries reflected the Hittite organization, and the martial fame of the kings of the Hittites resounded far enough to find an echo in the Chronicles of Israel. Hittite characteristics in art were, how-



**HITTITE MOTIVE IN PHRYGIAN ART**

From the cataclysm that overwhelmed the Hittites the Phrygians emerged as the chief Anatolian power. But they inherited much that was Hittite, as shown by this broken lion's head which they carved at Demirli.

ever, soon submerged before the growing influences from beyond the Euphrates.

It was in religion that the elements of the old Hittite culture survived most noticeably. Thus at Hierapolis Syriae, between Aleppo and Carchemish, the dual cult of the mated god and goddess, familiarly symbolised during the Hattic period by the Bull and the Lion respectively, remained the central feature of the local worship in the age of Lucian. The high priest as shown on coins of the

third century A.D. still wears the conical hat characteristic of the Hittite warrior dress. At the near-by site of Doliche the local deity, represented, like the Hittite Teshub, standing upon a bull with lightning-trident and axe, was introduced by recruits to the Roman army, in which his worship was accorded great popularity; monuments of this cult have been found even in Roman Britain.

With the progress of research no doubt many more traces of Hittite influence in Europe will be recognized, though some recognizable traces resemblances may be in Greece and Italy derived from the partially common Indo-European ancestry. Certain it is that the divine marriage in the Greek cults has its prototype in the sculptures near the Hattic capital; while the heraldic lions of Mycenae, like those of Phrygia, are strongly suggestive of Hittite influence. The 'caduceus,' a Hittite religious emblem, reappeared through the Etruscans in Italy; where also the symbol of the Hittite priesthood became the 'lituus' of the Roman augurs.

Other and wider affinities may be indicated. The sun deity was feminine with the Hittites, as now in the German language. The god Teshub, as he appears in Hittite art and literature, suggests strongly the northern Thor, but unfortunately there seems to be no representation of the latter from which a nearer comparison would be possible. The mere detail of Mursil retiring to winter quarters, during a critical campaign, recalls the similar methods of Julius Caesar.

Europe's heritage from the Hittite civilization does not, however, end with traces of surviving details. The spirit of organization, the upholding of law and order, the sanctity of treaties and respect for woman, which pervade many documents, are all features that distinguish European society. It cannot be argued that the Hittite originated or inspired these elements of modern civilization; but we have seen that it was behind the shelter of the Hittite armies of the Anti-Taurus, under such cultural stimulus from the East as the Hittite controls allowed to filter through, that Hittite and European alike developed their latent genius.

# THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION IN EGYPT

An eccentric Pharaoh and the momentary Change he wrought in the Immemorial Religion of his Land

By F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH

Professor of Egyptology in the University of Oxford ; Author of Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, etc.

TO those who have studied the written records of Egyptian religion, it is evident that profound changes took place in the course of its age-long history, between the time of the builders of the Great Pyramids and that of the general acceptance of Christianity. New deities appear, new doctrines, new relations between god and worshipper ; new methods of temple building, new modes of offering and new ritual ; new treatment of the dead body and new views of the future life. Some of these movements came from outside most were born in Egypt itself.

Normally they were the result of gradual development or of priestly elaboration, and the new, however strange, was grafted on the old, so that in the end there was produced a medley of conflicting ideas and an interminable multitude of divinities with all their varying manifestations. But whatever trash and superfluity were piled up, there was also accumulated among Egyptian religious beliefs lavish provision for each of the natural yearnings of the human mind, provided that it was not too critical or philosophic—spells for the sick, a future for the dead, guardians against all dangers and avengers of wrong, not to mention processions and festivals to fill the soul with pleasure or with tragic sympathy.

One of these changes, however, was of a totally different character from all the rest and was never absorbed into the general mass of beliefs and practices. It was a phenomenon that appeared almost in a moment, lasted precariously some fifteen years and then disappeared, when the mighty stream of Egyptian religious feeling and tradition resumed its regular

onward flow. Akhnaton's reform was as revolutionary in its day as the change from paganism to Christianity, and greater than that from Christianity to the Moslem faith.

A country which had united the gods of its cities, its nature gods, and all its other divinities into a vast pantheon and bound them together by myths, a people which had rejoiced for hundreds of generations in the festivals and holidays of its local gods and looked to particular deities for protection and aid in particular circumstances, was bidden to put them all aside and worship with joyous and gorgeous rites one supreme deity, the Sun in the heavens. With this deity the king and queen were closely united as his children and representatives on earth.

The cult of the sun god Ra, centred at Heliopolis in the Delta, had for untold ages been a leading feature of Egyptian worship, especially in connexion with royalty. As the regulator of seasons and of light and darkness, Ra was king in heaven and the type of the earthly king, who, moreover, bore the title 'Son of Ra.' Dr. Blackman's researches seem to prove that the ritual of the sun god at Heliopolis provided the model on which the rituals in all Egyptian temples were moulded.

Under certain circumstances another deity than the sun god, as, for example, the crocodile god Sebek, could be explained as a particular manifestation of Ra and have Ra added to his name. By far the most important example is Amen, an obscure local god of Thebes in the time of the Old Kingdom, but brought into prominence by the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty.

He soon became Amen-Ra with an important temple, and in the time of the Empire Amen-Ra, god of the imperial city, was acknowledged as the bringer of victory to the armies of the Pharaohs.

To him, therefore, was assigned the principal share in the spoils of conquest until all the other gods of Egypt were completely overshadowed by his wealth and reputation. The possessions of Amen-Ra in lands, serfs, cattle and grain throughout Egypt and in the subject countries grew to vast dimensions, and the priestly staff which served his temples in Thebes and elsewhere must have been enormous. Each Pharaoh down to and including Amenhotep III, the father of Akhnaton, added substantially to Amen-Ra's estates and the temples dedicated to him.



#### GODS THAT AKHNATON OVERTHREW

Even before Akhnaton's reformation the complications involved in polytheism were recognized and lesser deities were gradually being merged in greater. Thus Amen-Ra (left) and the crocodile-headed Sebek (right) were venerated as aspects of the sun god Ra.

*Louvre and Cairo Museum*

The travelled Egyptians—and during the period immediately preceding Akhnaton's accession there were multitudes who had visited Syria in the north and Nubia in the south, and some who had looked out beyond the boundaries of the Empire to Babylon and Asia Minor and Crete—the travelled Egyptians

found everywhere the dominant sun, not always so brilliant as in Egypt, but at the least dividing night from day, summer from winter. Though the combined deity Amen-Ra was god of Thebes and of the Empire, it was Ra the sun rather than Amen that appealed to the educated man. It was to the visible disk that he addressed his prayers night and morning, both when the sun rose and enlightened the earth and when it set in glory in the west to brighten the shadowy underworld of Osiris. Thus among a certain class the way was prepared to some degree for Akhnaton's violent reform; their prayers and hymns, however, as yet were full of ideas and words taken from mythology.

A remarkable hymn to Amen-Ra, written in the reign of Amenhotep III, views that god mainly as the Sun, naming him Ra Khepera, the 'elder Horus,' and Aton; it also identifies him with Amen himself, and Khnumu, the moulder of men, and Ptah, the artificer god of Memphis. Though utilising the old mythology it crowds many attributes on one god, and in fact is a foretaste of the enthusiasm and monotheistic spirit of the hymns to the Aton. A few phrases from it are:

Thou that createst but art not created,  
Unique one that traversest eternity.

Thou hastenest on a road of millions and  
hundreds of thousands of leagues in a  
moment.

When thou risest early thy rays open the  
eyes,

When thou settest in the western moun-  
tains they all sleep like the dead.

Beneficent mother of gods and men,  
Craftsman most patient, enduring in num-  
berless works,

Strong Shepherd, driving his flocks; their  
refuge, made that they may live.

Even a generation earlier than this a  
poet had sung of Amen-Ra:



**IDEALIST AND ICONOCLAST**

A certain decadence is discernible in this portrait in profile of Akhnaton who, notwithstanding the fanatical zeal wherewith he carried through his religious revolution, was afflicted by physical diseases and deformity, and throughout life was largely subject to feminine influence.

*British Museum*

Thy beauteous form: maketh the hands  
droop, the heart forgetteth when it  
looketh on thee.  
Thou art unique that madest existing things,  
sole one of all that madest the things  
that are.  
Thou from whose eyes came forth men,  
from whose mouth came gods;  
Who madest herbs for cattle and fruit trees  
for men;  
Who madest the sustenance of fish in the  
river and of birds in the heaven;  
Giving breath to that which is in the egg and  
vivifying the new-born reptile;  
Making that on which the gnats live, the  
worms and fleas likewise;  
Providing food for mice in their holes,  
feeding the flying things on every tree;  
Adoration to thee that madest all these  
things, one and only but with many  
hands;  
Who wakest the night through while all men  
sleep, seeking the best for thy flock.

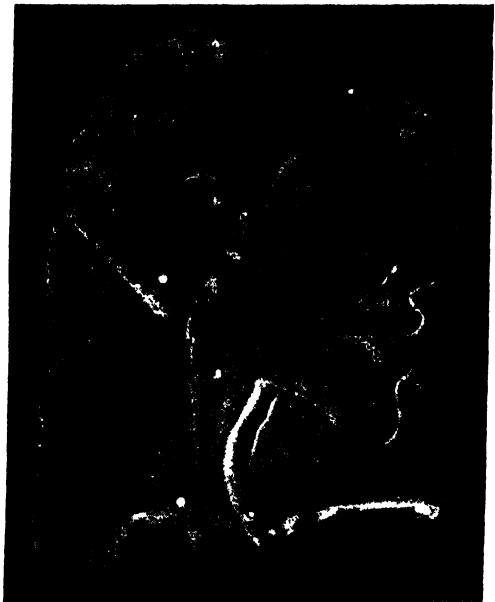
The third of the lines quoted has a definite reference to mythology, but the rest is a real piece of inspiration, showing at work the deity, for whom nothing is too insignificant to engage his loving care.

Aton, the leading name given to the chosen deity of Akhnaton, was a word that had been in use for many centuries to denote the visible sun. Another common name for the sun god at this time was

'Ra, Horus of the Horizon'; and yet another name of the sun was Shu. These three were utilised in the title of the new sun god while other names, Atum and Khepera, equally legitimate, were absolutely ignored.

Bit by bit the history of the religious revolution is being recovered, but much remains uncertain and obscure. Amen-hotep III died after nearly thirty-six years of reign; his son, Amenhotep IV, the future Akhnaton, is generally considered to have been only about eleven years old at his accession, and the portraits of this early period suggest boyhood, but he may have been already a grown man. His mother lived on to help him, aided perhaps by some faithful ministers of his father. Until the sixth year of his reign his principal residence seems to have been at ancestral Thebes, and for a time the name of Amen was retained in his own name Amen-hotep, 'Amen is content,' and the usual references to the god were tolerated in his inscriptions.

It is evident, however, that the young king had little or no respect for the



**ROYAL UGLINESS UNDISGUISED**

As Cromwell insisted on being painted 'with his warts,' so Akhnaton forbade the least flattery in representations of himself. The unusual facial development which was one feature of his abnormality is even exaggerated in this relief.

*Berlin Museum*



imperial god and, so far as we know, he did absolutely nothing for Amen-Ra's glory or benefit. In one of his earliest inscriptions, written probably before he was fifteen, the king styles himself High Priest of 'Ra, Horus of the Horizon, who rejoices in the horizon, in his name Shu, which is Aton.' Here we have already the full name of his new sun god; and whereas no Pharaoh had ever adopted any priestly title, the youthful king boldly flaunts this challenging phrase before the multitude, the court and the priests of Amen. All his efforts were devoted to completing a temple, or temples, at Thebes to his specially devised form of the sun god, utilising, at least in part, a building erected to other gods by his father Amenhotep III, and reshaping the figures and names in the sculptures upon its walls.

His activity for a new state deity at Thebes, and his neglect and worse than neglect of Amen, naturally brought the king into conflict with the powerful and proud priesthood. Then he answered by withdrawing with his court from Thebes,



#### WEDDED HAPPINESS ENTHRONED

As one result of Akhnaton's disregard of the rigid conventions that hedged round the earlier Pharaohs, many charming pictures of royal domestic life were made public; for example, this relief from Tell el-Amarna, probably of one of the two sons-in-law who succeeded him.

*Berlin Museum*



#### QUEEN NEFERTITI

This dignified limestone figure of Akhnaton's consort was the work of the sculptor Thothmes.

*Berlin Museum*

diverting to Aton the vast endowments of Amen-Ra, and cutting out the name and figure of Amen wherever it was encountered, even in the cartouche of his own father. Against the other gods he acted with less stringency, probably because their case did not call for such violent measures, though all except Ra must have been placed under the ban. This second stage of the revolution came in the sixth year of his reign, when he removed the capital to a clean and unused site at Tell

el-Amarna. He gave to the city the name of Akhetaton, 'Horizon of Aton,' and changed his own name from Amenhotep, 'Amen is content,' to Akhnaton, 'Profitable (or Pious) to Aton.'

One of the names which Amenhotep IV had assumed when, as a boy, he ascended the throne, was 'He that lives in Truth,' and, as Sir Flinders Petrie remarked many years ago, this was to a large extent the motto of his life. Simplicity, directness and break with tradition pervade the atmosphere of his reign, but combined in a peculiar way with new conventions and the utmost luxury. In his early portraits the diseased and ill-formed features and body were represented without concealment, nay, perhaps with some exaggeration of deformity, and, becoming a standard for courtly and artistic fashion, as a protest against the uniform 'prettiness' of the preceding period, gave a very unpleasant and unnatural turn to the representation of human beings throughout his reign, although latterly some amelioration of the lines was permitted. How scrupulously the earlier Pharaohs would have concealed their bodily defects! Further, the family life of the king was

pictured in the freest manner—the king and queen in fond embrace, the queen sitting on the knee of the king, or the king sitting on a chair with the queen on a cushion opposite him, and the daughters, according to their age, climbing on to his lap or standing or sitting beside the royal pair. That such intimate scenes of palace life should be perpetuated in sculpture and painting would not have been dreamt of in earlier days.

Akhnaton's religious doctrine, too, was a statement of facts that were or seemed to be obvious, with but a modicum of abstraction and as free of mysticism as of mythology. The language of many of his inscriptions was that current in the mouths of the people of the day, very different from the formal and antique wording in the preceding reigns. For some generations previously this 'vulgar' language had already been used in writing for recording on papyrus the popular tales told in the nursery and the beer-house, and in scenes on the walls of



INTIMATE LIFE IN A ROYAL PALACE

Akhnaton's indifference to established precedent is further shown in this altar piece from his palace, where he is represented with his wife and three eldest daughters enjoying the happiness of private citizens under the rays of the sun god.

Gairo Museum

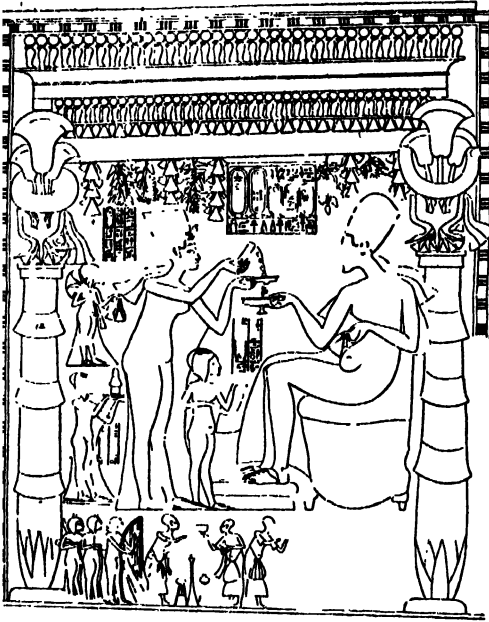


CARE-FREE PRINCESSES AT HOME

Notwithstanding the exaggerated cranial development which court artists, deferentially recognizing Akhnaton's peculiarity, attributed to all their subjects, there is a great vivacity and much that is pleasing in this fresco showing two of the princesses seated at the feet of their parents.

Ashmolean Museum

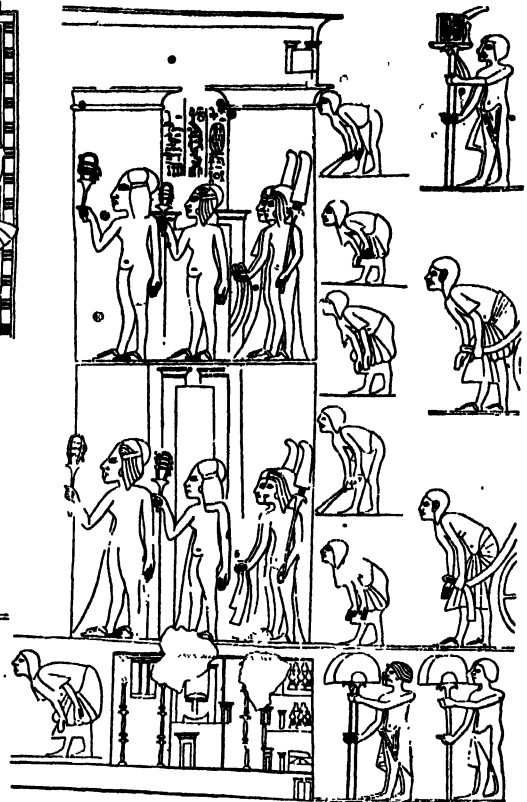
tombs where the exclamatory and chaffing remarks of the peasants were written beside their figures. Amen-hotep IV may have been a grown man at his accession, but he may rather seem to us a precocious boy of eleven just taken out of the harem to rule the known world, with his head full of fairy tales, rejecting the dullness and dryness of tradition and interpreting the universe as he saw it in terms with which his mother and nurse had made him familiar. The sun was really a hawk 'Ra, Horus of the Horizon,' and was commonly called Shu and Aton, and he recognized that the sun had long been worshipped in the House of Ra at Heliopolis, and that a black bull



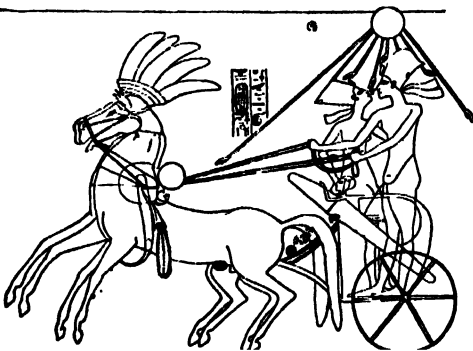
#### STUDIES IN FAMILY DEVOTION

Here Akhnaton is shown lolling in a pavilion, his eldest daughter at his knee, while his wife serves him with wine and two other daughters attend with flowers and unguent. Right the four princesses are rattling sistra in a temple.

*From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna'*



was one of his picturesque manifestations. But the traditional theological names Atum and Khepera of Heliopolis he absolutely ignored as he ignored the mythological and theological signification of Horus and of Shu, the son of Ra and brother of the goddess Tefnut.



#### ANIMATION AND ENERGY

As restored, this spirited fresco shows Akhnaton driving his chariot with Queen Nefertiti talking animatedly to him while their little daughter Mertaton, whose head just reaches over the rim, shows eager interest in the prancing horses.

*From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna'*

Already in the earliest years of Amenhotep IV at Thebes (contrary to all previous practice) the names of the new god were written inside royal cartouches; the cartouches in this case were of large size, as befitted the king of the universe, while the cartouches of Pharaoh, his son and viceregent on earth, were on a smaller scale. For the moment, 'Ra, Horus of the Horizon, rejoicing in the horizon in his name of Shu, which is Aton,' was figured in human form, but with the hawk's head surmounted by the solar disk which characterised Ra and Horus in orthodox Heliopolitan worship. This anthropomorphic type, however, did not long satisfy the realism of the king. Probably before the sixth year of his reign, a change was made.

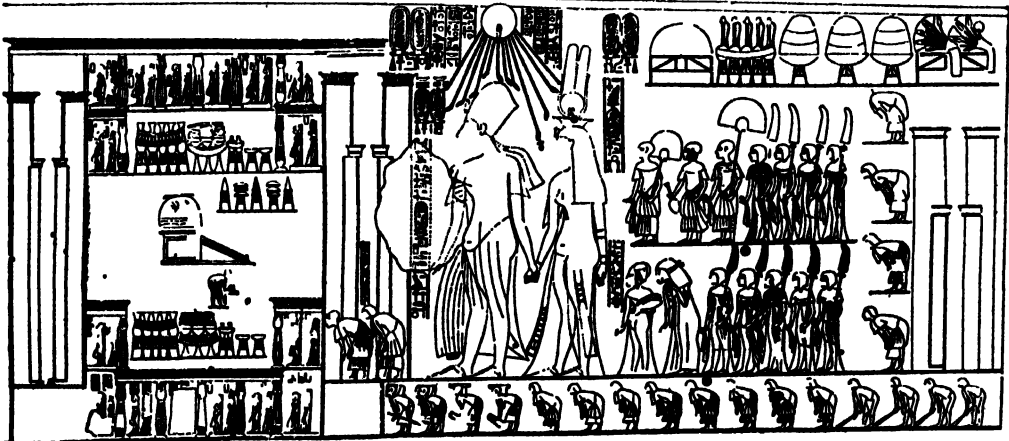
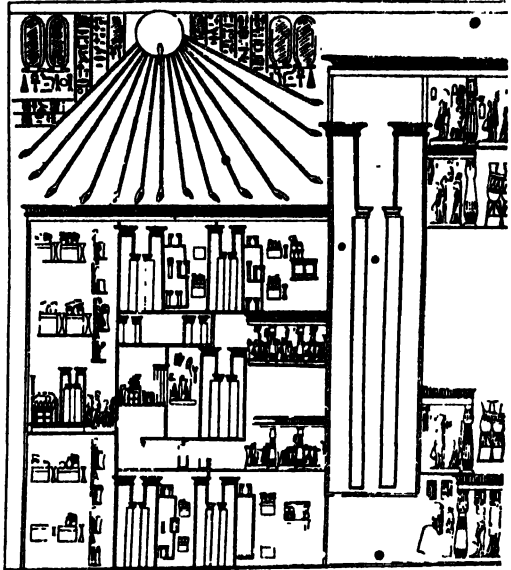
Henceforth Aton was always figured as the sun disk beneath the vault of the sky; from the edge of the disk hung the uraeus (cobra), a badge of royalty which had always figured the death-dealing powers of the sun and of the king, but was now united with the joyous symbol of life.

From the disk proceeded broad rays like arms ending in human hands which reached down from sky to earth, embracing the king, applying the symbol of life to his nostrils and accepting the offerings upon the altar. Thereafter, beyond the divine names, only one of the old accompaniments of Ra survived; in planning Akhetaton in his sixth year of reign, the king provided a burial place for the Mnevis bull!

About the tenth year there was a further purification of Atonism, this time affecting not the figure but the titles of Aton. Hitherto Horus of the Horizon and Shu, familiar names of the sun, had been admitted by the young king; but in his maturer years he was offended by their polytheistic implications, and they had to go. The revised names of the Aton now were 'Liveth Ra, ruler of the horizon, rejoicing on the horizon, in his name of Ra, the Father who hath returned as Aton.' Thus was the last of the dross purged away; all that was traditional and local in Egypt was gone, leaving Atonism a pure worship of the sun for the whole world to adopt.

With regard to the temples of the Aton and the forms of worship used in them, our information is scanty. All the temples erected or embellished for the Aton at Thebes, both in the earlier and the later

stages of Atonism, were thrown down at the counter-revolution and their materials re-used for the core of pylons and the foundations of other buildings in the reigns of Horemheb, Seti I and Rameses II. It is calculated that a hundred and seventy thousand great blocks are sunk in the foundations of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak alone. From time to time, in spite of all difficulties, a few of these Theban blocks are extracted, with sculpture and inscriptions well preserved.



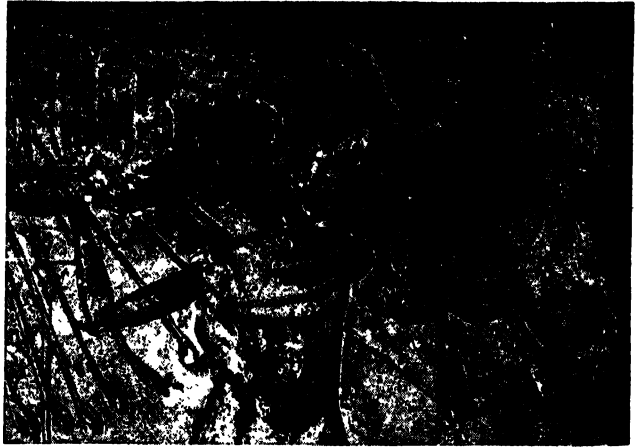
VISIT OF QUEEN TIYE TO THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN GOD AT AKHETATON

In the lower portion Akhnaton is leading the Queen-Mother, Tiye, affectionately by the hand and is followed by his little sister Beketaton and a train of attendants. An altar approached by a stairway occupies the centre of the court which they are entering, and the 'sun-shade' or sanctuary to which the Queen-Mother is being conducted is shown above. Atoa shines upon the sacred building as he shines upon the royal pair.

From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna,' Egypt Exploration Society

The temples at Tell el-Amarna (Akhetaton) are utterly destroyed, but from the radiant form given to the Aton and the plans of the temples shown in the sculptures of the tombs, it is practically certain that the Aton temples were very different from the dark, mysterious shrines of the old Egyptian gods. The most essential parts consisted of open courts decorated with colonnades, statues and stelae, into which the sunlight streamed on the altars and worshippers, while the shade of trees and roofs around made a delightful contrast to the central glare. The sacrifices to Aton were of cattle, geese, cakes and vegetables, as in orthodox temples, with saucers of burning incense on the altar and abundant flowers, and were accompanied by music and hymns.

To judge by the hymns in the tombs, the chief celebrations of the ritual would



#### VOTIVE OFFERINGS FOR THE ROYAL FAMILY

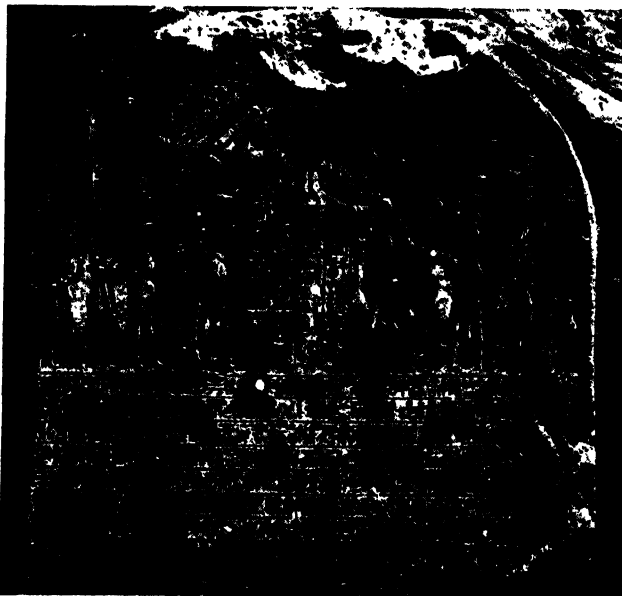
Representing in the one case two of the princesses, and in the other the queen herself supporting the cartouches of the sun god, the offerings made by the king and queen symbolise the unanimous loyalty of the royal family to Aton.

*From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna'*

have been at sunrise and sunset, and prayers for the long life of the king and queen and royal family formed an important part of the service. Moreover, every great villa had a private shrine in the grounds, and every house a little tablet, sometimes very rudely shaped, showing the king and queen beneath the Aton. The royal pair were fitting objects of worship, as well as the supreme Aton, and even in the tombs prayers were addressed to them for future happiness.

In a hymn to Aton which occurs in several tombs and appears to have been composed by the king himself, we read :

Thou fillest the two lands with thy love, thou good ruler, who didst form thine own self, making every land and creating that which is on it, mankind, all herds and flocks, and all kinds of trees which grow on the soil ; these live when thou risest for them. Thou art mother and father to all that thou makest. . . . When thou settest on the western horizon of heaven they lie down like those who die, their heads wrapped up, their nostrils closed, until thou risest next day on the eastern horizon of heaven ; then their arms are uplifted in praise to thy person. When thou hast



#### HISTORY GRAVEN ON BOUNDARY STONES

This is one of the stelae sculptured in the rock by Akhnaton to mark the boundaries of his new capital Akhetaton. Made of hard limestone, 60 inches broad and 100 high, it shows the king and queen 'upholding the name of Aton.'

*From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna'*

sent forth thy beams every land is in festival; the singers and musicians lift up their voice with gladness in the court of the House of the Benben [obelisk-shaped stone of sunrise?] and in every temple in Akhetaton, that perfect place with which thou art well pleased and in which goods and fat things are offered.

Again :

All mankind lives at sight of thee ; the whole land assembles at thy rising, their hands salute thy dawning.

And :

All mankind, cattle, flying and fluttering things, with all kinds of reptiles which are on the earth, they live when they see thee, they lie down when thou settest.

Another hymn of great beauty, probably composed by Ay (the very person who followed Tutankhamen on the throne after Atonism was dead), would fill several pages of print. It sings the glory of Aton, contrasts night when he is hidden with day when he rises, praises his wondrous forming and creative power :

The chick within the egg, thou givest him breath inside it to impart life to him ; thou givest him his complete form so that he breaks it from within, and when he comes forth he chirps with full force and he runs on his feet when he comes forth ; thou didst create the earth, thou alone, to thy desire : men, all herds and flocks, all upon earth going on feet, all above flying with their wings, and the countries of Syria and Cush and the land of Egypt ; thou hast set each man in his place and hast made what they need. Each one has his food, and his length of life is reckoned. Their tongues are divided in speech, and so likewise is their form, and their skins are diverse for thou hast made the peoples diverse.

Aton it was who set the Nile in the underworld (from underground springs) for Egypt, and a Nile in heaven to water other lands (with rain). He made heaven afar off that he might rise in it to view all his creation. Finally, all that Aton had made since he laid the foundations of the earth was offered to his son Akhnaton and the queen Nefertiti.

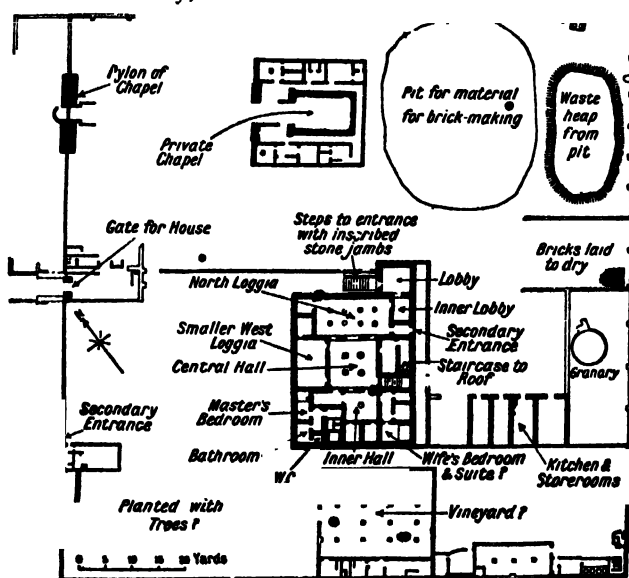
It is surely significant that Syria and Cush are mentioned before Egypt, as if all were equal. There is no nationalism here. Egypt was merely a 'division of the earth ; yet personally Akhnaton and his queen were to dominate all the world as the favourites of the sun god.

The hymns and prayers to Aton contain such passages as the following :

The nine bows (foreign nations) are in the presence of His Majesty, their chiefs are collected beneath his sandals. . . . All thine orbit is under his eye. . . . Grant unto him of that which thy heart will, abundantly as the sands of the dunes, the scales of the fish in the river and the hairs of the cattle. Set him here until the paddy-bird turns black and the crow turns white, until the hills rise up and the deep ascends the stream ; and I in attendance on the great god until he orders me a burial of his own giving.

Again, in quaint expression, the foreigners are to be beneath the feet of the king 'until the sea walks on two feet and the hills rise up to go and move upstream.'

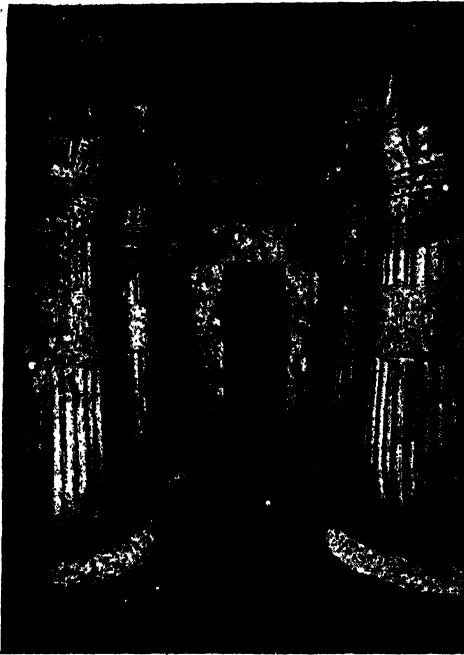
All the world runneth to thee, Syria and Cush and all lands, their hands in adoration to thee ; they crave life as suppliants, they cry, 'Grant us breath.' Terror of thee hath



PLAN OF A TEMPLE OFFICIAL'S HOUSE

Pnahesi, 'chief labourer of Aton in Akhetaton'—administrator, probably, of the temple estates—was seemingly a 'new man' with no pedigree ; yet his house, with its private chapel and charming grounds, was one of the most sumptuous in the town. This suggests that Akhnaton bought his supporters.

Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society



#### TOMB THAT PRESERVED AN ATON HYMN

This tomb, never occupied, of Ay, master of the horse to Akhnaton, is notable as containing the sole copy of a wonderful hymn which throws much light on Atonism as a religious system. Note the ungainly squatness of the pillars.

*From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna'*

closed their nostrils; thy mighty will is upon them like a bastinado, thy roar hath weakened their bodies even as fire devoureth wood. The beams of the Aton shine upon thee for ever; thy monuments are made enduring as the sky, and thou revealest thyself among them for ever. While the Aton exists thou shalt exist, living and flourishing for ever.

It is thy strong arm that protects the Two Lands, thy valour that makes the people to live.

No doubt the foreigners introduced to the court were impressed by the magnificence and luxury, and by the submissive attitude of all in attendance. But their prayers and songs contrast sadly with the results of Akhnaton's neglect in administration.

The king is once addressed as 'Maker of fate, creator, of up-bringing, lord of burial, giver of old age, lord of the

term of life.' Another courtier exclaims: 'Thou art my life, my health is in seeing thee, O million of Niles!' The court officials were mostly from the ranks, new men, free of the taint of orthodoxy and willing to accept the teaching of the king.

Praise to thee, my god, who didst form me and dispense good to me . . . who made me to associate with thy favourites and caused every eye to know me; thou didst bring me to the front from the rear, making me powerful when I was one of no account.

So says 'the chief labourer of Aton in Akhetaton, Pnahesi,' whose house and tomb are amongst the largest and most magnificent at Tell el-Amarna.

Elsewhere the king is addressed as 'thou Nile by whose decree men are enriched, thou good Ruler who didst form me, make me, develop me and cause me to associate with princes, thou Shu by sight of whom I live!'

The records of new men are perhaps naturally bare of genealogies, but even wife and children are very rarely mentioned in any of the tombs of Akhetaton. We can hardly believe that the great officers were mostly eunuchs. Akhnaton was making a fresh start and, outside the royal family, it was the individual alone that counted. On the other hand the royal parents, Amenhotep III (under



#### MODEL OF ROCK ARCHITECTURE

There are few examples of rock architecture in Egypt more pleasing than this admirably proportioned, spotlessly white sepulchre of one who as governor of Akhetaton ranked as head of the notables. It is cut in the limestone cliffs that form a semicircle round the plain of Tell el-Amarna.

*(From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna')*

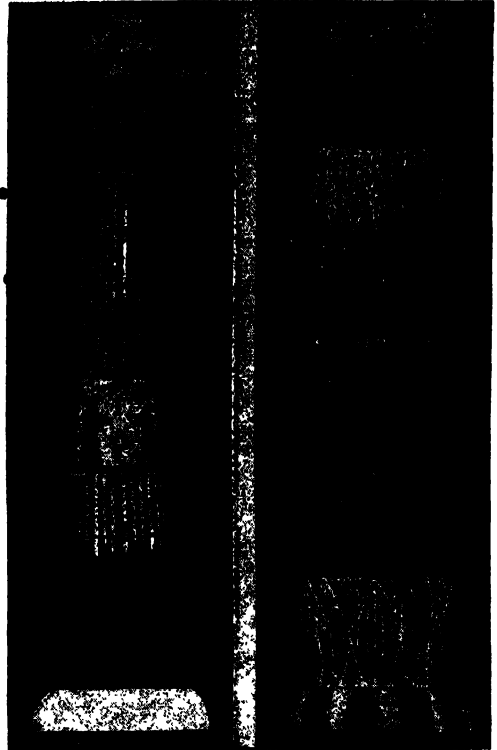
his harmless throne-name Nebmara) and Tiyi, and even the grandfather Thothmes IV, were honoured with a kind of worship.

With regard to burial and the life after death, a subject which bulked so large in the view of the Egyptians, Atonism introduced no new features. It acquiesced in most of the funerary practices current at the time—mummification, the catafalque drawn by kine with an embalmer and a priest reading the ritual in front of it, offerings to the dead from the temple altar, and the funeral meals and gifts from the 'children of his house' that continued long after the actual burial.

It also accepted the current ideas regarding the underworld and the future life, only purged of all mythology and of all divinities except the sun god; it prayed that the name be remembered, that the mummy be preserved, the soul make its transformations, the corpse be revived, the gates of the underworld be readily passed.

Cause me to rest in my place of eternity and reach the cave of everlasting; may I leave and enter my mansion and my soul not be baulked in its desires. May I walk as I will in my grove that I have made on earth and drink water at the brink of my pool each day without ceasing.

Even in the tomb of Iuaa, which dates from Akhnaton's twelfth year, when Atonism had reached its most exclusive stage, the prayers are for food and drink



#### PILLARS FROM A KING'S GARDEN

Thirty-six columns—one of which is shown here (left) reconstructed—graced the entrance court to Akhnaton's gardens outside the capital. The pillars that stood in the garden temple (right) were even more richly decorated.

*Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society*

from the possessions of the deceased and for recitations of the service of Aton. We see still in force the curious and cruel custom of presenting to the corpse a shoulder just severed from a living bull calf while its distressed mother stands by. On the other hand, although the dead man desires to see the rising and setting sun, the old idea that the soul may have spirit-power in heaven and join the boat of the sun is nowhere referred to.

Two of the principal tombs attribute Atonism distinctly to Akhnaton's teaching. The sun was a most worshipful object in the heavens, unchanging in its vast course as far as man's memory went, and visible throughout all the regions of



#### FLOOR TRODDEN BY A PHARAOH'S FEET

To the south of his new city Akhnaton created a pleasure-ground, known as Maru-Aton or the Precinct of Aton. An enchanting feature of this place was a water-court, in which the walls and floor and tanks were painted with really beautiful designs.

*From Peet and Woolley, 'City of Akhenaten'*





#### NEFERTITI AND ONE OF HER SEVEN DAUGHTERS

Devoted affection to his wife and children distinguished Akhnaton. This brown sandstone bust of his Queen Nefertiti (left) and the charming little head of one of his seven daughters are only two of many surviving portraits of a singularly devoted royal family. Both are from el-Amarna.

*Berlin Museum*

which the Egyptians had any knowledge, regulating day and night, summer and winter, rousing creatures by its light, promoting growth by its warmth. It was the obvious deity, and we can believe that, contemplating mainly the joyous aspects of life, the young king burst forth into a whole-hearted hymn of praise and worship of the sun. This, we feel, was his teaching, and all the needs of human existence so far as they were not comprised in this somewhat childish view were completely ignored by it.

When his eldest daughter died Akhnaton doubtless hoped and prayed that the Aton would shine upon her and give her happiness, and probably conformed in the main to old Egyptian custom. Atonism had no theory really to meet the case, and Akhnaton's subjects must often in like distress have gone back in thought to their old comforters Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Horus and Anubis.

The queen Nefertiti, too, whose affection for her husband is so markedly displayed in works of art, must have felt keenly that something was

wanting to her happiness in his teaching, and we may suspect that during the bitter winds of February she longed for a more genial climate than that of Akhetaton. Certain it is that, after years had marked her beautiful features with the lines of pain long endured, she was a backslider from the doctrine. Perhaps it was not until after Akhnaton's death that she slipped away to sympathisers at Thebes.

In and about the palaces of Akhetaton, where her name had been inscribed on the doorways of halls and chambers in abounding affection by her husband, it was now chiselled out and the name of her eldest daughter, the crown

princess Mertaton, substituted. Nefertiti's name was erased also on a monument in the palace, where it had appeared only in a record of the parentage of the next surviving daughter, Ankhesenpaton. This probably happened very late in the history of Akhetaton, for the obliteration of the queen's name did not extend to the tombs and boundary-stelae in the cliffs, not even in the tomb of the second Merira which was



#### DID AKHNATON MARRY HIS SISTER?

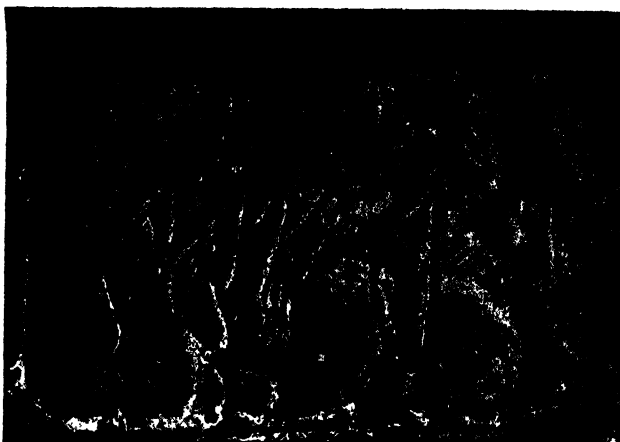
Royal marriages between brother and sister, though not a regular practice until Ptolemaic times, were known earlier; and comparison of this portrait bust of Akhnaton with that of Nefertiti at the top of the page tends to prove that the closest blood relationship existed between the royal pair. Akhnaton's death mask is shown on the right.

*Berlin Museum*

not finished until Mertaton was already queen.

Rebellion against Atonism and its royal exponent was probably already rife throughout Egypt; Atonism, indeed, can have had little hold outside the boundaries of Akhetaton, which itself had experienced internal commotions and attacks on the Aton and the royal images. In the seventeenth year of his reign Akhnaton died and apparently was succeeded for the briefest of reigns by his son-in-law, Smenkhkara (Sakere), married to the above Mertaton. There followed Tutankhaton, who married Ankhesenpaton; but this pair soon changed their names to Tutankhamen and Ankhesenamun, and followed Nefertiti to Thebes. The heresy of monotheism was over, Egyptian orthodoxy and its crowded pantheon restored.

Then came revenge. The names and figures of the Aton and of Akhnaton and his family were cut out of the monuments and their magnificent buildings dismantled and converted into stone quarries. Tut-

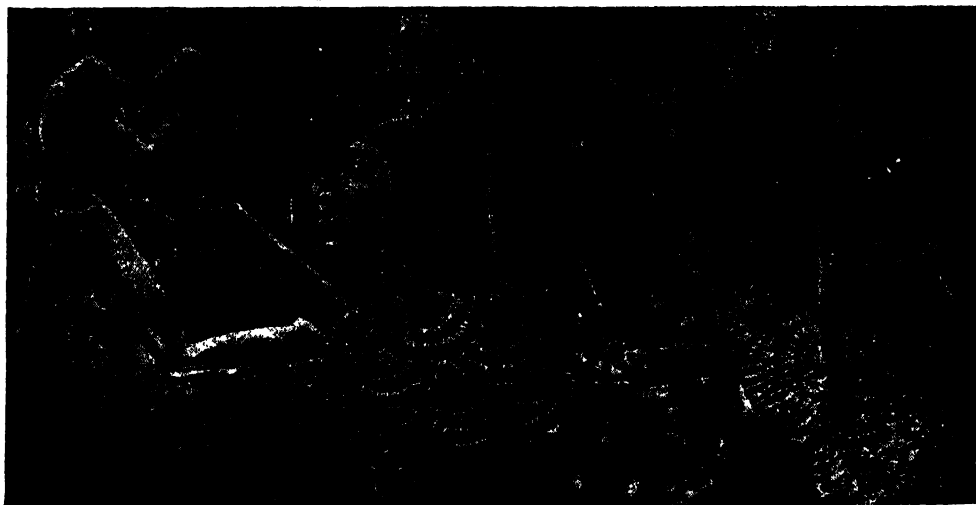


#### MASTERPIECE OF MURAL DECORATION

For realistic rendering this sculptured group in the tomb of Merira is the finest piece of work in the el-Amarna necropolis. It represents eight blind choristers, one of whom plays a seven-stringed harp while the others, sitting on the ground, beat time with their hands and sing.

*From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El-Amarna'*

ankhamen and his aged successor Ay had some respect for the memory of the heretic; but with the accession of Horemheb, he and all his descendants were consigned to oblivion, and if Akhnaton had to be mentioned he was nameless, and bitterly and contemptuously designated only as 'the criminal of Akhetaton.'



#### ROYAL FAVOURS SHOWERED ON A FUTURE PHARAOH

In early life Akhnaton was largely under the influence of his nurse, and perhaps in virtue of Ay's marriage to her the latter held several high appointments at court, including the mastership of the horse and the post of fan bearer on the right of the king. The pair received many gifts and marks of honour from the king, on one such occasion being commemorated in this fresco from Ay's tomb; and after the death of Tutankhamen the aged Ay was set upon the throne.

*From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El-Amarna,' Egypt Exploration Society*

The tomb chapels near the workmen's village at Tell el-Amarna were thoroughly destroyed, but a few tablets were spared which had been dedicated to Sed and Isis, the deities who preserve from the stings of reptiles, and to the arch-enemy Amen. They probably belong to the last stages of the heresy. In the ruins of the city itself Taurt, the lady of accouchement, and the comic god Bes are amongst the commonest designs for pendants and necklaces. Perhaps they belong to the same late stage, but one may suspect that the women, even in the flourishing times of Atonism, cherished these precious remnants of polytheism, the beloved deities of the harem and the nursery.

It is contended by some that Akhnaton's religion was not monotheism but henotheism. According to the usual definition, the henotheist worships one god alone out of a number which he may suppose to exist, while the monotheist believes that his god is the only god in the universe. Akhnaton actually used the phrase 'sole god' or 'unique god,' but so also did any polytheist Egyptian in addressing his own favourite and particular deity, meaning that there is none other like him. This phrase by itself must therefore not be taken as a proof of Akhnaton's monotheism, and the endlessly

repeated formulae of the Aton and the hymns to the Aton preserved in the tombs are not explicit on the point. Akhnaton and his queen seem to have posed as intermediate gods between Aton and the people and to have been objects of worship. But they were on a different plane from the Aton, and essentially human. When we see that all other deities and the entire mythology of Egypt were ignored in Akhnaton's teaching, and that the very significant plural word 'gods' does not occur in his inscriptions, and was sometimes expunged by him from earlier monuments, the term monotheism seems best to describe his religion.

A word must be said on the question whether Akhnaton's monotheism and tendency to universalism perished entirely or left seeds to germinate in other lands. In Egypt they seem to have been a barren outgrowth from the tendencies of the

time, as exhibited in earlier hymns to the sun god; and although other results of those tendencies continued to appear, no later beliefs or practices can be recognized as attributable to Akhnaton's reform. Aton temples must have been erected in all lands subject to the Egyptian empire, but one would suppose that the impression of Atonism left by the utter political failure abroad and the early collapse in Egypt itself would be extremely unfavourable.

Judaism is the nearest monotheistic religion that we know of in point of date, but monotheism

was probably first **Atonism & Judaism : their differences** preached by the Jewish prophets in

the eighth century B.C., six centuries after the fall of Atonism. Moreover, the character and circumstances of the two religions were widely different. Akhnaton's god was the obviously universal sun, adopted by the Egyptian Pharaoh when his own supremacy in the known world was still unquestioned. Yahweh, on the other hand, was the unconvincing and obscure deity of a small kingdom planted amongst greater powers. Only a people with strong imagination and an exalted faith could view Yahweh as the ruler of the universe.

It may be remarked that the idol-less anthropomorphism of the Old Testament contrasts with Akhnaton's figure of his sun god. Yahweh was indeed the god of the Hebrew king and people in every respect, for their view was limited to the life on earth; they had no theory of life after death, and it was in this world that Yahweh rewarded virtue and punished ungodliness and vice in the person of the individual and his descendants to the fourth generation. Yahweh was the guardian of his chosen people, to favour them and chastise them, to lead them to victory over the ungodly nations and at another time to punish their own rebellion by the terrible hand of the Assyrian or the Babylonian. The presence of the cobra with the sign of life on the Aton may perhaps be taken as involving a somewhat similar doctrine, but, if so, the least possible emphasis was laid on the less joyous side of Atonism.

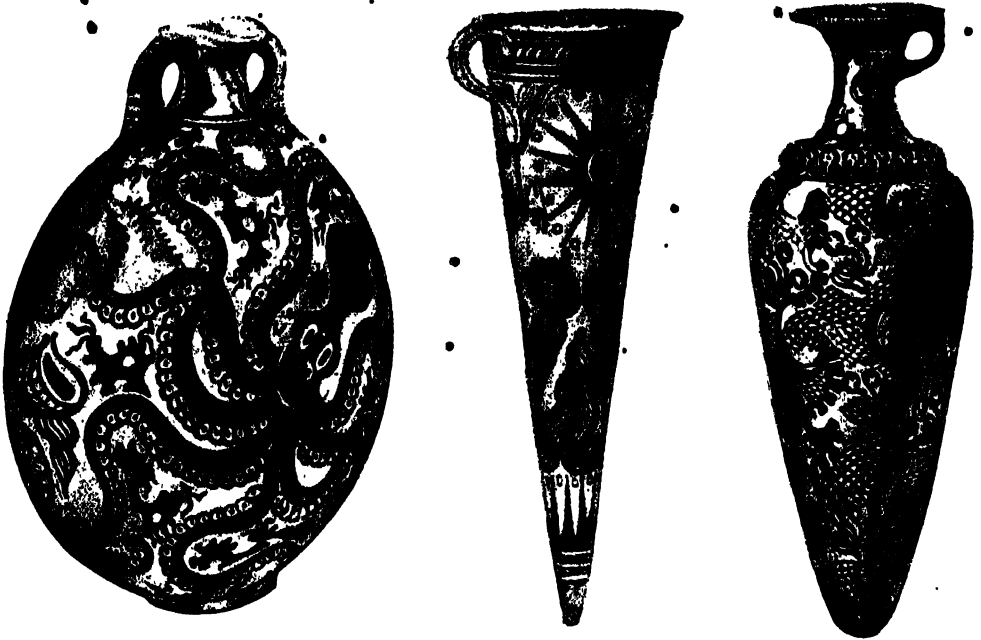


#### LINKS WITH AKHNATON : HIS WIFE AND HIS SON-IN-LAW

A triumph for all time, this painted limestone head (left) of Nefertiti, wife to the heretic pharaoh Akhnaton, was discovered in the workshop of the sculptor Thotmes at Akhetaton. We may imagine that he kept it there, his most cherished possession, as a model of perfection; or loth to destroy it, perhaps, after the queen's disgrace, for she was a backslider from her husband's faith, and her monuments were defaced. Right, the gorgeous anthropoid casket containing the mummy of Tutankhamen

*Left, Berlin Museum: right, after photo by Harry Burton, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*





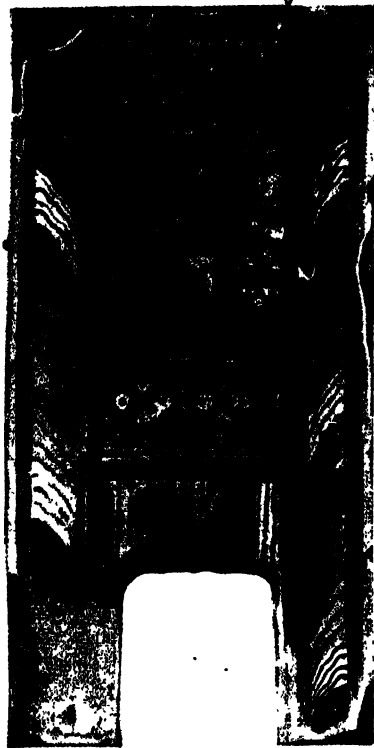
Neither in shape nor decoration has Late Minoan pottery the chastity and restraint of earlier work, but it excels in the portrayal of natural scenery, and of marine life in particular. The jar (left) has an octopus amid shells and seaweed, the libation vessel (perforated at the bottom to allow its contents to escape), conch shells, and the vase, nautilus shells sailing between rocks and shoals.



A series of tombs at Mycenae, contemporary with the last Minoan phases and extending into the period of Mycenaean predominance (i.e., about 1300-1500 B.C.), yielded many vases apparently copied from metal originals. The spirals, for instance, seem to imitate coils of gold wire inlaid on silver.

#### DIFFERENT IDEAS THAT PROMPTED THE POTTERS OF CRETE AND MYCENAE

*British Museum and Journal of Hellenic Studies*



A feeling for naturalism makes itself felt in the frescoes as well as the pottery of Late Minoan times; the waving vegetation in the piece showing a bird stalking cat, as well as the cat and bird themselves, is excellent. This scene reminds one of Egyptian wall paintings, but the flying fish above from Phylakopi are typically Cretan. On the right is one end of the painted sarcophagus given below.



Found in the royal villa at Hagia Triada near Phaestus, this limestone sarcophagus seems to be late in date, for its decoration is careless. Thus the calves offered to the dead man, standing swathed before his tomb on the right, are stupidly represented in the conventional galloping attitude.

#### **PAINTINGS LAVISHED ON CRETAN PALACE AND TOMB IN LATE MINOAN DAYS**

*Flying fish fresco. Hellenic Society; others, photos. G. Maraghianni*



The inlay on the bronze daggers, now green with the patina of age, from the shaft graves at Mycenae is gold or gold alloyed with silver; in the second from the top here, showing cats hunting birds in a marsh, almost every shade of colour between pure gold and electrum was employed. The studs served to fix gold hilt, one of which, chased with lily designs, is shown (second from bottom).



Two gold cups found in a beehive tomb at Vaphio in the Spartan plain display such exquisite craftsmanship that they may have been imports from Cretan workshops. The art of both seems to be influenced by the bull-leaping traditions of the Minoan arena; but what is intended is probably the capture of wild bulls. One (right) shows a bull in a 'flying gallop'; on the far side are two men being gored and a third bull in a net. On the other (left) is a man leading the captured animals.

#### **RICH TREASURES OF CUNNINGLY WROUGHT GOLD FROM MYCENAEAN TOMBS**

*National Museum, Athen*

# THE MINOANS AND MYCENAE: . CIVILIZATION COMES TO EUROPE

A Social Record of the Age when the first its Culture then its Power to the Greek Mainland

By J. L. MYRES

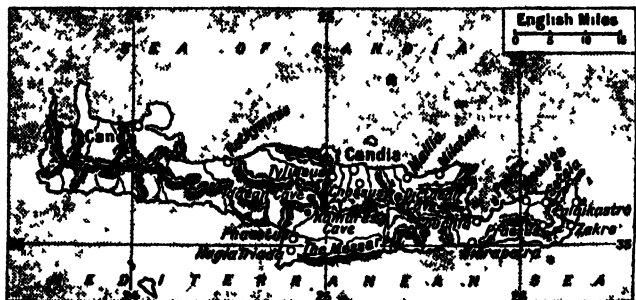
Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; Author of *The Dawn of History*, etc.

**I**N our survey of the conditions under which the great cultures of the early world first arose (see Chap. 14) we saw reason to single out the Mediterranean area as possessing features not common to the other main cradles of civilization. The course of history even in continental Egypt was occasionally affected by these special conditions, and so in greater degree was the development of all those peoples (enumerated and described in Chap. 19) whose homeland actually bordered on the inland sea.

But the Mediterranean, we have seen, is not a homogeneous area. It is broken up into several subsidiary basins, and one of these, the Aegean, early outstripped the rest in the level of the cultures that grew up on its coasts and islands. In Chapter 19 the first fruits of this progress were made apparent in the variety and purity of the craftsmanship lavished on the things of everyday use, especially in Crete and the Cyclades; here we are concerned with the crowning burst of development, when in a cosmopolitan period of material brilliance, in spite of some decline in the excellence of art-forms, Crete, apparently established something like a maritime empire and spread her influence to that mainland of Greece which, under the leadership of Mycenae, eventually usurped the cultural and political domination of the Aegean.

Thanks to the comparative ease of communications once established between

Crete and Egypt, it is possible to set the successive periods of the Minoan civilization in their chronological perspective, by means of Egyptian objects of known date found on Cretan sites, and more rarely by Cretan objects found on Egyptian sites. In this sense, the stone bowls, palettes and engraved seals of Egyptian fashion from Early Minoan burial-places—including some of unmistakably Egyptian workmanship—represent the contemporary art of the Second to Sixth Dynasties; and within these general limits the sequence of fashions in Crete itself permits more exact dating of particular phases of style. Similarly the discovery among the Middle Minoan debris on the palace site at Knossos (Knossos) of an Egyptian statuette inscribed in the fashion of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, and a stone vase-lid with the name of the Hyksos King Khian, give 2100 and 1600 B.C. as approximate limits for that period, and this date is confirmed by the occurrence of characteristically Middle Minoan vases



MAP OF PRE-HELLENIC CRETE

Largest island of the Aegean archipelago and the last port of call between Europe and Egypt, Crete was naturally marked out for an important part in the traffic of the ancient world. Chief sites of the Minoan Civilization are shown in this map.



among remains of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt.

Thus far we are traversing the ground covered by Chapter 19; for the Late Minoan period that follows the evidence is more copious and precise. The frescoed tombs of court-officers of Thothmes III (Eighteenth Dynasty), who reigned from 1501 to 1447 B.C., depict Minoan vases and other works of art among tribute brought by oversea peoples to the Egyptian court; and the counterpart here is the close likeness of workmanship between these Egyptian frescoes and those of the Minoan palaces at Cnossus, Tiryns and Mycenae. A century later, in the reign of Amenhotep III, of the same dynasty, Egyptian seals, ornaments and vases were

We are therefore already in possession of a fairly detailed scheme of chronology for the whole of this Aegean civilization. It is only when both that civilization and Egypt itself fell almost simultaneously into decay, and ceased to have much intercourse, that this kind of circumstantial evidence fails us; and we have to depend for a while upon the less precise evidence of style and workmanship in the Aegean itself, for the obscure period which intervenes between Minoan and Hellenic civilizations. But within these broad outlines it is possible to trace approximately the course of events in the Aegean and the extent of Egyptian influence.

The earlier settlements of Minoan type, in the islands of the Aegean, do not seem



#### CLUE TO THE DATE OF THE FIRST PERIOD OF LATE MINOAN ART

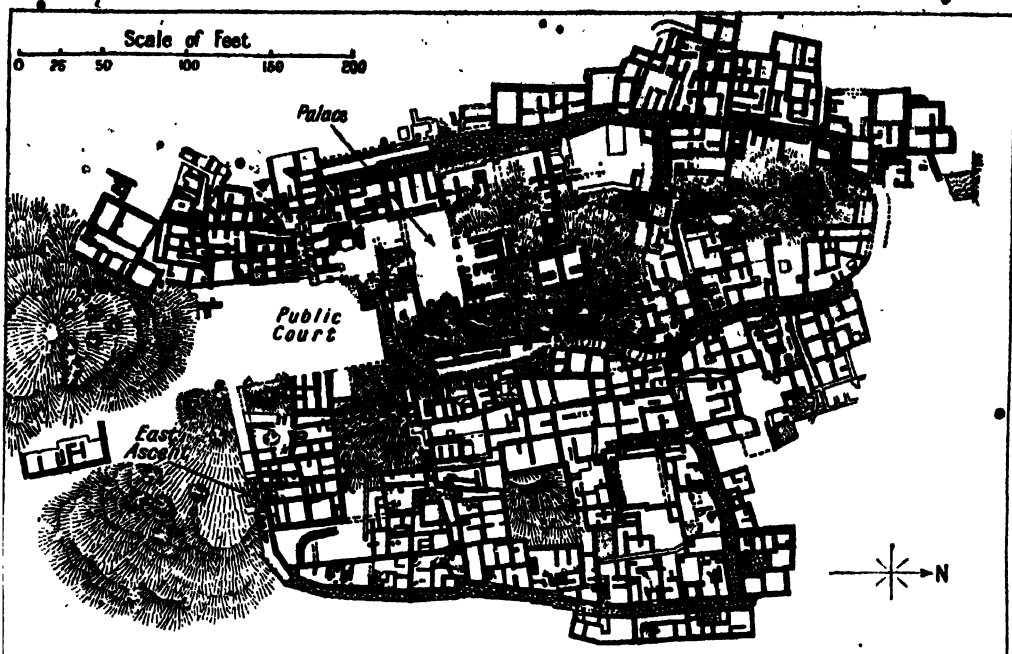
This fresco, from the tomb of Sennemut, an official of Hatshepsut, shows foreign ambassadors bringing tribute to the Egyptian court. That they must be Aegean islanders is proved by comparison with the inset drawings of gold and bronze Late Minoan vessels, from Mycenae (1, 3), the Vaphio tomb (2) and Crete (4). This fixes the first half of the fifteenth century B.C. as the period of such Minoan craftsmanship. The figures have been slightly intensified for clarity's sake.

*From a drawing by Mrs. N. de G. Davies, courtesy of Dr. A. G. Gardiner*

being traded to the Aegean, and have been found in Rhodes, at Cnossus and at Mycenae associated with Minoan objects of which the precise place can be fixed in the local development of style; and, once again, Late Minoan pottery of the corresponding fashion is found in Egyptian tombs of Amenhotep's time and in the ruined palace of his son Amenhotep IV at Tell el-Amarna, which was built about 1370 B.C., and deserted not later than the death of its eccentric creator. Finally in the tomb of Rameses III, of the Twentieth Dynasty, who came to the throne in 1198, Minoan vessels of still later style are depicted.

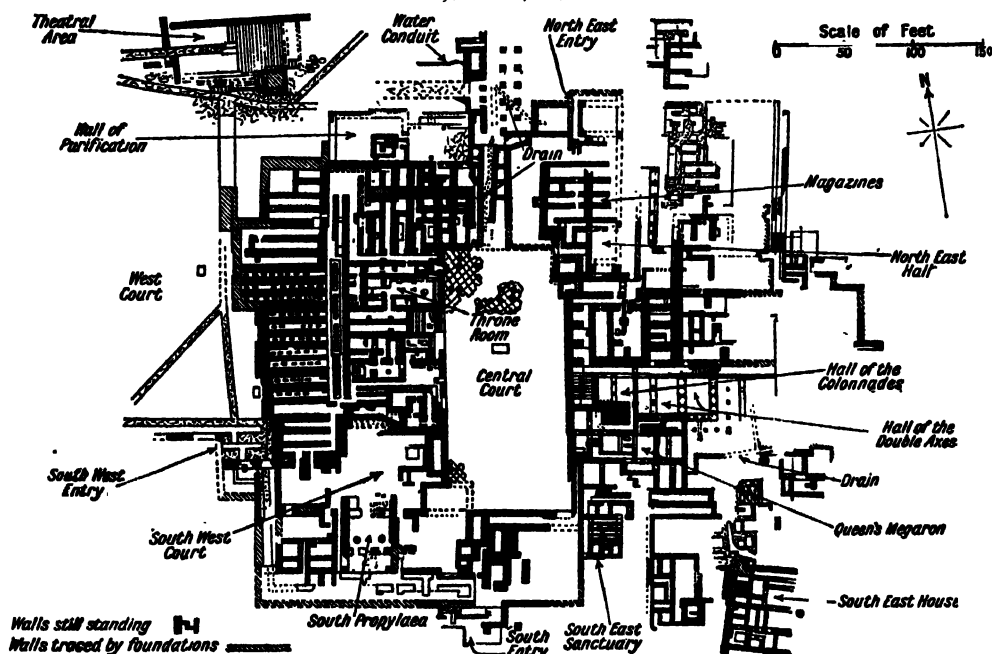
to have differed greatly in their social organization from the villages or small townships of other ancient peoples of Europe and the Near East. The ground plan of places like Phylakopi in Melos, or Palaikastro and Gournia in eastern Crete, resemble indeed nothing so much as that of a modern Cretan village, with narrow winding streets, rising by rough stairways where the ground was steep, between irregular blocks of crowded dwellings, of which the thick walls and internal staircases show that they were lofty in comparison with their small area.

Phylakopi, lying on the coast, in an archipelago of other islands, was fortified



At Gournia on the Gulf of Mirabello in east Crete there was an unfortified settlement of the First Late Minoan period, of which the ground plan as excavated is shown here. It covered the side of a limestone ridge, on the eastern side of which the houses were crowded together. At the south end was a small palace, fronted by a public court.

From Boyd Hawes, 'Gournia'



Despite the complexity of their details a certain simplicity characterised the general plan of all the vast communal buildings known as Minoan Palaces. Here, for example, at Knossos, a great Central Court ran north and south. At right angles to this a corridor separated the workshops in the northern half of the east wing from the great Halls and private apartments. In the west wing a longitudinal corridor separated the Throne Room from treasury and magazines.

#### GENERAL GROUND PLAN OF THE MOST COMPLEX BUILDINGS OF ANCIENT TIMES

From Glotz, 'Aegean Civilisation,' based on the work of Sir Arthur Evans



**WHERE THE MINOAN CIVILIZATION WAS AT ITS HEIGHT : CNOSSUS UNEARTHED AFTER THREE THOUSAND YEARS**

Situated in the rich central plain of Crete, and a bare four miles from the northern coast of the island, the neolithic settlement at Cnossus had every suitability for development into the capital of a powerful civilized dynasty with overseas trade and relations. Accordingly the Minoan palace at Cnossus was built on the heaped-up strata of the prehistoric community, on the sides of a hill that slope down to the valley of the little river Kairatos. The site is about three and a half miles by road south of the present Candia. The skeleton tower shown in this photograph was built by Sir Arthur Evans to enable the excavations to be viewed as a whole; and the portico and staircase of the 'Queen's Apartments' have been skilfully restored.

*Photo G. Mareghiani*



The main feature of the west wing at Cnossus is the Corridor of the Magazines ; 200 feet long by 11½ wide, it is flanked on one side by twenty long, narrow store-rooms containing a large number of immense jars : the secret lockers under the pavement were used as receptacles for valuables.

*From Daniel Baud-Bovy and Frederic Boissonnas, ' Des Cyclades en Crète '*

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In the east wing, approached from the Hall of the Double Axes by a crooked passage apparently designed to secure privacy, is a secluded chamber known as the Queen's Megaron, the low benches and the dado of dancing girls which it contains seeming to indicate its occupation by women. A small bathroom opens out of this apartment, and a passage leads to what appear to have been the service quarters. Another doorway leads by a private staircase to a similar suite above.

#### **STRONG ROOMS AND RETIRING ROOMS OF MINOAN ROYALTY**

*Photo, G. Marghianni*



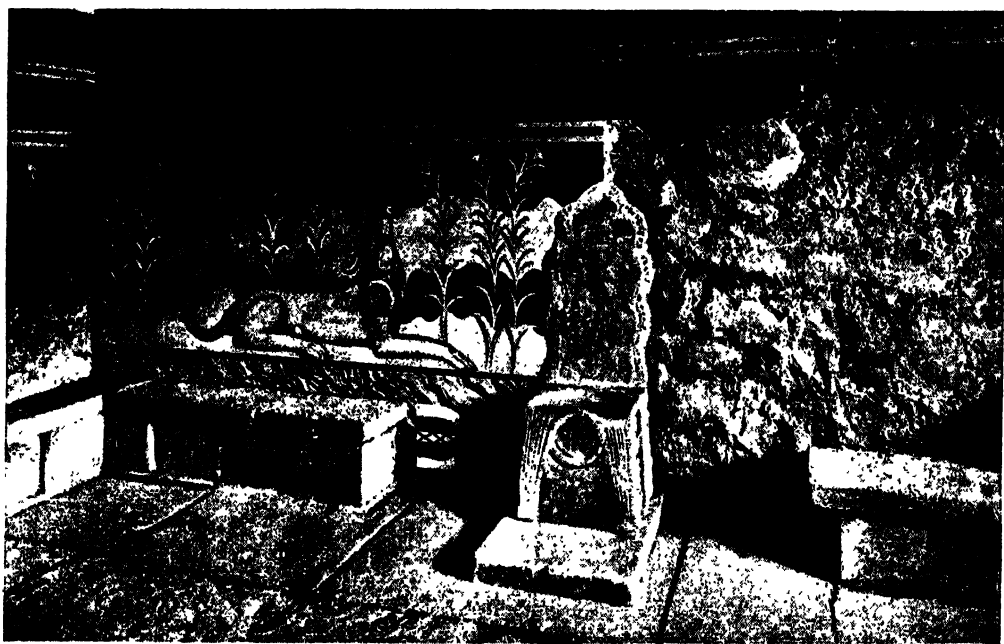
### A TRIUMPH OF PALATIAL ARCHITECTURE

Nothing in the ruins of Chossus is more impressive than the Hall of the Colonnades. Entered from the passage through columns, shown here as reconstructed, it was an integral part of the architectural scheme for the grand staircase that rose from it in five stately flights (see page 605).

*From Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos, Macmillan*

fairly early, and with care, against attack ; but the Cretan villages were open, and evidently feared no such disturbance. They were in frequent communication

For it was not the exclusive personal abode of a monarch with his court, but contained a large population of ordinary people, artisans, traders and the like.



### THE OLDEST ROYAL THRONE IN THE WORLD

The throne of Minos is a simple, dignified chair of white stone with a leaf-shaped back and hollowed seat. Below the seat is carved a double-moulded arch springing from flat fluted pilasters. Stone benches for the councillors are set on either side of it and around the room, and the walls were decorated with frescoes of gryphons in a landscape of papyrus and water, now replaced by a replica.

*Photo, Brissonnas, Geneva*



#### **PALATIAL COUNTRY VILLA OF THE PHAESTIAN PRINCES**

At Hagn Triada, about two miles south-west of Phaestus, a smaller palace was perhaps the summer residence of the royal family. An idea of its general plan can be gathered from this view from the north-east of the site as now uncovered. The walls, of finely squared ashlar masonry, remain standing to a greater height on the whole than on any other Minoan site.



#### **STATE ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE OF PHAESTUS**

Phaestus, originally perhaps a colony and later the great rival of Knossos, stood on a spur of hills commanding the approach to the Messará plain. The principal entrance to the palace was on the western side, where from a spacious court or Theatral Area a truly regal grand staircase 45 feet wide led to the Hall of State, the whole providing the most imposing vista found on any Minoan site. In these theatral areas, probably, the bull-leaping sports were held.

*Photos, G. Maraghiannis*

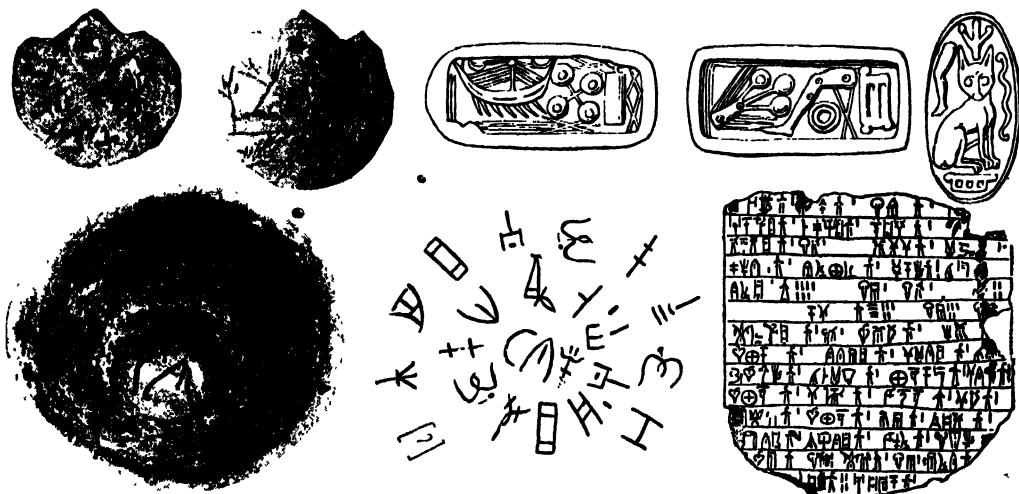
To call these buildings 'palaces,' therefore, is to give but a partial impression of their use. They included, no doubt, the dwelling of the political sovereign and his household; but they were also the treasury, the arsenal, the council hall of a highly organized administration; the granaries, warehouses, oil-presses and oil-vats of a vast economic and industrial system; the bull ring, sports ground and auditorium for pageantry and recreation. It is clear that the political chief was also high priest of a public cult, and that the shrines of other cults found shelter and maintenance at his court.

The architectural elements of which these complicated 'palaces' were composed were partly small domestic suites of rooms with the necessary vestibules and corridors, like the private houses of the older villages; partly structures of more special use and larger dimensions, such as the great gateway which gave access to the Palace of Cnossus from the north, that is to say from the sea and the harbour-town about three miles away, and the long range of 'magazines' in its western wing, with their rows of large clay store-jars, and the treasure chests constructed below the floor and concealed

by the paving slabs. Only gradually were these various blocks of buildings, set irregularly as they were wanted around a central area, combined into a continuous structure; and the frequent rebuildings complicated and obscured any original plan there may have been. The general outlay is different at Cnossus and at Phaestus, and the smaller 'royal villas' at Hagia Triada and Mallia are different again.

Whether the general ruin and subsequent reconstruction of the first palaces were mainly due to accident—for there was certainly a violent earthquake at Cnossus during this period—or to political troubles is not yet clear; probably both causes were at work. But apart from this one set-back, the general impression of this period is that of a populous, prosperous and in some respects rapidly progressive regime.

From the size of the larger centres of population, such as Cnossus and Phaestus, and even of country towns like Gournia or Palaikastro, it is clear that the population was large, and society highly organized. This is most clearly shown by the frequent use of writing in Middle and Late Minoan times. First there appears, already fully developed in



#### STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINOAN WRITING

Cretan writing began with a crude ideographic system which developed in the Middle Minoan period into a system of hieroglyphic symbols like those shown on the two faces of the carnelian seal stone and the bead seal (top right). Later, two linear scripts developed, one common to the whole of Crete, as on the clay tickets (top left), the other special to Cnossus, as in the list of women (bottom right). The eccentric linear signs in the bowl are transcribed (centre) into normal style.

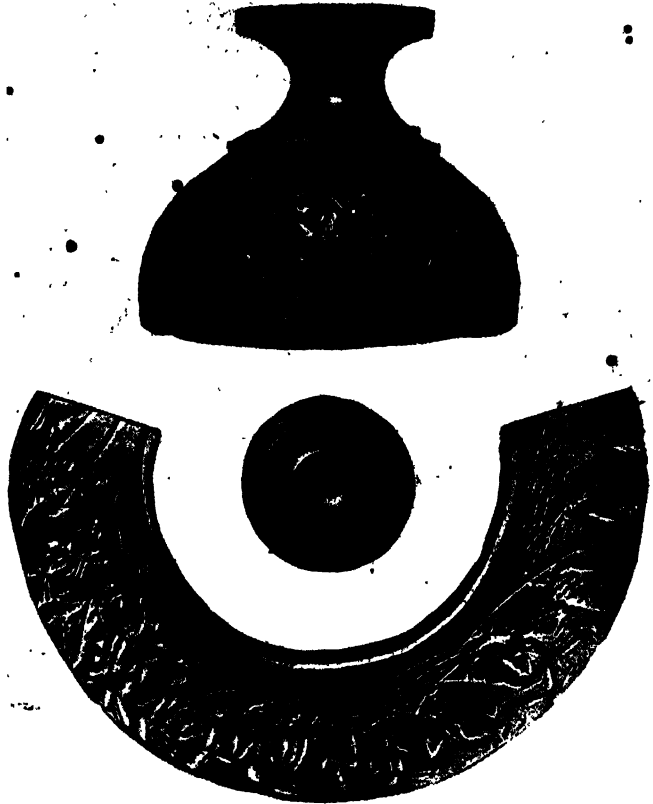
*From Evans, 'Palace of Minos,' and British School at Athens Annual*

its essential characteristics, a system of picture-writing like that of Egypt or Sumeria, or the Hittite regime in Asia Minor. It is best represented on the numerous seal stones, which seem usually to bear personal identification marks that may be the owners' names, in two, three or more syllables. Occasionally the inscriptions are of greater length, but not long enough to give much chance for decipherment.

One exceptional document, certainly foreign, and probably from some coast-district of Asia Minor to judge from some of its symbols, is the clay disk from the palace at Phaestus, already described and illustrated in Chapter 19.

Later, just as in Egypt and Sumeria, the pictorial signs were abbreviated and simplified into a linear script for rapid use, and of these there were several fashions. Rarely these linear characters are found painted on potsherds, like the 'ostraca' of Egypt; but usually they were scratched with a fine graver on tablets of clay, occasionally of some size but more commonly containing only a short formula, which often includes numerals and rough sketches of objects mentioned in the writing, horses, chariots, breast-plates, various kinds of vessels, perhaps brought in tribute to the treasury. Others contain lists of men and women; many are calculations of percentages, with units adding up to a total of one hundred.

But though their general purpose may be guessed in this way, and though the grouping of the signs reveals something of the grammar, with verbal stems and terminations, the sound of the language cannot yet be recovered, nor its meaning



#### MASTERPIECE OF THE MINOAN CARVER'S ART

On the Harvester Vase (an upper fragment) is carved a procession of villagers stamping along to the rattle of a sistrum and carrying flails and other agricultural implements. The vases in this and the following page and the Boxer Vase in page 769 show carving of the first period of the Late Minoan age at its best.

*Photo, above, G. Marazghianni; below, from Monumenti Antichi, Milan*

deciphered. All that can be said is, that some of the signs appear to be the models for certain letters in the eventual alphabets of Greece, Lycia and Phoenicia (but see also Chap. 35); that others are perpetuated in the quaint syllabic script which was employed later in Cyprus, and were used already there in the Late Minoan colonies; and that the general structure of the language suggests that it had a grammar not unlike that of a few inscriptions in another language cut in early Greek letters at Praesus, one of the cities of eastern Crete, in classical times. The geographical distribution of certain types of place name, in lands afterwards Greek, suggests that the South Aegean languages were akin to those of south-western Asia Minor. The Phaestus Disk, probably



came to Crete thence and was presumably legible at both ends of the journey.

Elaborate provision for written records presumes a highly organized system of administration, and probably also of industry and trade. And it is no accident that it was during the latter part of the Middle Minoan period that we have evidence of a considerable expansion of the region which was dominated by this Cretan culture. In particular, whereas the older Cycladic culture had reached the Greek mainland in the districts most

is their rapid rise to prosperity, once established, and the contrast between their impressive fortifications and the open townships and palace sites of Crete. Clearly, on the mainland, Minoan civilization had to establish and maintain itself by force, among unfriendly neighbours, and to adapt itself to these more difficult circumstances. Though the commoner furniture of everyday life was simpler and less decorative, fine examples of Cretan craftsmanship were imported freely for the use of the lords and defenders of



CHOICE SPECIMEN FROM THE TREASURES OF A ROYAL VILLA

Hagia Triada proved to be a rich storehouse of Minoan artistic objects. Notable among them is this steatite cup, only four inches in height, which is known as the Chieftain's Vase. It represents an overlord in imperious attitude with sceptre held proudly before him, receiving homage from a vassal who, with weapon at the slope, stands at the head of a company of warriors carrying the towering shields characteristic of Minoan equipment.

*Photos, G. Maraghianni*

directly accessible from the central island group, that is to say, around the Saronic Gulf leading to the Isthmus of Corinth, Cretan enterprise made a fresh start by way of the gulf of Argos farther south, which had been comparatively little affected by the earlier movement and consequently remained almost barbarous, as the lower layers of remains on its principal sites sufficiently show.

These mainland settlements will be described more fully later, what is important, from the Cretan standpoint,

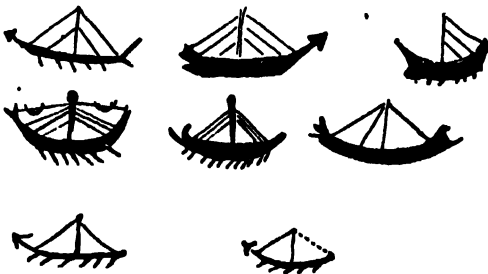
these great castles; and it is safe to infer that in exchange for these masterpieces some considerable amount of wealth was sent back to the mother country.

What this return-cargo was is not evident; in particular, it did not consist mainly of manufactured objects, for examples of the mainland arts are very rare on Cretan sites till a much later stage. Probably the considerable agricultural resources of the plain of Argos were exploited to feed the denser population of Crete; and possibly the gloomy and

repellent picture retained in Greek folk-memory of the Cretan sea power may have had a foundation of fact in systematic kidnapping and slave raiding for the Cnossian labour market.

Of the social and political aspects of Minoan society, however, little is known, in default of legible documents. The small size of the private houses indicates\* that the economic unit was not larger than the family group, such as is found later in almost all parts of the Mediterranean regime. As we should expect in circumstances where pastoral and hunting pursuits counted for little, and agriculture was in great measure garden work and fruit gathering, the status of the women, who usually undertake these tasks, was high; they appeared in public freely, and in the palace sports and dances girls took their part; even in dangerous feats, such as bull-baiting. There was, however, organized field work for men only, illustrated by the beautiful 'Harvester Vase'; a system of drill for war is shown on another stone vase from the same villa at Hagia Triada; and another kind of team work is revealed in the representations of large vessels propelled by many oars as well as by sails.

Even small towns had now their principal house, of exceptional size and con-



#### SHIPS IN MIDDLE MINOAN DAYS

Ships figure on seals from the Early Minoan age onwards. In the Middle Minoan Age, as shown here, they were single-masted vessels with high sterns and barbed prows, and propelled by from five to fifteen oars a side.

*From Sir Arthur Evans, 'The Palace of Minos'*



#### ANCIENT CRETAN COUNTRY DANCE

Notable in the extraordinarily interesting collection of terracotta figurines unearthed at Palaikastro is this rustic group of three women dancing to the music of a lyre. In spite of its crudity great vivacity characterises the work, which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century B.C.

*From the British School at Athens, 'Palaikastro Excavations'*

venience, and there are fairly numerous representations of officials wearing robes and carrying a staff, axe, or other symbol of authority. The stately reception rooms of the 'palaces' were designed for large assemblies; though the Throne Room at Cnossus has only benches to accommodate a few councillors on either side of the principal seat.

At the height of the palace regime population was evidently concentrated in the capital, and the wide distribution of standard types of pottery, as well as the provision for wholesale storage at headquarters, and the occasional discovery of workshops, suggest that production was on a considerable scale and distribution a monopoly of the monarch. But at present there is no aspect of Minoan life for which we have so little direct evidence.

Though we know neither the names of the gods of the Minoans, nor anything directly about their religious practices, some notion may be obtained of their beliefs from representations of acts and objects of worship. Reverence was paid to typical manifestations of life and natural forces; to certain animals, such as the lion, dove, raven and serpent; to certain trees and plants; to mountain-peaks, rocks and springs. We have also glimpses of observance of the sun and moon. The powers



#### FINAL FLOWER OF MINOAN IVORY CARVING

Almost without question the most exquisite art product of the pre-Hellenic world, this ivory Snake Goddess indeed approaches so closely to the excellences of Greek sculpture that it was at first pronounced a forgery. It is a marvellous advance on the figures in page 606. Only one arm is restored.

*Boston Museum of Fine Arts*

inherent in all these were figured in human form, or in upright stones, pillars, horned altars and sacred enclosures. Special worship was paid to the double-edged axe, the symbol probably of a thunder god; perhaps also to the leathern body-shield. Most prominent is a great mother goddess, who has minor deities associated with her, and especially a smaller male consort whom it is in accord with early beliefs of Asia Minor and Syria to call her son.

Sacrifice was offered, with blood of animal victims poured on or into the ground, and with burnt-offerings. Deities had their chapels within the 'palaces,' where sacred symbols, including a cross (see page 606), were displayed, with models of worshippers in attendance and vessels for offerings of food and drink. The dead were buried with careful and often lavish provision for bodily needs in the other world, and propitiated after death, like minor deities, with similar offerings and sacrifices, with

music and dance. Though in many respects Minoan life seems to have been to some degree secularised, it is probable that the bull fighting and other athletic exercises, though practised later as recreations, may have originated, like Greek athletic and dramatic festivals, from ceremonies to ensure the well-being of the dead or the gods.

From the fresco paintings, which decorated the public rooms and main corridors of the palaces, from the delicate work of the gem engravers and above all from statuettes and plaques in glazed earthenware, quite at the end of this period, we can reconstruct the general look of the people and their ordinary attire. The men still wore only a short loin cloth, confined by a tight-laced belt, and high boots of the supple white leather for which Crete is still

noted among its neighbours. Dignitaries and elders sometimes wore a richly quilted cloak, and crowns of lilywork or feathers.

The women had elaborated a very modern-looking bodice, short-waisted, short-sleeved, very low in the neck, but often with a standing collar behind. Below the highly decorated belt, which was worn as tight as by the men, hung a voluminous skirt, with gores, flounces, overskirts and richly embroidered panels, filled with floral designs. Rich jewelry was worn. In the house, the hair was dressed in luxuriant curls and waves, secured by decorative pins; out of doors



#### DIVERS ASPECTS OF THE MOTHER GODDESS

As Our Lady of the Mountains the mother goddess of Crete is figured standing on a peak in the seal-impression on the left; elsewhere (right) apparently as the Great Mother conjuring from heaven the apparition of her satellite god.

*From Sir Arthur Evans, 'Palace of Minos,' Macmillan*



The crowning art find at Mallia was the butt of a ceremonial axe representing a leopard with a collar indicating its use in hunting. The Boxer Vase (right), found at Hagia Triada, is eighteen inches in height. In the uppermost panel two boxers are struggling; the second shows a bull-leaping scene; in the third and fourth, enlarged on the left, are other astonishingly energetic groups of boxers.

*Courtesy of French School at Athens and Professor Halbherr*



The sports of the bull ring which were prominent in Cretan civilization are commemorated in many art objects; for example, in the bull-shaped vessel (left) and the small bull (right) from Pseira, in vessels representing only the animal's head (centre) and in the beautiful ivory figure found at Cnossus of a girl in the act of leaping a bull; the girl's head is given separately. Careful realism is seen in the ivory figurine (top left) from Palaikastro. The objects here are not shown in relative sizes.

#### **MINOAN SPORTS REALISTICALLY RECORDED BY CUNNING CRAFTSMEN**

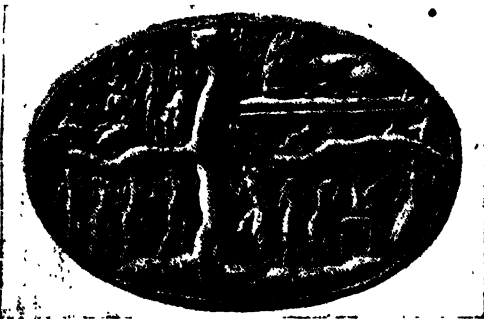
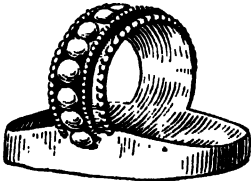
*Photos. G. Maraghianni and courtesy of Sir Arthur Evans and Hellenic Society*

there were worn large shady hats trimmed with rosettes and ribbons; at worship, also, a high tiara with badges of metal under which the long tresses fell to the breast.

With the rebuilding of the palace at Cnossus a new period opens for Cretan culture in general, and comprises the first two phases of the Late Minoan age. Though Cnossus was now the premier city in the island, spreading over the countryside like a modern metropolis, Phaestus was still important, and other old settlements flourished side by side with new ones. Those which have been most completely explored, Palaikastro and Gournia, still show crowded houses and narrow tortuous streets. The house plans, too, are curiously persistent; an entrance passage flanked by outbuildings leads to a courtyard whence the living rooms get light and whence stairs lead to upper chambers.

The great palaces rose to a second and even a third floor of private suites. Wells, cisterns and other household appliances were within the house area, though at Cnossus rain-water and sewage were skillfully drained into a neighbouring stream-bed. The larger houses had a principal reception room, pillared, and entered through a vestibule from the court; often

also a bathing tank, open above, protected by a balustrade and entered by short stairs from a living room or passage.



MINOAN RING FROM GREEK SOIL

Found in a beehive tomb at Kakovatos in the Peloponnese (the 'Pylos' of Homeric Nestor), this gold signet ring illustrates not only the penetration of Greece by purely Minoan culture, but also Minoan beliefs about the underworld.

Above, the ring; below, the seal enlarged.

From Sir Arthur Evans in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

Furniture and household gear, costume and weapons, remain in essentials the same; but the gaudy polychrome vase-painting has given place to black silhouette-drawing on a light ground. Vases are usually wheel-made, of stately but not very varied shapes, and the technique of manufacture and decoration is superb. But the **Beautification of floral designs cease to be Common Things** naturalistic, and become formal combinations of a few popular forms, lily, iris and rosette. Spiral ornament, so easily reproduced and adapted, becomes very popular. Magnificent work, of a more realistic kind, is still done in fresco painting, ivory carving, stone work and gem cutting, and there was evidently fine metal work to copy in commoner materials, though the originals (as usual) have perished.

In these gracious and comfortable surroundings the same highly organized industry and commerce went on as in the preceding age, but on an even more extensive scale, due to those oversea enterprises, which have already been noted, up the gulfs of the Greek mainland. In consequence of this exploitation the mainland now begins, apparently, to enter the political arena, and we must turn aside to consider its development up to this date.

Crete is relatively so large and difficult a region that it need not surprise us that in early days it was receiving more than it distributed, except in an elementary way. The smaller islands naturally matured earlier—perhaps even became overpopulous and began to look abroad—and their culture was at the same time less dominated by foreign models from any one source. Accordingly in this early phase it was the Cyclades rather than Crete that were in direct communication with the western, and occasionally also with the northern, shores of the Aegean; they had settlements in Attica and Euboea, and profoundly influenced native communities in Aegina and on the Corinthian Isthmus. One of their finest works of art is a gold cup found in Arcadia.

These islands also took the lead in another department of skill, the decoration of their pottery by painted instead of incised ornament. Whence they learned



# FRAGMENTS OF THE BRILLIANT FRESCOS THAT DELIGHTED MINOAN ROYALTY

In Late Minoan days the interior of the palace at Cnossus was brilliantly decorated with fresco paintings; but owing to the tough and durable nature of the stucco employed it is often hard to deny that some may be survivals from the Middle Minoan regime. Sometimes the surface was flat, sometimes moulded as in the case of the 'Prince' (bottom left). The ladies illustrate Minoan dress and coiffure—she on the right is known as the 'Parisienne' by reason of her carmine lips—but the 'Cup Bearer' (top right) gives the best impression of Cretan physique. All are somewhat restored.

*Prince fresco, courtesy of Sir Arthur Evans and Hellenic Society; Cup-bearer fresco by permission of Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. John Murray; others, G. Mallagunnis (Candia Museum)*

this art is not certain; but probably it was from the Greek mainland, where it had been practised for a long while in Thessaly; and it was introduced into the Isthmus region before the Cycladic influence became perceptible there.

The significance of this 'painted ware' culture on the Greek mainland is not yet fully clear. If indigenous, it shows very remarkable originality of invention. Even if (as is probable) it reveals a far southward expansion of the 'painted ware' culture of Roumania and the Ukraine at the end of the Stone Age, it had been greatly modified in its new homes, and diversified into well-marked local schools. Besides the more ordinary lattice and chequer patterns common to all varieties of the style, some Thessalian decorators had learned to draw spirals and 'fret' ornaments; and it is perhaps from this source that the Cyclades acquired these motives, though the wonderful skill with which they came to apply them was wholly their own.

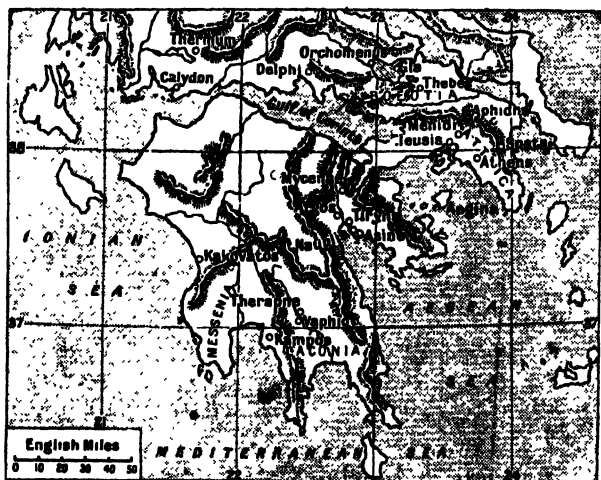
The connexion of the Cyclades with the mainland of Greece, which had been established so early and with such promise of a wide expansion—for the mainland civilization was then homogeneous if not quite uniform from the Isthmus to the foot of Mount Olympus—received however a rude check about the time when the islands

themselves were at their best. Somewhere in central Greece a fresh culture grew up or was intruded—it is not yet possible to say which—less artistic, and in particular devoid of vase painting, but evidently more vigorous than its neighbours. From the circumstance that one of its earliest and most enduring centres was, at Orchomenus in northern Boeotia, it has been called 'Minyan' after the legendary dynasty which Greek folk-memory knew there; but, as with the word 'Minoan,' it is important to avoid misconceptions arising from the use of the name of a fourteenth century dynasty for a culture several centuries earlier. (See also under Chap. 19.)

Northwards and southwards thence, this new culture spread rapidly, obliterating the aboriginal styles of Thessaly and the partly Aegean craftsmanship of the Isthmus region, and substituting for painted vases its own polished but undecorated grey ware, deep bowls with prominent handles and often a high pedestal. Of the people who brought about this change of style we know very little; only in the south we can see them gradually relaxing their own austere customs and adapting themselves to their new surroundings and neighbours, throughout the north-eastern

Peloponnese, with considerable settlements in the plain of Argos, at Mycenae, Tiryns and Argos itself, sites which were to become powerful and famous later, under the stimulus of Cretan rather than Cycladic intercourse. For during this Minyan interlude, and very likely by reason of its disturbance of mainland affairs, the island communities were falling into decline, and coming themselves more and more under the domination of Crete, in artistry and probably also in their political relations.

By the time of the Cretan expansion during the Second Palace period, the Minyan culture had been fully

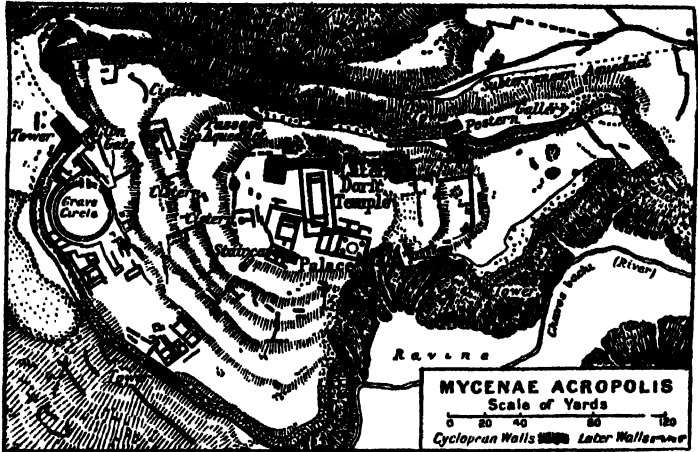


CRADLE LAND OF MYCENAEAN CULTURE

The principal Greek sites where evidence of prehistoric culture has come to light are here shown. After a complicated development revealing the interfection of mainland and Cycladic strains, they fell under Cretan influence in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries; especially at the head of the bays facing south-east.

acclimatised and a mainland variety of Aegean civilization grew up round the plain of Argos in particular, but also in the Saronic Gulf and round the Isthmus, combining Minyan and Minoan elements and evidently attaining a high level of prosperity. Principal sites which have been fully studied are Tiryns, an old fortress near the sea front of the plain, which was now rebuilt, if not refortified; Asine, in a stronger but more secluded position a little way down the gulf; and Mycenae, near the upper end of the Argive plain, guarding the pass through the hills to Corinth and the north.

'Golden Mycenae,' 'of the wide ways,' capital, palace and fortress of Agamemnon in the days of the Trojan War, lies, just

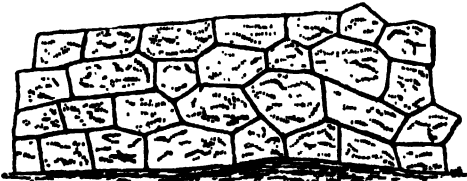
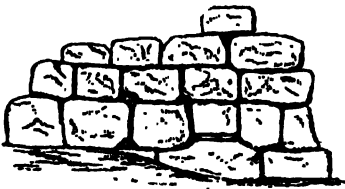
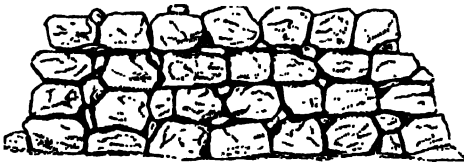


#### WHAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF GOLDEN MYCENAE

Tiryns was a site of earlier importance on the Argos bay-head; the possibilities of Mycenae seem only to have been realized with the development of land-borne trade. It stood among the hills commanding the passes to the Isthmus. The Grave Circle originally lay without the city and was embraced by a later extension of the walls.

as Homer described it long ago, 'in a nook of Argos,' the broad and once fertile plain which opens out into the gulf of the same name on the east coast of peninsular Greece. The sea frontage of the plain is about four miles—from the steep fortress and harbour of Nauplia, its earliest as well as its modern port, to the marsh of Lerna, south of Argos town, where Heracles, in Greek legend, slew the many-headed Hydra, and where the railway now begins to climb uneasily up into the Arcadian highlands; and level ground extends inland about eight miles to the gorge by which road and rail go northwards past Nemea to Corinth.

A little to the east of this upper end of the plain, overshadowed by two finely shaped peaks but separated from them by a pair of diverging torrent beds, nestles a lower spur, inconspicuous now, but once the most notable site of the whole district. In shape this hill resembles a human right foot cut off at the ankle, and planted with its heel against the mountain flanks and its toes pointing out into the plain. Under the instep is the larger ravine, which has gnawed away the steep slope and made it precipitous with landslips. The main road from the sea and the plain winds up over the great toe to the outside of the ankle, turns, and enters the citadel, whose rugged

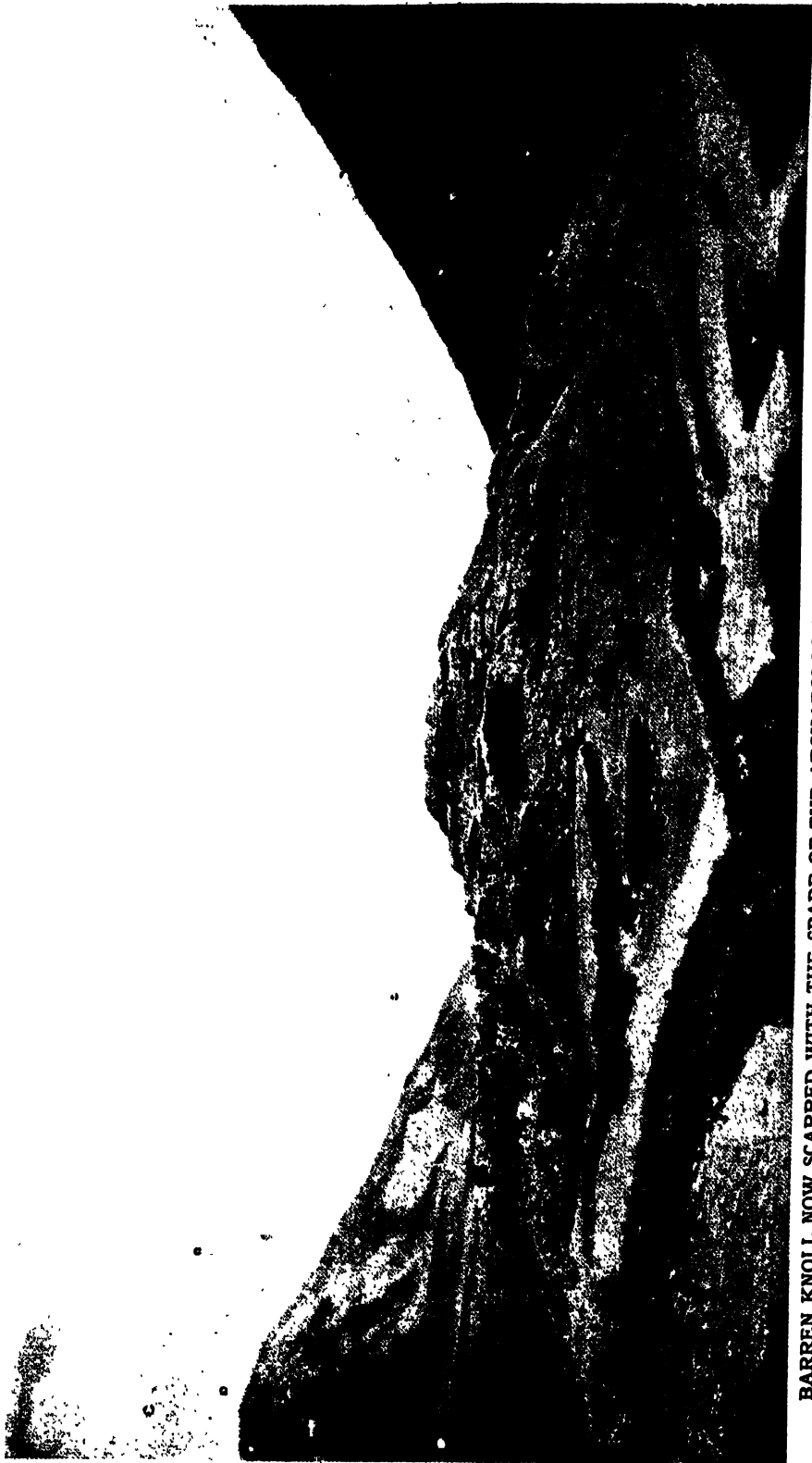


#### HOW MYCENAE WAS FORTIFIED

Three types of masonry are distinguishable in the walls of Mycenae: so-called 'Cyclopean' masonry of unhewn blocks (top) round most of the circuit; hewn rectangular blocks for the gate-towers; and polygonal masonry at one or two points. The first is obviously the earliest.

*After Schliemann, Mycenae*





**BARREN KNOLL NOW SCARRED WITH THE SPADE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGIST BUT ONCE CROWNED WITH MYCENAE'S TOWERS**

The plain at the head of the Gulf of Argos runs northward into the hills for about eight miles ; and close to its upper end, from between two noble peaks, Elias and Szara, in its eastern rampart, a pair of torrent beds descends and diverges around an isolated knoll. On this finely defensible site lies all that now remains of once powerful Mycenae, capital of the Achaean war-lord Agamemnon and of kings long forgotten even in his day. One road to Corinth and the Isthmus runs, from right to left in this eastward view, beneath the town ; another passes up between the peaks behind it.

*From British School at Athens Annual*



**VIEW EASTWARD FROM THE PLAIN OF ARGOS TOWARDS MYCENAE AS IT MUST HAVE APPEARED IN ITS PRIME**

It was probably by levying toll upon the merchandise that travelled north and south along the mountain tracks, between the Boeotian and Peloponnesian centres of civilization by way of the Isthmus of Corinth, that the kings of Mycenae derived the wealth to build the city here reconstructed, and store the hoarded gold that has become a proverb. The view is nearly the same as in the photograph opposite. The tower of squared masonry in the centre is the bastion of the Lion Gate while the turret on the right is one of the places where polygonal masonry has been used.

*Reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez*



The pillar over the gate probably symbolised the royal palace, and wild animals, especially lions, frequently appear as companions or guardians of the mother goddess, from Greece to Anatolia. The protection of the goddess is thus invoked for Mycenae or its kings.



The true arch being unknown, lintels of Mycenaean doorways were often a single gigantic slab. To relieve such a lintel of the weight of superimposed masonry a triangular space would be left above it, usually filled in with an ornamental panel of no architectural significance. Such a panel is the famous relief over the main entrance to Mycenae, showing two heraldic lions guarding a sacred pillar.

So well preserved is this part of the wall that there is nothing fanciful about the reconstruction.

#### **FAMOUS LION GATE AS IT ONCE WAS AND AS IT IS TO-DAY**

• Photos courtesy of Hellenic Society; reconstruction modified from Ch. Chipiez

fortifications crown the whole like a giant's anklet and enclose all that is left of the prehistoric palace, and of a Greek temple which was built later over its remains.

Scattered over the lower slopes lay the living quarters of the town; between them the 'wide ways,' with their terraced fields, which caught the poet's eye; and among those fields, sunk in solid rock so that only their carved and painted portals betrayed their whereabouts, the splendid family vaults whose wealth, pillaged before Homer's own day, made Mycenae the 'golden city' of his song.

So placed, and commanding alike the wealth of the plain, its corn lands and memorable horse ranches, and the routes which converge on its upper end from inland valley states, from the ports and fertile shores of the Corinthian Gulf and



**POSTERN IN MYCENAE'S NORTHERN WALL**

Two gateways pierced the later, extended walls of Mycenae. One was the Lion Gate, illustrated opposite; the other, this postern on the north side. Both were protected by flanking bastion-towers projecting parallel with the general line of the wall, thus indicating a sound comprehension of siege tactics.

*Courtesy of Hellenic Society*

from the farther north by the trunk road of the all-important Isthmus, Mycenae could hardly have avoided the fame and



**STEPS THAT GAVE ACCESS TO THE GORGEOUS PALACE AT MYCENAE**

Little of the palace at Mycenae remains apart from the foundations and the approaching flight of steps here seen from the north-west. The internal arrangements have features common to a Greek house of historical times, but to judge from fragments of cornices, rosettes and blue paste found among the ruins, nothing could be more foreign to classical ideas than the external decoration.

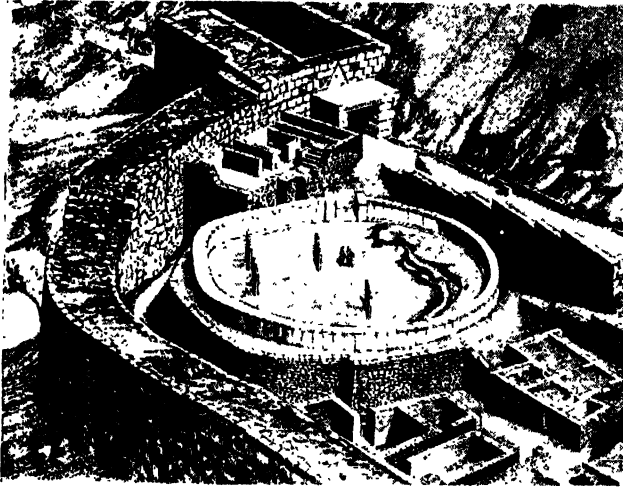
*Photo, A. J. B. Wace*

prosperity which befell it so soon as the Greek mainland began to share the dawning civilization of Crete and the Aegean Islands, in the early Bronze Age of the third thousand years B.C. Yet it was only after long occupation of the lower plain, with its venerable fortress at Tiryns, and settlements even more ancient around the majestic Larisa hill at Argos, that the military and commercial advantages of Mycenae were appreciated, as a warden of the marches separating Argive lowlands from Corinthian, as a rallying-point in case of attack either from the

hill-folk or from overseas, and as a stronghold from which to levy tribute on neighbouring settlements, and blackmail on convoys of merchandise travelling through the passes.

Three main stages may be distinguished in the long career of Mycenae. In the first, the citadel was still small, though heavily fortified, and the royal tombs of its owners were 'shaft graves' sunk in the rock, outside the walls, along the upper part of its main approach. How these were rediscovered by the persistence and enthusiasm of Heinrich Schliemann,

in 1876 and onwards, is one of the romances of modern archaeology, and opens a new chapter in the story of pre-historic times. Their amazing contents, 'gold vessels, gold rings and necklaces, embossed and intricately decorated gold fittings and platings for furniture and clothing, of which the perishable parts are dust or splinters, revealed not only an elaborate craftsmanship and a wealth of complicated design, but a whole style of art, with traditions and ideals of its own, not merely pre-



**CIRCLE THAT CONTAINED THE ROYAL TREASURES OF THE 'SHAFT GRAVES'**

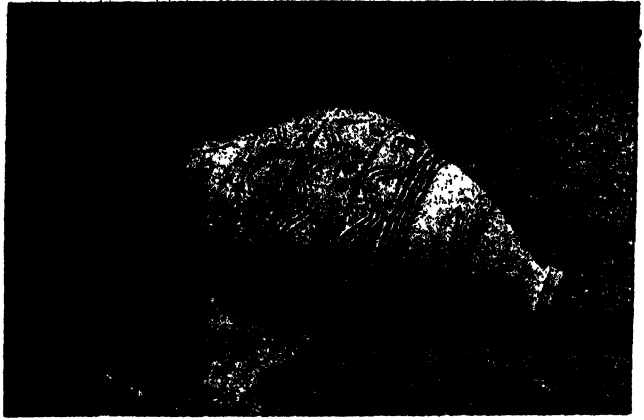
As was usual in ancient times, the kings of Mycenae were buried without the wall; when this was extended to include their ancestral burial ground, it was not forgotten, but fenced round as a sacred enclosure, whose appearance to-day and probable appearance immediately after completion are indicated above. One of the grave stones is shown in page 787. It was from the graves that Schliemann recovered the famous golden treasure. The restoration includes the interior of the Lion Gate.

*From British School at Athens Annual*

Hellenic—for this period of 'Mycenaean' civilization runs from about 1800 B.C. to 1500 B.C.—but utterly un-Hellenic, and unrelated (at the time of its discovery) to any comparable finds.

Only by slow degrees, until the patience and ingenuity of Sir Arthur Evans more than repeated in Crete the achievements of the discoverer of Mycenae, did the true bearing of the 'shaft graves' and their contents become clear, as the masterpieces of a colonial offshoot of the Minoan culture, planted on a mainland shore of its Aegean home, which, small as the Argive plain and its surroundings seem to modern eyes, must have loomed large as New England or Virginia before those first daring explorers of it.

At a later date, during some expansion of which we still know little, Mycenae,



#### BURIAL CUSTOM OF HUMBLER FOLK

Buildings there must have been outside Mycenae, since it was little more than an acropolis; but so far only one stone structure (other than tombs) has come to light. And even this had been used for burials, apparently after its destruction, for the jar above containing bones was found within it.

*Courtesy of Hellenic Society*

together with its ancient burial ground, by then almost forgotten, was enclosed within a larger and more effective fortress-wall, with its imposing Lion Gate and flanking tower masking a new and more defensible approach. Only subsequently did pious



#### WHERE THE OFFICERS OF AGAMEMNON MAY HAVE SAT IN RECEIPT OF TRIBUTE

The inward approach to the Lion Gate led past the enclosure of the Grave Circle, which in this photograph is mostly out of view to the left; the entrance to it, however, between two walls of three slabs each, is prominent in the foreground. Behind the entrance is a group of foundations known as the 'Granary' from its resemblance to the magazines of the Cretan palaces; perhaps it was for the receipt of tribute coming in through the Lion Gate.

*From British School at Athens Annual*

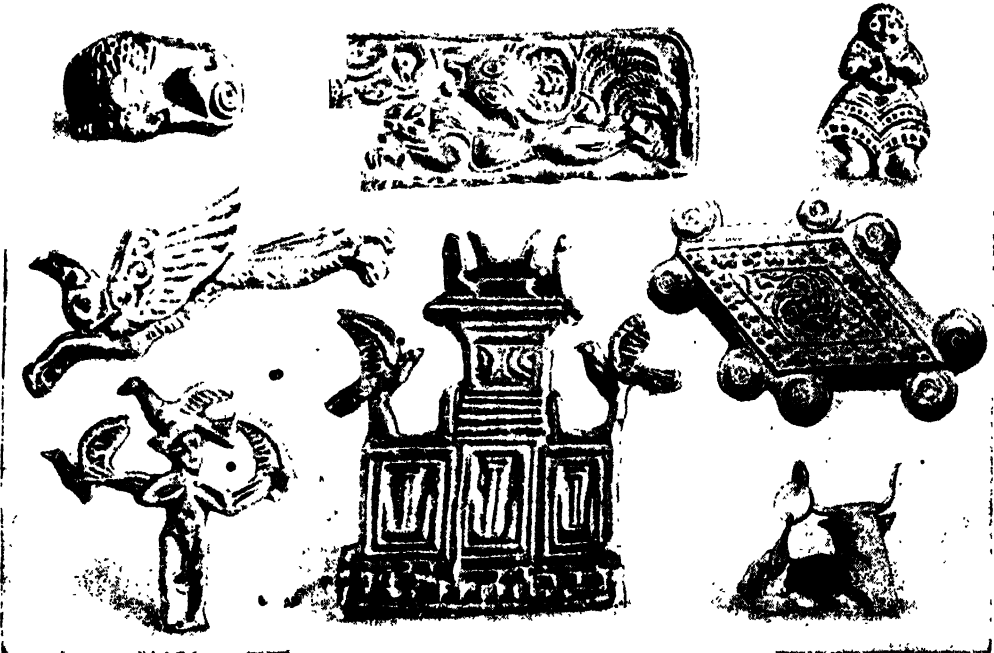
or superstitious hands erect a stone ring-fence round all that could be identified of the old cemetery, and lay to rest within it all that could be collected of the old royal grave-stones; where Schliemann was to find them, and the graves themselves below.

These early shaft graves—or rather repositories for grave contents, in the ancient fashion described below—reveal as nothing else has done the great wealth of these colonial baronies. Much of the funerary equipment is of gold: drinking cups, personal ornaments, embossed plaques for the decoration of robes or hangings or wooden chests now perished, in great numbers and wide variety of design, with spiral patterns commonly, but also with figures of plants and animals and occasional human scenes, such as the lion hunt inlaid in a dagger blade with alloys of several colours.

Silver is curiously rare, bronze very abundant and of bold designs, which help

to explain some peculiarities of the pottery of this period and also identify as Minoan work some of the vessels brought in tribute to Thothmes III; thus dating (incidentally) the 'shaft grave' period to the sixteenth century, or thereabouts. In some of these graves the pottery suggests an earlier date, but the original burials evidently cover a considerable period.

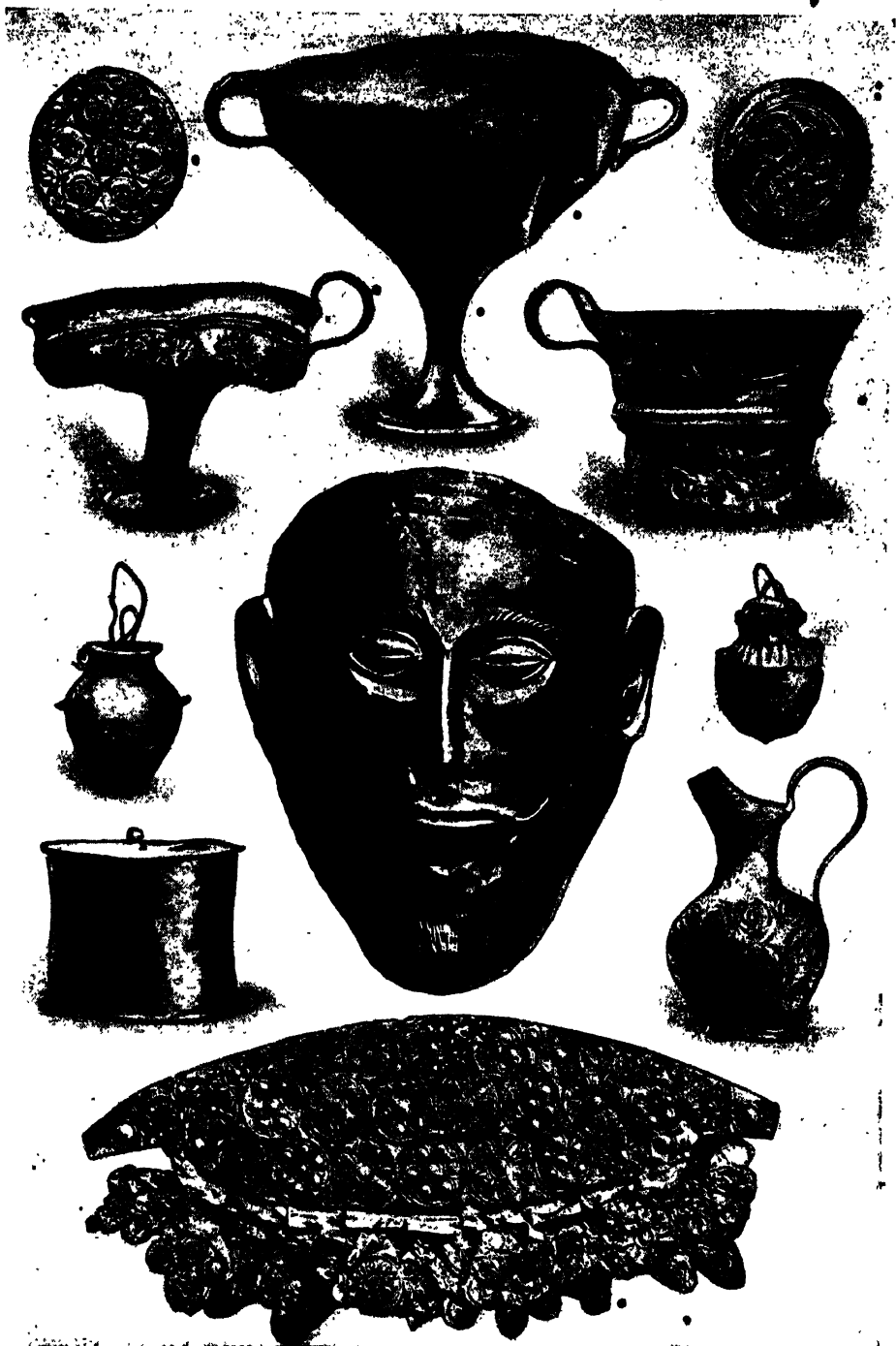
Outside the citadel, and scattered over the lower slopes for some distance from it, lie other burial places, the famous 'beehive tombs,' more splendid architecturally than any shaft grave, and probably as richly furnished; but alas! more conspicuous, and all looted (it seems from their present state), or at all events cleared of their original contents, and in some instances repeatedly re-used. Even their sculptural façades have been shattered by later despoilers, and only the faultless workmanship of the largest of them—the Treasury of Atreus, as Greek antiquaries named it, after the father of



CHARMING TRINKETS OF FINE HAMMERED GOLD

Craftsmanship of very high order is exhibited in the repoussé work of the Mycenaean goldsmith. Here (left) are shown a minute couchant lion, a flying gryphon and a figure of a goddess with doves; on the right a tiny female figure, a gold plate with sham studs for its attachment, and a bull with a pair of scales hanging from one horn. Especially interesting as showing the complete elevation of a building is the little house in the centre. The rectangular gold plate above it, with the design of a lion pursuing a stag, is one of twelve that covered an hexagonal wooden casket.

National Museum, Athens



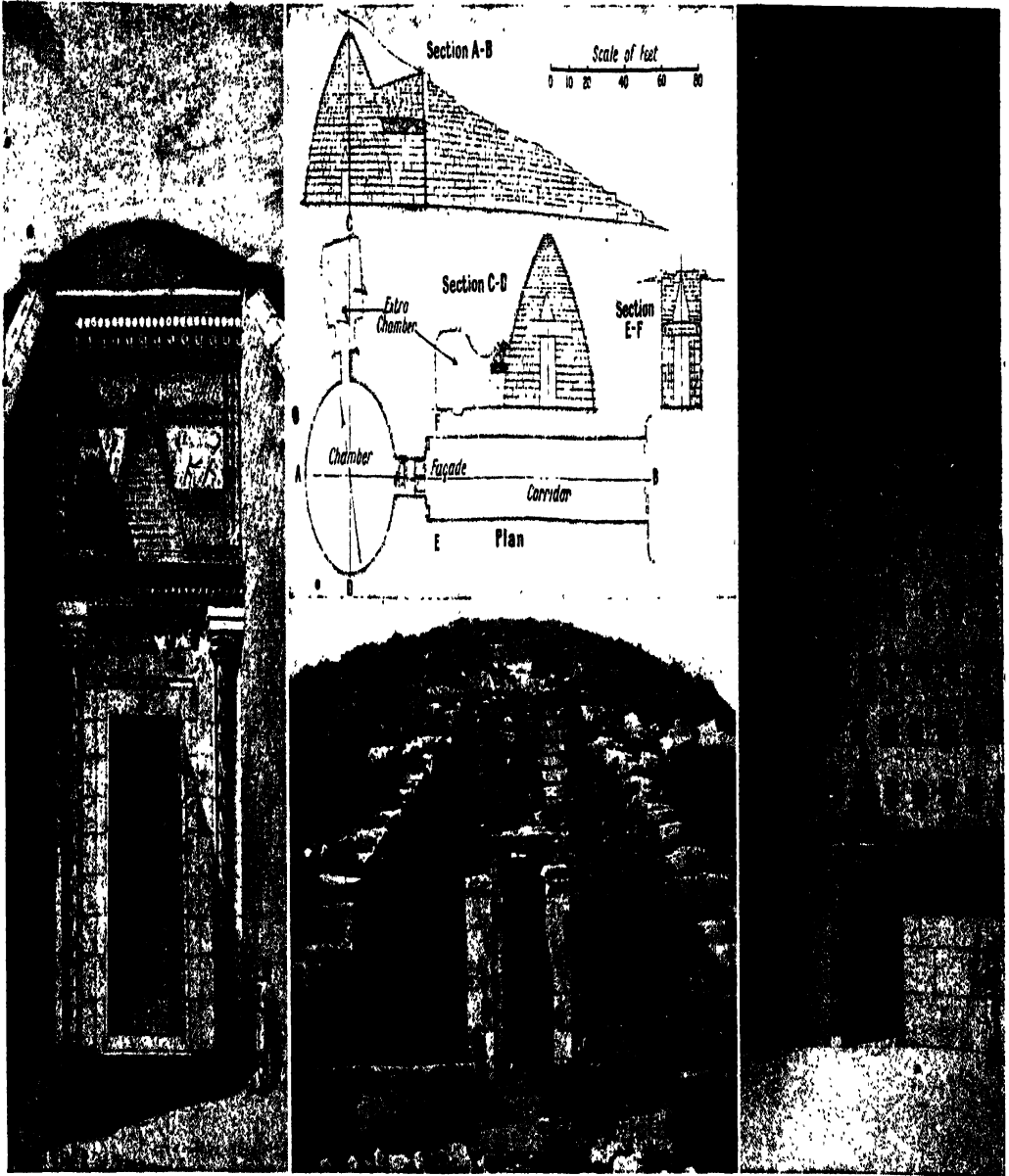
#### FINE SPECIMENS OF THE MYCENAEAN GOLDSMITH'S ART

Especially noteworthy among the treasures found in the shaft graves at Mycenae is this splendid golden 'diadem' with its treble row of rosettes. The ponderous gold mask covered the face of one of the dead, and in the same grave were 701 embossed gold plaques (top, left and right) that may have served as dress ornaments. The cups included a graceful amphora (top, centre), a single-handled vessel (left) with embossed rosettes, and a round mug with two rows of fish (right).

The little vessels on either side of the mask were part of the miniature funerary equipment

*National Museum, Athens*





### DETAILS OF ONE OF THE BEEHIVE TOMBS WHERE A DYNASTY OF MYCENAEAN KINGS WAS BURIED

Besides the shaft graves of the Grave Circle there are at Mycenae the great beehive tombs—domed structures built of upward-narrowing rings of masonry, sunk in the flank of rising ground and approached by a cutting. The most magnificent, and one of the completest, is the so-called 'Treasury of Atreus,' here shown in plan, photograph and reconstruction. The interior (right, restored) seems to have been decorated with copper rosettes, since the holes for their attachment may still be seen in the stone; and unlike most other 'beehives' it had a subsidiary chamber.

*Photo and plan, British School at Athens Annual; reconstructions by Ch. Chipiez*

Homer's 'Lord of Men,' Agamemnon — has resisted time and turmoil until to-day: a cupola of great masonry, nearly fifty feet in diameter and in height, with a door lintel weighing over forty tons. The form of these 'beehives' is noteworthy because it reproduces a form of funerary chamber which was characteristic of Early Minoan Crete, and probably belongs to its old Libyan heritage.

Recent careful examination of the debris of their floors, and of the remains of their carved or painted façades, shows that they represent a stage in the history of Mycenae more closely connected with that of the shaft graves than was formerly supposed. The suggestion has even been put forward that the shaft graves themselves are the last resting-place of much of the first equipment and occupants of the 'beehives,' in accordance with a widespread custom of 'secondary burial' which made it possible to use the great funerary chambers again and again. That this Treasury of Atreus itself was repaired, and its entrance repaved, at a time when the soil had come to contain remnants of rich tomb furniture, seems to be established by the same investigation. And more recently still an undisturbed beehive tomb at Midea, a smaller settlement about half-way between Mycenae and its port at Nauplia, has yielded both bodies and golden treasure in the style of the contents of the shaft graves.

Of the palace belonging to the occupants of these beehive tombs, considerable ruins crown the citadel, approached by a broad staircase and entrance court on to which a portico opens from the vestibule of the main hall, with a painted stucco floor and walls in a style reminiscent of the palace decorations of Crete, and (still more closely) of the neighbouring palace at Tiryns near the sea, even more magnificent in plan and much better preserved.



**EXQUISITE METAL WORK**

One of the most striking objects from the shaft graves was a splendid bull's head in silver. The horns and rosette on the forehead are of gold, and there are traces of gold inlay.

*Courtesy of Hellenic Society*

Though the mainland palaces are obviously meant for people of 'Minoan' culture and habits, their arrangements show that their occupants had in some respects been forced to accommodate themselves to unfamiliar conditions. The strong fortress walls and defensible gateways betray a state of insecurity not unnatural on the margin between a civilized and a still barbarous and turbulent region: the 'palaces' indeed have become 'citadels,' distinct from the lower town which each dominated. There is far less accommodation for workpeople—who seem to have lived outside as they could—less storage for

produce, less provision for the public recreation which links all classes together and presumes common interests and tastes.

On the other hand, for those who lived in the citadel—the lord and his own retainers—the great hall was a far more



**DEFENDING A MYCENAEAN TOWN**

One of the most vivid vignettes of Mycenaean life that we possess is a fragment of a silver vase showing the siege of a city. Slingers, archers and spearmen make a sortie, while anxious women crowd the battlements and gesticulate.

*From Ephemeris Archaeologica, Athens*

important feature, and dominated the whole design of the building. The climate being here more continental than in the island world, and therefore liable to be colder, the great hall has a fixed central hearth, and consequently a roof with louvres to let out the smoke. There is an enclosed vestibule but no open 'light-well.' And the bathing tanks of Cnossus have been replaced at Tiryns by a stone-floored bathroom, with portable bath-tubs not too large to be conveniently filled with hot water, as the custom continued to be in Homeric society.

fighting and bull-baiting, as at Cnossus ; but also the chase of the wild boar, and wild cattle in open country ; and a good share of real war, with single combat between champions armed with a broad, keen-edged rapier, a two-handed lance and a vast, flexible body-shield of bull's hide, rimmed and emblazoned with gold or gilded bronze, and slung in front of the warrior from a shoulder-strap.

They loved their horses and dogs, their lumbering loose-built oxen, their fishing and fowling, their deer-stalking, perhaps most of all their occasional encounter with



MYCENAE'S VASSAL GUARDIAN AGAINST DANGER FROM THE SEA—

If Mycenae can best be described as an acropolis, at least its walls came to enclose considerably more than the royal palace. Tiryns on the other hand seems to have been a feudal castle pure and simple—a complex of buildings for a chieftain, his troops and retainers like the palaces of Crete ; only, unlike them, girt with massive fortifications. In Homer we hear of it as in the keeping of one of Agamemnon's barons ; but it had been a site of older importance than Mycenae.

*Reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez*

Life in these Mycenaean palaces in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. was an odd mixture of primitive simplicity and almost modern luxury. Buildings, furniture, clothing and ornaments were lavishly decorated in flowing forms which had once copied natural objects but had run riot in an 'art nouveau' of spirals and flourishes, experiments in form for form's sake, more ingeniously planned than accurately executed, so exuberant was the artist's fancy, so rapid his facility in handiwork.

It was an age of easy achievement and rather gaudy display ; of athletic sport, dangerous and even cruel games, prize-

the lions which came down among the herds in Greece then, as they do nowadays in Rhodesia. Their women were worthy of these sportsmen ; large-eyed, loose-haired, hoydenish creatures in flounced and embroidered skirts and excessively low-necked jackets, who danced and played and hunted, it seems, like the men, and joined them in feast and worship, waved adieu to the fighting force as it marched out, and wept over an ownerless shield after the war was over.

All this, and more, we see vividly depicted on palace fresco, tombstone and painted vase, and on those engraved seal stones and signet-rings which everyone

seems to have worn, and used to seal up provisions and other valuables temporarily, as we would nowadays turn a key in a lock.

Though the gulf of Argos was clearly the earliest and always the most important of the colonial regions on the mainland, it was not the only one. In Laconia the Vaphio tomb, of the same 'beehive' type, contained magnificent vases in the Cnosian 'palace style' and a pair of gold cups with bull-catching scenes which are among the masterpieces of Minoan metal work. Messenia has another such tomb at Kam-

work), and as far off as South Thessaly; this last example being excavated in the mound formed by one of the aboriginal village sites, probably by that time deserted and forgotten.

In other directions it is difficult to estimate the range of Minoan adventure. It was quite at the end of the palace period, at earliest, that the great settlement was founded at Ialysus in Rhodes; and the Minoan colonies in Cyprus belong to the next phase. The Cretan palace frescoes show intimate affinity in technique with those of the Eighteenth Dynasty in



—THE STOUT WALLS ENCIRCLING THE SECOND PALACE AT TIRYNS

There were two successive palaces on the site of Tiryns, and at least two yet older establishments of an indeterminate nature. This is an early but ingenious conjecture as to its appearance during the latest phase, based on such objects as the gold house-model in page 780. The approach was up the ramp, seen in this page, through the gate, and so to the left between two walls as far as the ceremonial gateway whose pillars are visible in the page opposite (see also plan in page 840).

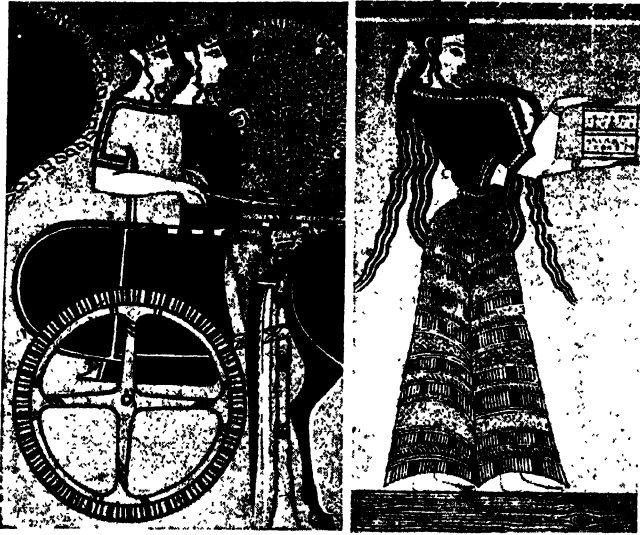
*Reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez*

pos, less rich, but notable for one of the most vigorous pieces of figure-modelling, a boxer in silver-lead. Farther off still, at Kakovatos (probably Nestor's Pylos) near the west coast of the Peloponnese, there is not only a royal tomb, but the castle to which it belonged.

In Messenia and Laconia the settlements have still to be found; they may have been unfortified, and therefore easily obliterated. North of Argolis there are beehive tombs in the island of Aegina, in several districts of Attica, in Boeotia, at the old Minyan centre of Orchomenus (with a magnificent carved stone ceiling showing unusually close imitation of Egyptian

Egypt, but their subjects and style are quite different, and purely Minoan.

Very rarely Minoan objects reached Egypt—for example a characteristic vase in the Maket tomb, about 1500 B.C.—and at the court of Thothmes III there was a 'governor of the islands in the midst of the sea'; but there is nothing to show that he even visited his province or indeed that Egypt had any direct interests in this direction. Rather later, as we have seen, a few Egyptian seals and other objects inscribed with the names of Amehotep III and his Queen Tiye are known from Ialysus and Mycenae; but the period of more intimate contact



#### DRESS OF MYCENAEAN LORDS AND LADIES

Owing to its having been longer deserted, the frescoes at Tiryns are better preserved than at Mycenae, which was an inhabited town in classical times. Both these are, of course, restored, but comparatively slightly. The priestess on the right wears the same open bodice and elaborate skirt affected by Minoan dames in Crete.

*From Rodenwaldt, Tiryns*

with Egypt follows the abrupt close of the palace regime, and is probably connected with it.

Standing as it did as an outpost of Minoan civilization towards the rugged

of life in the archipelago generally. Probably we may recognize in the Athenian legend of the liberation of that part of the mainland by the local hero, Theseus, from a cruel Cnossian overlordship, folk-memory



#### STRENUOUS OCCUPATION OF LEISURE HOURS

Hunting and fighting seem to have occupied much of the time of the Mycenaean chieftains, if we may trust the incidents which they loved to have portrayed. Frescoes from the second palace at Tiryns illustrate the more peaceful of the two pursuits—a boar coured by hounds and a huntsman with two spears. The execution is typically Cretan or Minoan.

*From Rodenwaldt, "Die Fresken des Tiryns"*

of this momentous crisis; and a Cretan legend of the overstraining of the resources of the 'sea power of Minos' in a Sicilian expedition, like that which ruined Athens in the fifth century B.C., perhaps gives a glimpse of the same catastrophe from another, though legendary, point of view.

Over the shattered sea power of Crete, Mycenaean adventure spread rapidly, colonising in its turn within the Aegean, in the central islands and in Rhodes and the coastal fringe as far north as Patmos; while along the frontage of the old Minyan region north of the Isthmus, coast settlements have been traced in Thessaly, and even in Macedonia, near Salonica. In the wide seas beyond the long breakwater of Crete, as far as Cyprus eastward, and westward to Corfu, South Italy and eastern Sicily, it was the same; and there was an active intercourse with Egypt during the reign of Amenhotep III and onwards, and with the prosperous and cultured states of the Syrian and Cilician coasts.

How far this wider extent of Mycenaean civilization centred politically, or even economically, on Mycenae it is difficult to judge, so severely have the surface layers at Mycenae itself suffered, both from subsequent occupants of the site and from



#### GLIMPSE OF MYCENAEAN WARFARE

This is the design on one of the grave-stones found in the Mycenaean Grave Circle, which are visible in the reconstruction in page 778. It shows a warrior in a chariot, with a man at the horse's head; the spirals are characteristic.

*From British School at Athens Annual*

its eventual desertion. But the tombs of this period of expansion (which have naturally preserved much that is obliterated above ground) show us a rich,



#### FRESCO IN MINOAN STYLE THAT ADORNED THE PALACE AT MYCENAE

Many fragments of frescoes came to light on the site of the Mycenaean palace. It is not easy to piece them together into coherent units, but Tsountas, the discoverer of these pieces, has made a convincing restoration by reference to similar work elsewhere. Two horses are led by grooms; the third groom seems to be of superior status—he wears greaves—and is probably the companion of the warrior on the right. The warrior wears a cheek-piece helmet like that in the next page.

*From British School at Athens Annual*

populous and widely connected city, practising the same arts and industries as of old, only with less solidity of construction, less accurate workmanship, less refinement and sobriety of taste. The shoddiness of many classes of objects, in fact, suggests large-scale production under stringent industrial conditions, where the workman was no longer his own master and produced his wares in workshops perfunctorily and to stock designs.

Wholesale and hurried repairs of the fortress wall, and the discovery of a foreign sword among the ruins of the palace, give us glimpses of political events—of warfare and siege—which we cannot verify at present; but there is ominously rapid improvement and considerable variety of type in weapons and armour of all kinds.

Thanks to the comparative accuracy of archaeological dating among the products of Egyptian art, and the fairly copious intercourse between the Mediterranean coasts and Egypt during this period of



Mycenaean expansion, the latter part of this period becomes almost historical, in the stricter sense. A sudden change in the foreign policy of Egypt, and the terms of a defensive alliance concluded in about



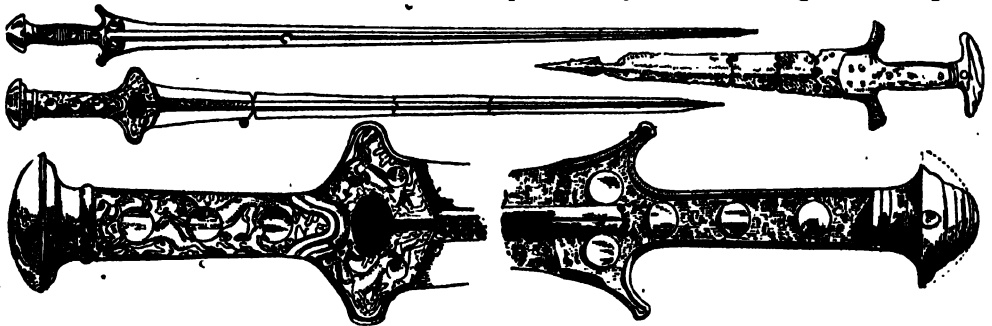
#### SCENE OF MYCENAEAN WARFARE

This ring-scar (enlarged) from one of the shaft graves illustrates, in use, the weapons shown below. The flexible leathern shield 'like a tower' recalls that of Ajax in Homer; the rapier is only used for thrusting; the helmets are of the boar-tusk construction; and there is no body armour.

*National Museum, Athens*

1280 B.C. between Rameses II and the Hittite power in Asia Minor, are the prelude to a new age of violence and confusion which loomed up from the north-west—where 'the islands were troubled in the midst of the sea'—and broke in disastrous sea raids and land raids on both parties to the treaty, in the years about 1200 B.C.

It is within this disturbed period that Greek tradition placed the 'Trojan War,' dating it between 1194 and 1184 B.C. and regarding it as a quarrel between two Aegean leagues of peoples. Of these, the 'Trojan' confederacy, discussed more fully in Chapter 29, had its centre on the Dardanelles, with a sea front extending from Lycia to the Gulf of Salonica and also along the north shore of Asia Minor; presumably it covered large inland regions



#### ARMS OF THE WARRIORS WHO FOUGHT FOR THE MASTERY OF THE AEGEAN

The perforated segments of boar's tusk (top) discovered at Mycenae have been proved to be the armouring of a leather helmet, and are now sewn to a cap with cheek-pieces to show their original arrangement. Below are a series of swords from an ancient cemetery at Cnossus (L.M. II and III); they are not so ornate as the royal swords from Mycenae reproduced in colour in page 756, but illustrate the more workmanlike weapons in common use when Mycenae was taking the place of Crete.

*Helmet, British School at Athens; swords after Sir Arthur Evans in 'Archaeologia'*

behind these coastlines, and probably it represents the western aspect of that group of peoples which achieved the great 'land raid' of 1190 and was only checked with difficulty by Egyptian forces in Palestine and by the Assyrians some way east of the Euphrates more than a generation later.

Its rival, however, an 'Achaean' confederacy, represented by feudally organized contingents from peninsular Greece, Crete, Rhodes and some of the smaller islands along the south-western coast of Asia Minor, was led by chiefs of the 'House of Atreus' settled at Mycenae and Sparta. Their founder seems to be recognizable in

Hittite documents a generation earlier as king of an 'Achaean' sea power with dependencies in Caria, Pamphylia and Cyprus, along the seaboard of the Hittite Empire.

As 'Achaeans' are also mentioned among the sea-raiding enemies of Egypt in the same generation, it seems certain that Homer's Achaeans represent a historical league or feudal grouping of Aegean peoples; and as their most important princes, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ajax, Achilles, Diomedes, Idomeneus, Odysseus, are of families which had appeared suddenly and simultaneously in various districts of Greece, two generations



#### FAILING CRAFTSMANSHIP OF THE LATE MYCENAEAN POTTER

Decided decadence in form and decoration marks the ceramic art of the Late Mycenaean period. It is noticeable in the large krater (top left) from Enkomi in Cyprus, with its horse and chariot design, and equally in the stirrup-vase from Rhodes (bottom left). Other representative specimens of the pottery of this period are the vases (bottom right and top centre) from the necropolis of Kalyvia near Phaestus, and the two remaining votive vases from the cave of Zeus on Mount Dikte.

*British and Canadian Museums*



before the Trojan War, it is inferred that they represent a western wing of those 'Phrygian' newcomers who had fortified Troy, according to the tradition, in that same generation, and had been engaged in warfare in the interior of Asia Minor soon after; about the time of the 'mutual-insurance' treaty of 1280 between Egypt and the Hittites. In particular Pelops, father of Atreus, was in some sense a 'Phrygian' and son of Tantalus, a prince of Thrace; he made his appearance, as an adventurer from north-western Greece, in the west of the Peloponnese, which was supposed to have its name from his.

The 'Achaean' regime described in the Homeric poems seems therefore to be a late and brief episode in the Minoan decline; established only about 1280 B.C., it collapsed about 1100 B.C. before the southward migration of the historical Dorian tribes, whom later Greek writers described as originating in Macedon and the highlands west of it, and invading the Peloponnese from the north-west, like Pelops and his associates before them.

Reviewing then the main course of events, we have traced the first occupants of the Aegean region converging upon it from distinct sources, with different heritages of culture. They intermingled and coalesced in insular seclusion, among

natural conditions favourable to the creation of a fresh type of civilization, appropriate to this exceptional region. The greater resources of Crete enabled this larger island to outrun earlier rivals, and to realize an expansion into neighbouring regions to the north-west which the others had been prevented from achieving.

In this direction the spread of Minoan culture was relatively easy coastwise; but it failed to dominate the interior, even in the south, while the old Thessalian barbarism was less affected by it than by the native Minyan movement on its own southern border. Minyan precursors in the southern districts of the mainland prepared the way for divergent development in the Mycenaean province, and it was probably this divergence that eventually split the Minoan world into mainland and Cretan halves, and brought about the collapse of the latter about 1400 B.C., perhaps at the hands of a Mycenaean confederacy.

This mainland or colonial culture, in its turn, overstrained itself in widespread exploitation of the Mediterranean coasts from Philistia to Sicily, and perhaps even farther west, and fell to pieces at the shock of barbarian conquest, from which the long centuries of the Minoan development had, so far as we can discover, been free.



#### SEALS THAT BRIDGE THE GULF BETWEEN MYCENAE AND THE CLASSICS

As a link with the future we conclude with a group of impressions from ring bezels found at Thisbe in Boeotia. Of typical Minoan craftsmanship, they are all interesting, whether as showing costume like No. 3 (goddess with attendants) or animal life like No. 5. But the first is of a man fighting a sphinx, which reminds us at once of the Boeotian legend of Oedipus; No. 2 suggests the meeting of Oedipus with his father; while No. 4 resembles Persephone rising from the underworld, and No. 6 the huntress Artemis. Do these well-known Greek tales go back to Mycenaean times?

*Courtesy of Hellenic Society and Sir Arthur Evans*

# THE NEW PEOPLES: A STUDY OF RACE MOVEMENTS

Tracing the Antecedents of certain Important Tribes  
that now make their first Appearance in History

By R. A. S. MACALISTER

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DOWN to comparatively recent times the conception of 'history' was that of a record of ambitious conquerors, or of bold viking scafarers, setting forth on magnificent adventures to add new jewels to their crowns, in a noble lust of glory. Now, however, the centre of gravity of the science of history has shifted its position. It is no longer 'history' pure and simple; rather is it the composite discipline called 'historical geography.' Nature, not Man, is now regarded as taking the initiative in the expeditions of which the pages of history are so full. No longer can ambition be considered to be their primary motive; we must be content to ascribe them ultimately to the necessity of satisfying the rudimentary needs of the human animal.

No land, however wide, and however fertile its soil may be, can support more than a limited number of inhabitants. If the population should increase beyond that number, the superfluous must either emigrate or die; there is no other alternative. We may read the description of an absolutely normal, typical case in the eighteenth chapter of the Book of Judges. The territory assigned to the tribe of Dan was insufficient. The superfluous population swarmed out in search of 'a people quiet and secure.' They found such a community, fell upon its members, smote them with the edge of the sword, and occupied their land.

We may call those Danites all the hard names that we can think of—barbarous, selfish, and so forth. On the facts, as set forth in the chapter referred to, it is difficult to see how otherwise we are to describe them. But we must apply

exactly the same terms to the superfluous of England, who exterminated the ancient folk of Tasmania and made their land a prey unto themselves; and to the superfluous of Europe, who by methods no less ungentle have deprived the Red Man of his inheritance in America.

Moreover, the limitation of productivity, and the consequent limitation of the possible number of inhabitants, is not always invariable, but is subject to fluctuations of various kinds. These fluctuations are not capricious, for nothing in nature can be described by that unscientific adjective; but for all practical purposes they might as well be capricious, inasmuch as their causes are unknown for the greater part, and they cannot be foreseen, prepared for, guarded against, or averted.

Without the least warning, an earthquake may destroy a thriving town; a volcano may cover a smiling landscape with a barren sea of lava.

There are complex climatic cycles of longer or shorter duration which we cannot explain, but the effects of which we may see in alternations of drought and fertility. In the drought periods the possible maximum population is lowered, and the struggle for existence becomes more severe; in the fertility periods these conditions are reversed. The welfare of the human community is like a very sensitive recording instrument, and even minor fluctuations of the kind have an influence upon it. The failure of the potato-crop in 1847 made permanent changes in the whole economic aspect and polity of Ireland. Causes such as these must be sought for when we try

**Natural Causes  
of Migration**

to explain movements of peoples, both in ancient and in modern times.

The influences of economic causes are secondary as well as primary. A drought acts directly upon the inhabitants of the land which it affects, and disperses them. These dispossess some more fortunately situated neighbour, as the exiles of Dan drove out the folk of Laish. The dispossessed, or such of them as survive the onslaught, must in their turn seek fresh possessions, and so they elbow out some weaker community elsewhere. Thus the dispersal moves onward, in circles ever widening.

The investigations of Raphael Pumpelly at Anau in Turkistan have shown the important influence of droughts upon the movements of peoples in the remote past. In much more recent times, the unrest prevalent in Europe during the period of the 'Völkerwanderungen'—those seemingly pointless migrations of the different Teutonic tribes from place to place, often over very long routes of travel—was ultimately due to a time of climatic severity in nearer Asia, which drove the Mongol tribes inhabiting that region westward into Europe.

This sordid struggle between those that have and those that have not is the main-spring of internal social upheavals, as well as of external colonisation. An oligarchy may stand between a community and desirable luxuries, if not necessities of life. An explosion sooner or later becomes inevitable, such as took place in France at the end of the eighteenth century, and in Russia during the twentieth. Not infrequently the leaders of revolt, sheltering themselves under the much misused name of democracy, establish a new oligarchy; and so set the stage for later explosions in later generations. Thus does history repeat itself; for human nature remains as it ever was; human needs are the same



THE KEFTIU IN EGYPT

Evidence of commerce with the Keftiu or Minoan Crete is found in Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This 'filter' vase is typically Late Minoan.

After H. R. Hall, 'The Oldest Civilization of Greece'

as they were in the Stone Age; and the earth cannot yield more to human acquisitiveness than it actually contains.

Thanks to the results of excavation in Crete and elsewhere, we have now a clear knowledge of the development of civilization in the regions of the nearer East during the Bronze Age. The writings of Egypt and of Babylonia have preserved to us rich historical material, in the more limited sense of the word, from the same period; and we may hope that these will be supplemented when the Cretan tablets are deciphered. Richer still, and yet more intelligible, is the matter that comes to us from the time after the Iron Age was well established; a time brilliantly illuminated by the literature of Greece. But between these two

clearly lighted epochs there is an interval of obscurity. Although the Homeric epics profess to come down to us out of the fog, they cannot be said—great though they are—to make it much clearer; rather do they themselves need all the light that we can throw upon them from elsewhere.

It is plain that this hiatus-time, which fills two centuries at the beginning of the last millennium B.C., was a time of disturbance; but from out of it was born the modern world, even as the earth was born from the primal chaos. The door was closed upon the ancient civilizations: Egypt, Crete, Babylon passed into history, or at most emerged shorn for ever of the glory that had been theirs. Over the fields from which their influence was thus uprooted there were sown seeds that were to develop into the religious insight of the Hebrews, the art and philosophy of the Greeks, the legal and political genius of the Romans. During this time of unrest, the twin foundations of European civilizations were laid—alphabetic writing and the use of iron.

During this time of unrest, once more, new peoples may be seen to spring up, like so many mushrooms, wherever we turn our eyes; this is perhaps its most striking characteristic. These appear suddenly, without introduction, in the records that Egyptian or western Asiatic kings have left us. The kings themselves were fully occupied with practical problems of defence, and did not trouble themselves why, and whence, new enemies appeared above their horizon; but for us these are the questions of most vital interest.

If our knowledge and records were complete, we should naturally relate the events in their logical historical order: we should say that because of such and such reasons, the people of a country called X attacked and dispossessed the people of Y; that Y in its turn invaded Z; and that Z, in desperation, found itself compelled to adventure against even the might of Egypt or of Babylon. But this is not possible. We have no direct information about the antecedent events. The impact of Z is alone recorded for us; the rest must be a matter of inference. We must work backward, beginning with the latter end of the chain.

The invasions of Egypt by 'the Peoples of the Sea' form perhaps the most con-



#### SHIRDANU ARMED WITH SPEAR AND SHIELD

In the Tell el-Amarna letters, the period of which is approximately 1400 B.C., the Shirdanu are the first of the Northerners to be mentioned. In the 13th century they again figure in the records, this time as mercenaries in the army of Ramses II.

*Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society*

venient starting-point for our investigation. In the histories of some of the earlier kings of Egypt (Thothmes III, Amenhotep II) there are occasional references to 'Islesmen,' who have relations, usually those of friendly commercial intercourse, with Egypt. The name appears to be interchangeable with 'Keftiu,' the ordinary Egyptian word for the Minoan Cretans, or at any rate for a people in full possession of the Minoan civilization; and it is suggestive that it is when this name disappears from Egyptian literature, and not before, that we begin to hear of 'the Peoples of the Sea.'

The names of some of these 'Peoples' appear already in the Tell el-Amarna letters, but not in such a context as to



#### FACIAL TYPES OF SOME OF EGYPT'S INVADERS FROM THE NORTH

There has been much discussion as to the identity of the Peoples of the Sea who in 1296 B.C. assumed a hostile attitude towards Egypt, and some seventy years later formed a coalition and organized a military expedition against that country, only to be repulsed by Merneptah. It is now generally agreed that the Shirdanu or Sherden (left) were the people afterwards called Sardinians, and that the Shakalash (right) were in some way connected with the town of Sagalassus in Pisidia.

*Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie*

prepare us for later developments. The Shirdanu seem to be actually allies or mercenaries of the Egyptian party in Syria. The same may perhaps be said of the Shikhlali, though the tablet on which their name appears is too mutilated to allow us to be certain of their place in the drama. The Danuna are said to be 'peaceful' after a change of monarchy which does not seem to affect greatly either the writer or the recipient of the letter. The only jarring note is a complaint of annual raids made by the Lukki upon the territory of the king of Alashiya.

The Lukki are easily to be identified with the Lycians, and we hear of them again at a later date, in the history of the warfare between *Rameses II* and the Hittites. With other communities of Asia Minor, they are allies of the latter against the king of Egypt. Among these auxiliaries of the Hittites we can recognize Mysians, Dardanians and Cilicians, notwithstanding the eccentricities of Egyptian spelling. Others are not quite so certain. People called 'Pidasa' may be either Pedasians or Pisidians; and there are one or two other names which for the time being we may leave in their present obscurity.

Thus in 1400 B.C., approximately the period of the Amarna letters, the 'Peo-



#### A SARDINIAN WARRIOR

Found in Sardinia, this bronze statuette represents a warrior of the same type as the antagonists and mercenaries of the Pharaohs, and thus supports the view that the Shirdanu were Sardinians.

*British Museum*

ples of the Sea,' as they are later to be called, gave no trouble to Egypt, and were guilty only of local raids in North Syria. But in 1296 they definitely took up a position hostile to Egypt, although as yet their operations were confined to Hittite and Syrian territory. Seventy-five years later, in the days of *Merneptah*, they directed their hostility against Egypt itself. In 1221 B.C. a coalition united itself with the Libyans of North Africa in an endeavour to make Egypt a prey; but it was repulsed by the Pharaoh, who, though not a young man, was then at the height of his vigour.

The coalition included the ubiquitous Lycians, along with the Shirdanu, the Shakalash, the Akaiwasha and the Tursha.

The first of these names we have already heard. The second is clearly in some way cognate with the name of the island of Sardinia; but it is not to be understood that the invaders of Egypt came from thence. Rather were they fated to make their way thither, after their raid upon Egypt ended in failure. The Shakalash, who are doubtless to be identified with the Shikhlali of the earlier documents, are generally understood to be in some way connected with the town of Sagalassus in Pisidia. The Akaiwasha are to be identified with the

Achaeans, who seem to have appeared already in the Hittite records (see Chap. 23). The Tyrrhenians are to be seen in the Tursha, but here again the name is to be considered as 'proleptic'; they are the people who are afterwards to settle in Italy and be known as the Tyrrhenians, just as the Shirdanu are afterwards to be called Sardinians.

#### OLD CRETAN AND SARDINIAN SWORDS

Straight, long, thin and rapier-like, the characteristic Minoan bronze sword (top) was a thrusting, not a cutting weapon. So, too, was the heavier, broader-bladed sword used by the Shirdanu, as shown by the Sardinian statuette in this page. Splendid specimens of both have been recovered; the Sardinian (lower) is really almost twice as long as the Cretan.

*Candia and British Museums*

Some thirty years later, in the days of Rameses III, Egypt was faced with a much more serious menace. All that had gone before, was but the preliminary muttering of a storm, that now threatened to burst with full fury. The sculptures and inscriptions on the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu tell us the story. 'The isles were disturbed; no land stood before them.' As Isaiah in a famous passage drew an outline of the march of the Assyrian army on Jerusalem, so does the king's chronicler show us the Peoples of the Sea marching through the land of the Hittites, Cilicia, Carchemish, Arvad, Alashiya—whatever the last-named region may be, for the current identification with Cyprus is disputed—and bearing down all resistance. In Amor, which is Palestine, they assemble, 'with hearts confident and full of plans.'

This was not a mere military expedition. The pictures that accompany the story show us the raiders advancing with wagons, containing their wives and children. Clearly they are not seeking loot so much as a new home, presumably



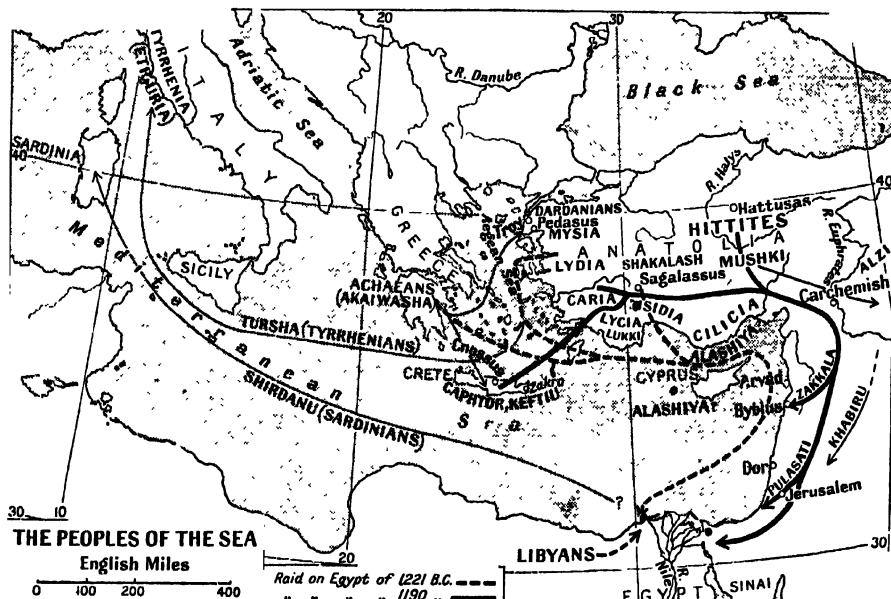
PHILISTINES CAPTURED IN WAR

Although he defeated them with the other 'Peoples of the Sea,' as is clearly implied in the above panel, Rameses III could not prevent the Philistines—a vigorous and warlike people—from becoming dominant in southern Palestine.

*Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie*

because they have in some way been driven out from their former dwelling.

But they reckoned without Rameses III, the last energetic monarch whom Egypt enjoyed. He was fully alive to the danger; and, aware that attack is often the best defence, he vigorously attacked the invaders both by sea and by land. His sea-fight, which is portrayed on the wall of his temple (most graphically, in spite of the diagram-like conventions of Egyptian



THE PEOPLES OF THE SEA

English Miles

0 100 200 400

Raid on Egypt of 1221 B.C. ---  
" " " 1190 " —

#### HOMES AND MOVEMENTS OF THE NORTHERN COALITION AGAINST EGYPT

In 1221 B.C. the various tribes termed collectively in Egyptian records 'the Peoples of the Sea' combined in a military expedition to overthrow the supremacy of the Pharaohs. Thirty years later a similar coalition embarked upon a more serious movement upon Egypt with the object of possessing themselves of that land for their own permanent occupation. After their defeat by

Rameses III they became distributed over Asia Minor, Syria and the Mediterranean region.

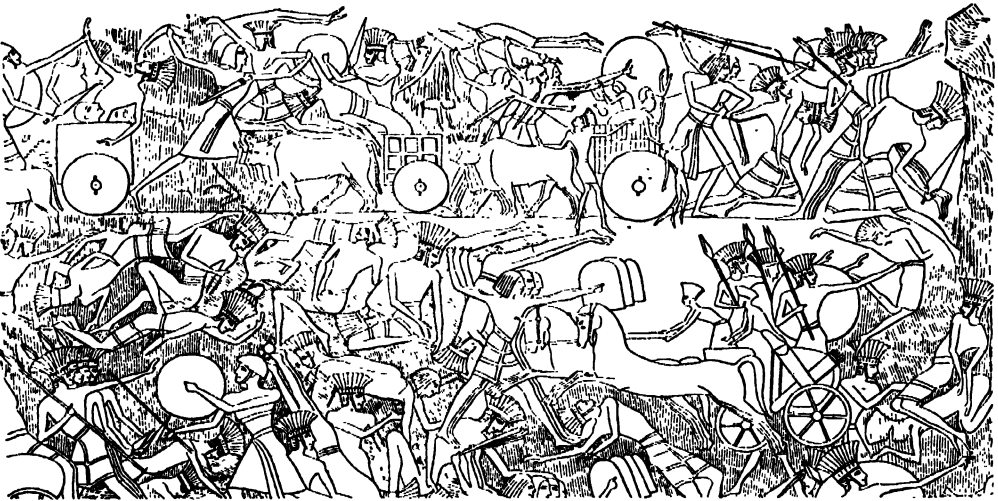
art), was the first event of the kind to be recorded in history (see page 674). Both by sea and by land the defeat of the Peoples of the Sea was complete, and Egypt, for the time, was saved.

The tribes with which Rameses had to contend are enumerated in his record; their names are similar, though not altogether identical, with those upon which we have already commented. First in importance are the Pulasati, of whom we now hear for the first time; with Zakkala, Shakkalash, Danuna and Washasha.

That the Pulasati are to be identified with the Philistines of Hebrew history there

presided over by a lord, called 'seren' (plural 'seranim') in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament; and, unlike the other peoples with which the Hebrews had to deal, they did not practise the rite of circumcision. A constant tradition connects them with Caphtor, that is, with Crete (as, for example, in Amos 9, 7); but they were not necessarily pure Cretans, for there is some evidence of an element in their composition derived from Caria, on the adjacent mainland.

The Zakkala are rather more obscure, so far as their origin is concerned. There is a modern place-name, Zakro, in Crete,



#### VIGOROUS REPRESENTATION OF A PHILISTINE TREK BARRED BY SHIRDANU

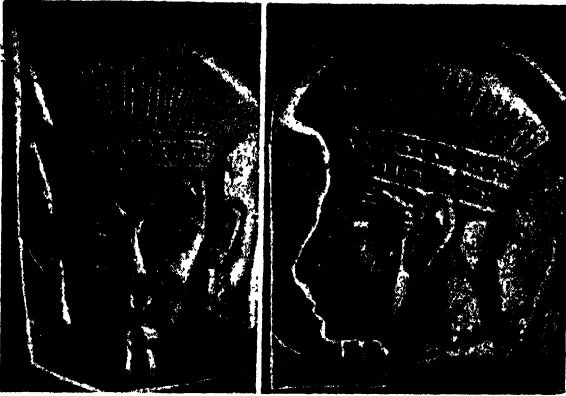
In 1190 a formidable incursion of would-be immigrants from the north was repulsed by Rameses III, his troops including Shirdanu mercenaries. This sculpture from Medinet Habu shows a convoy of Philistines, recognizable by their swords and plumed turbans, with their women, children and impedimenta stowed in solid-wheeled chariots drawn by four oxen. The presence of these encumbrances proves the incursion to have been a deliberate attempt to occupy the land of Egypt.

*From Champollion, 'Monuments d'Égypte'*

can be no doubt whatever. Here once more the name is proleptic; the Pulasati of the record of Rameses are the people who afterwards settled in Philistia. Driven back from the goal of their desires in Egypt, they found a footing upon the coast of Palestine; and, the rest of their history is written in the chronicles of their hereditary enemies, the Hebrews. Their power was not broken until the time of David (2 Samuel 5, 17-25); their language lingered in Ashdod until the time of Nehemiah (see Nehemiah 13, 24).

They had a peculiar political organization—a government of city-states, each

with which it is tempting to associate them; but this cannot be proved to be a name of high antiquity. They were at least as formidable a people as their Philistine kinsfolk, and they were no less highly civilized. The famous Golénischeff papyrus shows them to us firmly established upon the coast of Syria, from Dor northward as far as Byblus. This document was written about seventy-five years after the defeat of the allies by Rameses III, and describes the misfortunes of an Egyptian envoy who found himself among them. Like the Philistines, their cities are ruled each by an independent lord,



TYPICAL PULASATI HEADS

A Cretan or Carian origin has been ascribed to the people named Pulasati in the records left by Rameses III. After their repulse from Egypt they found a footing on the coast of Palestine and are certainly to be identified with the Philistines, whose later history is written in the chronicles of the Hebrews.

*Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie*

and these potentates display a healthy contempt for Egypt and for the feeble ghost-kings who occupy the throne, and unworthily bear the name, of the great Rameses. They are powerful and self-reliant rulers; the king of Byblus lives in a palace of no mean character, and he keeps his accounts 'pon rolls of papyrus.

It is probable that the other 'Peoples' became merged in these two prominent members of their coalition, losing their independent existence; for we do not hear of them again. So far as their origin is concerned, the Shakalash are probably, as we have seen, the Sagalassians; the Danuna seem to be Danaoi of the Homeric poems, another name of prime importance. The name of the Washasha is ambiguous, but it may be identified with place or population names that meet us both in Caria (Oassians) and in Crete (Vaxioi).

This event, and the analysis of the tribal names involved, teach us that at the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. there was some kind of stress in western Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean, which made it necessary for the inhabitants to remove themselves and to seek a fresh abiding-place. Previous

raids, under earlier kings of Egypt, may have been inspired by desire for plunder; but the presence of the women and children in the Philistine wagons shows us that here we have to deal with a migration. Something has made Asia Minor, in current phrase, too hot to hold the Philistines and their friends.

The pressure, whatever its nature, which forced the Peoples of the Sea southward drove another emigration eastward. Somewhere west of the Taurus Mountains there had dwelt a people called in the Assyrian records Mushki—the 'Meshech' of the

second chapter of Genesis and the 'Moschoi' of Herodotus. This people does not appear to have played any part in history until 1160 B.C., some thirty years after the attack on Egypt in the days of Rameses III. About this year they suddenly burst their mountain barrier and, marching eastward, occupied two Assyrian provinces, Alzi (the Alsce of the Hittite records) and Perikuzzi by name, at the head-waters of the Tigris. These they held for fifty years, until they were routed by Tiglath-pileser I in meeting a further attack which they ventured to make on Assyrian territory.



## AMORITE ALLIES OF THE HITTITE KING

These figures, representing some of the prisoners of war taken from the Hittite confederate army at the battle of Kadesh, can be identified by comparison as Amorites from the Orontes Valley and Lebanon districts. \*After some critical hours the battle eventually turned in favour of Rameses II.

*Courtesy of Professor Garstang*



There was a westward migration also, at about the same time. The colonisation of central Italy by that strange folk the Etruscans seems now to have taken place. The Etruscans have left behind them a rich legacy of material, epigraphic, artistic and archaeological, yet we know less about them than we do about many another nation of antiquity of which little but the name has survived.

**Eastern origin of the Etruscans** The reason is, that what we have inherited from the Etruscans is a bundle of cyphers of which the keys are lost and have as yet proved irrecoverable. We do not know their language, or any language like it; so that we cannot read the numerous inscriptions that they have left to us, notwithstanding many heroic efforts that have been made at unriddling them. We have, therefore, nothing to set beside what we can glean from their tomb-paintings about their religion—a gloomy worship that seems to have been a propitiation of monstrous nightmare demons.

Their government is exotic in the Indo-European surroundings in which the Etruscans find themselves in Italy; but their 'lucumones,' or city-state presidents, have a suggestive resemblance to the 'seranim' of the Philistines. They were in bitter enmity to the new-born state of Rome; but, if we may credit tradition, they gave to it some of its early kings, and undoubtedly they exercised no small formative influence upon the early development of its civilization. Whoever the Etruscans may have been, it is now a matter of common agreement that we are to look to Asia Minor as the land of their origin: the land in which we may expect light upon the countless problems which they present, when its soil has been more extensively excavated. Their settlement in Italy was one more incident in the general dispersal of peoples which took place from that centre in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. (see further under Chap. 38.)

Let us now turn to Asia Minor itself, and see whether its scanty records present further evidence for the unrest which we may infer from these migrations. Let us seek especially for signs of any external

pressure which would account for the emigration at one time of so many peoples, who had till then been content to live undistinguished lives within its borders.

We are confronted at the outset by the familiar tale of Troy. It is unnecessary to describe this city and its remains at any length in this place, as these form the subject of Chapter 29. Nor is it of importance to discuss the historicity of the story, as it was understood by the Homeric writers and by those who followed them. Whatever may be the truth underlying the details of the preliminary events that are said to have led up to the assault and capture of this city by a coalition under the leadership of the Mycenaean king Agamemnon—and of the occurrences at and after the siege itself—it is legitimate to infer from them that there must have been some sort of invasion of the Troad at the time when the sack of Troy is said to have taken place. The tradition is too constant, and too consistent with the actual remains of the city, to be set aside as mere folklore. The traditional date of the event is in remarkable accord with the other evidence; it is within some twenty-five years of the emigration of the Moschoi.

But the key to the whole problem is to be sought in the fate of the Hittite empire. The Hittites, at the time of their greatest power, had been able to meet Egypt on equal terms, and to extort from the Pharaoh a treaty not unfavourable to themselves. Although they cannot be said to have dominated the whole of Asia Minor, they were able in the course of those operations to command the alliance and the allegiance of a number of more or less independent communities within that region, as we have already seen. The power of the Hittite Empire, while it lasted, was sufficient to present a strong resistance to external colonisation; it was, indeed, the chief bulwark which protected the weaker peoples of Anatolia from invasion and supersession by land-hungry strangers.

Greece was not far off, over a short sea full of island stepping-stones; and Greece, not being a conspicuously fertile country, is compelled to export its superfluous

population. The western shores of Asia Minor offered irresistible attractions to Greek settlers, and such must have begun to filter into those regions from a comparatively early date. Indeed, the Trojan war, stripped of its epic accretions, may be prosaically reduced to an incident, a little more violent than usual, in the history of the Greek colonisation of Asia Minor.

These colonies were, at first, confined to the north and the south corners. The economically more attractive middle portion of the coast was left alone till considerably later—in fact, until the Hittite Empire had fallen. It is impossible to dissociate the one circumstance from the other, especially as it is just in this region, of all others on the coast, that Hittite remains—sculptures and the like—are most frequent.

The Hittite kings were well advised in resisting colonisation; for it was this colonisation that was the prime cause of the destruction of the Hittite power. The narrow straits that separate Asia Minor from Europe were inadequate to keep out the little communities who crossed over here and there, and gradually spread over the northern part of the peninsula. Step by step the Hittite Empire began to be cut short.

The fall of Troy gave a great impetus to western colonisation in the north-west corner of the region; and it is suggestive that just about the time of the fall of Troy the Hittite records of Boghaz Keui come to an abrupt end, and the city itself ceases to be the capital of the empire very shortly after. The actual course of events has still to be revealed by excavation and decipherment; but the above outline cannot be far wrong. That the pressure which broke the Hittite power came from the north and west may be inferred from the fact that the centre of the remnant was transferred far to the south-east, to Carchemish.

We are now in a better position to set forth, in a logical historical order, the course of events, so far as they can be recovered.

Let us begin at the year 1400 B.C. About that time Egypt was enjoying the greatest extension of her power, under

one of the greatest of her monarchs, Amenhotep III. The rule of Egypt extended over Palestine and up to Syria, where it bordered on the sphere of influence of the Hittite Empire, then likewise at its greatest height under Subbiliuma.

Between the upper waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris was a kingdom called Mitanni, of which we have learnt the name only in comparatively recent years. **First appearance of the Achaeans** spoke an Indo-European language; the kingdom was so considerable that even the mighty king of Egypt did not disdain to take a wife from thence. Cnossus had passed through many vicissitudes, but it still retained its domination over Crete, and its influence in art and in politics over the neighbouring islands and mainland coasts. On the north-west corner of Asia Minor stood the ancient city of Troy, then almost at the summit of its importance; and in the Peloponnesus was its great and wealthy rival Mycenae, gradually supplanting Cnossus.

For the moment the world seemed to be at peace—comparatively speaking. But the balance was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and needed only a push to throw everything into confusion. Here the Achaeans come on the scene, and these must be considered as being the main-spring of the events that were now to take place. First in time comes the destruction of Cnossus, which is generally attributed to their agency. Inevitably this caused a dispersal of the population of Crete, and a consequent colonisation of the islands and the mainland, that would, to say the least, crowd inconveniently the earlier inhabitants. Some two hundred years afterwards, Rameses III has a vague story of 'the isles being disturbed.' The disturbance must have begun with this destruction of Cnossus.

But the fall of the Cretan capital was not the only disturbance that broke the equilibrium of 1400 B.C. At about the same time the domination of Egypt in Palestine and Syria was gravely challenged: and the challenge was all the more effective by reason of the astonishing events that were soon to take place in

Egypt itself. Just when an energetic ruler was most needed, Amenhotep III died, and his place was taken by Akhnaton, who, whatever his merits as a philosopher and a religious reformer may have been, was not a competent Pharaoh.

The challenge was ostensibly offered by certain Aramaean bandits, who are called Sutu and Khabiru in the Tell el-Amarna letters. We cannot tell as yet what motive power lay behind their inroads. Just as

**Northern pressure on Palestine** the Pulasati and their allies was the end of a chain of population-

movements, so we may reasonably infer that the Khabiru were driven into Palestine by some similar pressure from behind. But of this we know nothing as yet; it may well be that in time we shall see the same ultimate driving force impelling the Khabiru as impelled the Pulasati: that these two invasions were but different acts of the same drama.

Whoever the Khabiru may have been, and whatever was their ultimate origin, we may infer (from the fact that they also appear in the Boghaz Keui tablets) that they were at first dwellers in some land north of Palestine, and that it was from that direction that they made their raids. It is by no means easy to determine what was their connexion with the Biblical Hebrews. That these two bodies of invaders, bearing names practically identical, should be wholly independent each of the other is scarcely thinkable.

If they are not independent, however, the story of the Khabiru, so far as we can recover it from the Tell el-Amarna letters, gravely complicates the criticism of the Biblical story of the Exodus. We must infer from the letters that the process of colonisation of Palestine by the Khabiru continued almost unchecked; and that, at last, the Canaanites were compelled (by the 'dolce far niente' attitude of the Egyptian king to whom they had looked for succour) to accept them as unwelcome but inevitable neighbours. The events which the letters permit us to see in progress could hardly have had any other issue.

But if so, and if the Hebrews are to be regarded as the descendants of these

Khabiru, then what are we to make of the story of the escape from Egypt? The best answer to this difficult question that has yet been given is of the nature of a compromise. It assumes that the story of the Exodus does not refer to the whole body of Hebrews that were settled in Palestine, but to a comparatively small number of the people called Hebrews, who in any case were not a homogeneous community. The picturesque traditions of this smaller body were in time adopted as the official history by the whole body of the Hebrew people.

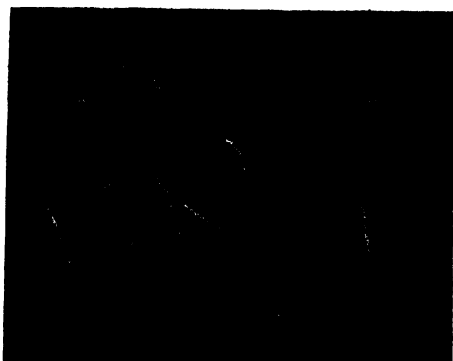
Both by arms and by intrigue was Egypt challenged in Palestine, Syria and Mitanni. Undoubtedly the surrounding peoples profited to the full by Akhnaton's neglect of his military duties. No pacifist scruples troubled Subbiluliuma, whose best energies were given to the expansion of his empire. He fought against Carchemish and Syria, and reduced Mitanni to vassalage.

As frequently happens, however, the greatness of the empire depended on the greatness of the emperor. When he died, his two sons quarrelled about the succession; and Mursil, who was not the rightful heir, was ultimately victorious over his rival. This dispute cannot but have weakened the empire and prepared the way for its ultimate downfall.

It still had plenty of vitality, however. The old jealousy between the Hittites and the Egyptians continued.

The Hittites maintained **Waning of the Hittite Empire** relations with Palestine, presumably in order to provide a base for a contemplated future attack on their enemy's country itself. This attack, however, never came to fruition, doubtless because new enemies pressed upon the Hittites. In or about 1300 the empire lay between two hostile communities—the strong fortress of Troy on the one hand, the Assyrians on the other, who even in those early days were showing symptoms of an ambition for world domination. They attacked Carchemish successfully, notwithstanding the support given to the town by the Hittites.

Were it not that Egypt was likewise on the down grade, the Hittite struggle with that country might not have been so long-



### WARRIORS OF ACHAEAN STRAIN

From their physiognomy and armour these figures are supposed to represent Achaean adventurers from the neighbourhood of Troy who joined the Hittites as mercenaries in their trial of strength with the Pharaohs.

*Courtesy of Professor Garstang*

lasting and on the whole so successful as it was. But it is suggestive to note the contrast between the assault on Egypt under Rameses II and that under Merneptah. In the first the Hittites were the leaders, and associated with themselves a number of the minor tribes of Anatolia. In the second, the Hittites dropped out almost completely; it was the lesser folk that took the initiative and leagued themselves with the Achaeans.

The star of the Achaeans was in the ascendant; they were gradually extending the range of their influence. And now we are suddenly surprised by the collapse of Troy, followed closely by the collapse of Hattusas, the city whose site is now called Boghaz Keui. Asia Minor fell to pieces, and from its seething cauldron communities hastened forth in all directions in search of homes more tolerable elsewhere.

From first to last the hidden hand of the Achaeans is at work. Through them, we may perhaps hope to make a step further back in our reconstruction of the order of events. Who, then, were these Achaeans?

According to ancient authorities, the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece and the adjoining lands were a people called

'Pelasgians.' The meaning to be ascribed to this name has long been a matter of dispute; the theories that have been put forward about it range from the extreme of scepticism to the extreme of credulity. The question is complicated by a natural reaction against the name, due to the illegitimate use made of it by sciolists and by writers of a pre-scientific age.

But after all, it is merely a label, and as convenient as any other. There is no proof that it was the name which the people thus designated gave to themselves; it apparently means 'sea-folk,' and is simply a term used by the writers of classical Greece to express their realization of the fact that they and the people to which they belonged were not the first inhabitants of their country. It is as indefinite as would be some such general term as 'those who went before us.' The implication we may fully accept, and with it the name that expresses it.

Undoubtedly there were aboriginal inhabitants living in Greece and in the adjacent islands; a people belonging generally to what ethnologists call the Mediterranean Race. To this people is to be ascribed the development of the Minoan culture, showing that they possessed no mean powers, and that their attainments



### SOLDIERS OF THE SUB-MYCENAEAN AGE

The relationship of Achaean civilization and culture to those of the Mycenaean age is still in dispute. On this sherd (of Achaean ware?) from Tiryns the warriors are depicted with breastplates and round targes; normally the Mycenaeans used tower-like or figure-of-eight shields and no body armour.

*From Furtwängler, Mykenische Vasen*

were very considerable. If we call them Pelasgians, we can do so without implying that they were racially homogeneous.

The Greeks themselves seem to have believed that the Achaean invasion took place some three or four generations before the Trojan war. This is shown by the evidence of ancient genealogies, among other things; and although

**History and the Homeric legend** such evidence has to be used with caution, and it may be that we are not

entitled to assume actual dates, we are at reasonable liberty to infer that at a comparatively short time before the event named a new people appeared in the Greek region. By the time of Homer the Achaeans had completely superseded the Pelasgians in the occupation of Greece. The latter had been reduced to helotry or serfdom; the former were the predominant people, and conducted all the greater affairs of life.

We may take this much for granted. The Pelasgians, whoever they may have been, gave place to the Achaeans, whoever they may have been, at some time (very roughly) about 1300 B.C. Before that date civilization was predominantly Pelasgian. After that date, civilization became predominantly Achaean. But when we venture further than these simple postulates, we find ourselves involved in a quagmire of hotly disputed questions.

All the parties in the dispute appeal to Homer, and all of them find in Homer just what they require. The one side proves clearly that Homer was only reconstructing an Achaean atmosphere, and that therefore his stage properties—his swords, shields and trappings generally—are not the stage properties with which his heroes would have been equipped in real life. They point to contrasts between the weapons, etc., that Homer describes, and those found in Mycenaean graves or figured in Cretan wall paintings or seals; and they show that the world of Homer was a world different from, and later than, that which he was endeavouring to depict. The other side deny that such inconsistencies exist, and that in the minor points where there are discrepancies, these are to be explained by interpolations or other corruptions in the text.

As is usual in such disputes, the truth lies between the two extremes. Homer lived far nearer to the times and the places of, which he wrote than we do. (We may remark parenthetically, that here, for simplicity, we assume the unity of the poems and the individuality of the poet). He had access to sources of information closed to us. He heard living traditions that we shall never hear. It stands to reason that he did his best to reproduce those traditions, and to depict the life of his heroes as he imagined it would have been, in the light of the knowledge accessible to him. But it does not follow that he was, or could be, invariably accurate.

He was in the position of a modern author writing a historical novel of about the time of Charles II. Such a person would have the sense to avoid mentioning railway-trains or telegrams: but he would need to be a really good archaeologist to steer clear of such minor pitfalls as entrapped the author of a narrative which the writer of this chapter happened to read a day or two before these words were written; wherein a country wife in 1660 was made to 'wait tea for' her husband! Even the great Homer must not be exempted from the criticism which we should naturally apply to a triviality like this. We are bound to criticise his archaeology freely before we are entitled to make use of it. In fact, it is quite legitimate to argue that we cannot make use of it at all; we have to use archaeology to elucidate Homer.

According to one theory, the Achaeans, some of whom are described as being fair, or at least brown-haired, in contrast with the dark-haired Mediterranean Pelasgians, were originally a non-Greek body of invaders of Nordic blood. These, coming from the north, are said to have imported the iron culture and all the other changes in civilization which we can see taking place in the Aegean lands at this time. As we shall learn presently, to credit them with the introduction of iron is claiming a little too much. They took Pelasgian wives, and in consequence lost their own and acquired the Pelasgian language (presumed to be an early form

**Epic Poetry  
and Archaeology**

of Greek); by constant intermarriage their own racial peculiarities were in time bred out, so that the Pelasgian characteristics remained constant, and still prevail in the population of Greece.

The rival theory assumes that the Achaeans were from the first a Greek people, as the Greeks themselves asserted them to have been, living in the northern part of Greece; and that they moved southward and assumed a domination over the rest of their Hellenic brethren. The almost cataclysmal changes in culture which took place at the same time are considered as having been entirely independent of the Achaean invasion, and are attributed (rather vaguely, it must be confessed) to influences from the east.

On the whole the former hypothesis seems to fit the facts better; and it offers a complete—some might be so perverse as to say a too complete—explanation of the phenomena which the history of Greece, the Aegean and the coasts of Anatolia present at the time of unrest with which this chapter is concerned. Such an invasion, by a powerful race belonging to the vigorous Nordic stock, would account for the sudden collapse of empires which we hear crashing around us as we take our stand in Asia Minor at the beginning of the last millennium B.C.

The theory is, however, not free from difficulties: thus, it has yet to be proved, and cannot be proved until

**Rival Theories of the Problem** the documents are deciphered, that the speech of the Pelasgians was Greek, or, indeed, any Indo-European language. On this and other matters we must be content to reserve judgement. That the children of a mixed marriage adopt the mother-tongue rather than the father-tongue is a commonplace of experience. That Greek historians of later times have preserved no record of a foreign invasion from the north is no real objection to the theory here supported. They would not willingly have perpetuated a narrative which made the Achaeans out to be 'barbarians' by origin. Indeed, it may well be that even the victims of the invasion had only as vague a notion of the origin of their conquerors as had Rameses III of the origin of the Peoples of the Sea.

We may freely concede that at this stage we definitely leave behind us the region of proved fact and enter the realm of hypothesis. With this word of caution, we may allow ourselves to be led away from Greece and the Aegean Sea into central and northern Europe. Of what was happening there in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries B.C. we have no information from literary sources; and the absolute chronology

of the archaeological material on which we have to depend for a reconstruction of the history is as yet far from settled. But there is not wanting evidence that about the same time changes were taking place there also. We find subtle modifications in art, and in the styles of tools and of weapons, pointing to the conclusion that central and northern Europe were as much in unrest as was the Mediterranean; that there were 'Völkerwanderungen'—movements of peoples—there also which have not found their historian, but of which the postulated Achaean invasion was but a single incident.

If this were truly so, analogy suggests that the ultimate cause of all the disturbances, whose records we have been endeavouring to systematise, will be found in that ancient troubler of Europe, Turkistan. The wild nomad tribes of that inhospitable land had found themselves driven from it by climatic and economic conditions worse than usual, and, pressing in upon eastern Europe, where people dwelt at ease, they drove the original dwellers in these parts hither and thither before them, as they had from the beginning of time driven the flocks on which they lived.

These movements of peoples set the stage for a new world; a world the history of which is still in progress, and which differs profoundly from its predecessor. It can show countless religious and social institutions and conventions, countless refinements of civilization both for good and for evil, that were unimagined in the old world. On the details of these it is unnecessary here to dwell. The germ of their development lies latent in three fundamental points of difference between the old and the new, three changes which began to take place during this time of

**Turkistan the Germ of Trouble?**

stress: the use of iron, the use of alphabetic writing, and the diffusion of the Indo-European languages.

The use of iron begins to be general in Egypt about 1300 B.C., although there have been found in that country a few isolated examples of iron objects dating from a time almost as ancient as the introduction of bronze. In southern

Europe it begins to appear somewhere roughly about 1100 B.C. It has been supposed that the

Achaean invasion had something to do with the introduction of iron into the southern lands of Europe; but if so, there ought to be some evidence of an earlier use of the new metal in central or northern Europe, and such evidence is not forthcoming. On the contrary, an important letter is now known, relating to a request of the king of Egypt to Hattusil, king of the Hittites, to send him some iron, and conveying the Hittite king's apology for having none available. This letter, the date of which is about 1260 B.C., appears to be the earliest evidence for the use of iron in the regions round the Aegean.

The Philistines were in possession of the metal at a time when the Hebrews were just emerging from their Bronze Age, and presumably the Achaeans who were associated with the Philistines were similarly equipped; but even if we accept the theory of the Achaeans being a body of invaders from the north, for the reason stated we are hardly justified in crediting them with the introduction of iron. On the other hand, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the violent disturbance which their entrance produced led to the diffusion of a knowledge of the nature and use of the metal, which may conceivably have been kept previously by the few cognizant of it as a trade secret.

An equal obscurity hides from us the origin of the alphabet. During the Bronze Age the more important empires had possessed and freely practised the art of writing; but so cumbrous were the syllabic scripts of which they made use (see Chap. 35), that the art must of necessity have been a monopoly of a limited class, who were able to devote their whole time to its acquisition and

cultivation. Only a specialist could keep in his memory the thousands of characters required to express the Egyptian and Babylonian languages in the scripts which they developed. Even a king was obliged to have at his side a scribe, to read and to write his most private official correspondence; the public letter-writer, who may still be seen at his work in an Oriental city street, must have been yet more indispensable in ancient Egypt or Babylon.

All the existing alphabets of Europe are ultimately derived from a common original, which has been modified in various ways in order to suit the needs of the different languages to which it has been adapted. That common original is an early form of the Greek alphabet, as we find it in certain inscriptions of the eighth century B.C. These inscriptions are written from right to left, and in this respect, as well as in the forms of the individual letters, they resemble the old Semitic inscriptions of Syria and Palestine which are undoubtedly their prototype.

The Greek alphabet, however, differs in one essential point from the Semitic script from which it is derived. It is a true alphabet, in which vowels and consonants are given equal rank. The Semitic script is not properly an alphabet, but a short syllabary of twenty-two characters, each of which represents a consonant that may be sounded alone, or followed by an undefined open vowel. It is left to the reader's knowledge of the language to determine how the vowels are to be filled in; and there are frequent ambiguities, especially in the rendering of unfamiliar proper names. Certain of these letters represent consonantal sounds peculiar to the Semitic languages, and are therefore unnecessary for writing Greek; the Greeks retained those letters, but gave them the force of vowels, so that even a reader ignorant of Greek may at least offer a reasonable guess at the pronunciation of the words before him; an analogous feat is impossible in the case of a Semitic inscription.

The constant tradition of the Greeks was to the effect that the Phoenicians had taught them to write, and one Cadmus, a Phoenician colonist in Thrace, was named

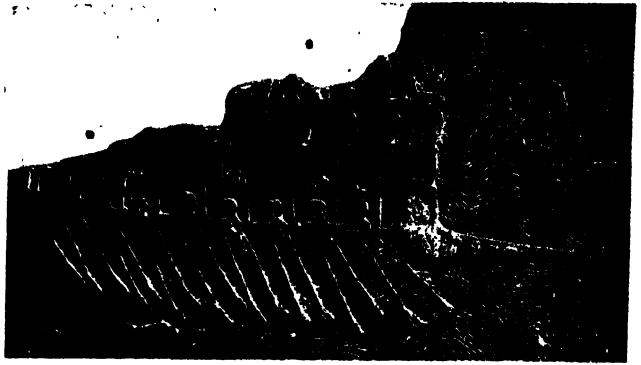
#### Origin of the Alphabet

as the author of this boon to humanity. The Phoenicians had for long been settled on the western slopes of Mount Lebanon, though we need not give credence to the fabulous antiquity that they claimed for themselves and for their cities. They were a Semitic people, closely cognate with the Hebrews, and speaking a language that differed only dialectically from the Hebrew tongue: but notwithstanding this kinship they developed characteristics which differentiated them in a marked degree.

Undoubtedly they were more highly civilized than the Hebrews, at any rate in the time of Solomon; for that king was obliged to import workmen from Phoenicia in order to carry out his building operations. On the other hand, for a people credited with the invention of the alphabet, they were singularly devoid of any interest in literature; they have left us practically nothing but a body of inscriptions, most of which form probably the duller collection of jejune formulae in the world. They developed, wonderful to relate, a taste for seafaring,

unlike any other Semitic community; they sent out colonies to North Africa and even as far as Spain; but that at any time they travelled in quest of tin as far as Cornwall need scarcely be discussed seriously. For a time Tyre commanded the Mediterranean sea-trade; but, after all, it must be said that their sailors were practising an art not 'bred in the bone.' They seldom ventured out of sight of land, even in their longest journeys, and their trading ships seem to have crawled nervously from headland to headland.

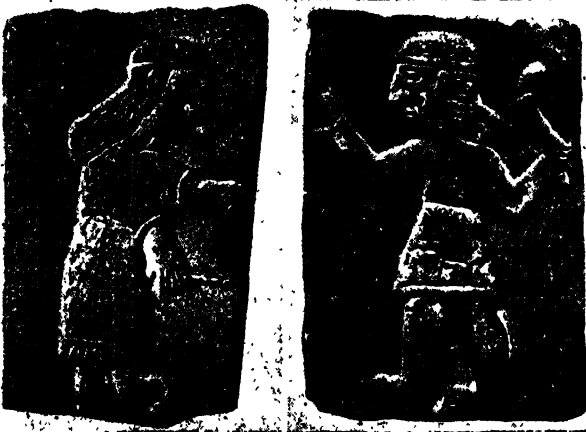
The Golénischeff papyrus gives us some suggestions toward the interpretation of these anomalies. For a time round about 1115 B.C., the date of the events which it records, Phoenicia was under the control of the Zakkala. These people were kin to the Philistines, and doubtless shared their characteristics. They were true 'Peoples of the Sea,' and so were accustomed to ships: it is always Zakkala ships, not Phoenician or Canaanite ships, of which the papyrus speaks. There is no evidence for Phoenician sea-craft before the Zakkala established themselves on their coasts: it is surely reasonable to infer that it was the Zakkala who taught the



**MERCHANT ADVENTURERS OF LONG AGO**

Archaeological traces of the Phoenicians in the Aegean are not very apparent, but their presence in Greek waters is vouched for by constant tradition and by the occurrence of place names of Phoenician origin. This Assyrian bas-relief depicts a Phoenician ship of the seventh century B.C.

*British Museum*



**CRUDE SCULPTURE FROM OLD PHOENICIA**

Excavations at Ras el-Ain, south of Tyre, have disclosed specimens of early Phoenician art, which was characterised generally by its dependence upon the art of neighbouring peoples and shows little originality. These slabs were found in a dwelling erected about the thirteenth century B.C. in imitation of the Hittite palaces of Carchemish and Senjerli.

*Courtesy of Director of Antiquities, French Commission in Syria*



art of navigation to the Phoenicians, and revealed to their native Semitic acquisitiveness the possibilities of oversea trade. Until the time of the Zakkala, the history of Phoenicia is nothing but a record of the transits of great foreign conquerors, such as those who carved the famous tablets at the mouth of the Dog River.

Moreover, the document above quoted shows to us the king of the Zakkala keeping his accounts on papyrus; and it would appear that he was capable of referring to and deciphering them himself. Therefore those accounts were kept in

some simple form of script, which even a king could learn to read; and not in the cumbrous

hieroglyphic or hieratic script of Egypt, which would call for the services of a clerk. Now, there is not a scrap of writing extant in the so-called Phoenician script older than the time of the occupation of Phoenicia by the Zakkala, unless we are to except the recently discovered sarcophagus of Ahiiram at Byblus, which has been claimed (see Chapter 35), to date back to the time of Rameses II.

The question of the origin of the Semitic script is further complicated by the strange graffiti that have been found at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai peninsula. These necessarily teach us caution; at least they impress upon us that no final theory is possible as yet, for it is not likely that all the materials for forming a judgement have as yet reached our hands. But it is still a reasonable anticipation that we shall learn to ascribe to the Zakkala the gift of alphabetic writing to the Phoenicians, and through them to the modern world. But if we ask whence the Zakkala, in their turn, may have derived the alphabet—for it is incredible that it could have been an entirely new invention—the only answer that can, for the present, be given is a frank confession of ignorance. [See also Chapter 35, where the theory of an origin from the Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions is adopted.—Ed.]

In the old world the Indo-Europeans had an inconspicuous place. Power was in the hands of Babylonians and Assyrians—Semites with a Turanian veneer of civilization; of Egyptians, who are

conveniently but not very scientifically classed as Hamites, and who, at least, were not Indo-Europeans; of Cretans and Hittites, of whose linguistic affinities we are for the present uncertain.

In the new world, however, the Indo-European is predominant. The Semite has vanished, except in the partly religious dominations of Judaism or of Islam. The Hamite is even less conspicuous. The babel of tongues of Asia Minor has given place to a new babel, predominantly Indo-European. In Basque, Europe retains one fossil of ancient speech; and in Finnish, Turkish and Magyar she possesses exotics; but otherwise the Indo-European tongues are universal. No survey of the 'new peoples' can neglect this parallel phenomenon of the new languages.

The place of origin of the Indo-European languages, and the manner of their distribution, offer problems which seem to be no nearer solution

than they ever were. **Problem of Indo-European languages**  
Over a hundred years ago, Rohde sought the

cradle of the Indo-European speech in the Pamirs. He was followed by others who successively placed it in central Asia, the Iranian plateau, Armenia, South Russia, the Carpathians, the Danube valley, northern Germany, central Germany, Scandinavia and the south of the Baltic Sea. The difficulty of the problem of origin lies in the absence of materials for its solution.

The extant remains of Indo-European speech do not go back much further than the date of the events chronicled in this present chapter—only a short time in the history of Europe and Asia, or of the Indo-European languages themselves. Before that there is all but complete silence; we are left to inference from the internal evidence supplied by the languages themselves, their nearness or remoteness to the theoretical parent speech that can in some degree be reconstructed from its descendants, or the extent and the nature of their common vocabularies. But a discussion of this problem would here be out of place. We are concerned, not with the origin of the Indo-European family of languages in the remote past, but with their diffusion over Europe and Asia.

This problem has been complicated to no small degree by the results of recent research. We do not know, from direct evidence, that Indo-European languages were spoken in Asia during the Bronze Age, though it is common sense that it must have been so. Basque survives to show us that languages other than Indo-European are native to Europe. Not improbably much of the diversity of form presented by the various families of Indo-European speech is due to the influence of older and alien languages.

For example, the almost mechanical rejection of the letter P in the Celtic languages (leaving gaps in their speech that may be likened, not unfairly, to the gaps made in a script by a broken letter in a typewriter) may have been due to their association with some primitive people who, like the Botocudos in modern times, practised deformation of the lips, and so could not pronounce labial letters. But even though it is useful to be able to discriminate between the speakers of Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages, irrespective of the race to which they may have belonged, it is rather a pity that it has been considered necessary to foist the ugly word 'Wiro' on the language of science to serve this purpose.

Whatever may have been the position of the Indo-European tongues in Europe, the Tell el-Amarna tablets have taught us that in or about 1400 B.C. a language of this family was spoken in Mitanni. Before this, the oldest monument of Indo-European speech known was the Vedic literature of India, the writing down of which has been ascribed to somewhere about 1000 B.C., although its oral transmission may have been spread over a thousand years further back. Still more startling have been the results of the decipherment of the tablets of Boghaz Keui. Not only have languages been found there that to all appearance are Indo-European, but also mention of such Aryan gods as Indra and Varuna.

On the other hand, both in Crete and in Anatolia, languages existed which do not come within the Indo-European category. Inscriptions have been found at Praesos, in Crete, as well as in Caria and in Lycia,

which though written in Greek or other decipherable letters cannot as yet be interpreted; they cannot be proved to be Indo-European, and in all probability they belong to some entirely different group or groups of languages. The Etruscan language, the place of origin of which is most probably Asia Minor, and which, whatever it may be, is certainly not Indo-European, points in the same direction. These are relics of the older tongues of Europe and Asia.

The Indo-Europeanising of Hattusas, must be ascribed to waves of migration, yet earlier than that of the Achaeans which directly or indirectly brought about the down-fall of the Hittite empire. The Centum and the Satem groups Europeans, speaking an Indo-European language — or, rather, several different Indo-European languages — must have been crossing the narrow straits that separate the north shore of Asia Minor from Europe for many centuries, and while assimilating themselves with the Hittite power, must have retained their native tongues.

The Indo-European languages are divided primarily into two main groups, depending upon their treatment of the gutturals of the original parent speech. The one group keeps the guttural character of the sound; the other converts it into a sibilant. As a convenient mode of expressing this difference, the two groups have been named the centum languages (hard 'c') and the satem languages respectively; the one from the Latin, the other from the Sanskrit, or Zend, words for the numeral 'a hundred,' which illustrate the difference by their respective initials. To the centum group belong all the existing European languages of the family; except the Slavonic, Baltic (Lithuanian) and Albanian. To the satem group belong the chief Asiatic languages of the family, the Indian and Iranian. A much corrupted dialect, of seemingly mixed character, called Tocharian, has been found in Turkistan. In Asia Minor and the Near East, the language of Mitanni (like modern Armenian) was a satem language, but the languages that have been identified in the Boghaz Keui tablets belong to the centum group. It is consonant with this

that the reference to Indra and Varuna found at Boghaz Keui is in a treaty with Mitanni; it would have been surprising if these Indian deities had appeared in a completely 'centum' connexion.

Like northern Asia Minor, Palestine, at a comparatively early date, shows us certain sporadic cases of colonisation which appear to be incidents in the gradual eastward movement of the Indo-Europeans. We learn from Genesis 34 that the rulers of the important town of Shechem were uncircumcised in patriarchal times; and, later, we find in Judges 9 a narrative which teaches us incidentally that the people there worshipped their god in a temple, and not in one of the normal Semitic high places. It is quite evident that some non-Semitic influence is here at work.

The Tell el-Amarna letters give us some welcome scraps of evidence to the same effect. The ruler of Jerusalem was a man who called himself Abd-Khibba, if this reading be correct. 'Abd-' is a Semitic prefix, denoting servitude or devotion to the god whose name forms the second member of the word—compare the Biblical Obed-Edom, and the modern Arabic Abd-Allah. But Khibba is not the name of a Semitic deity; it is Mitannian. We read of ladies of the Mitannian court called Gilu-Khipa and Tadu-Khipa, names which clearly contain the same element in their

**Aryan ruler of Jerusalem** composition. Abd-Khibba is probably a mere Semitic translation of some Mitannian name which had the same meaning, from which it follows that the man who bore the name was a Mitannian stranger. This adds point to the confession, in one of his letters, that 'it was not my father nor my mother that appointed me to this place, but the strong arm of the king [of Egypt] who inaugurated me in my father's house,' seeming to imply that he, and his father before him, had been creatures and placemen of the Egyptian suzerain. (We must, however, allow a margin for the grovelling flattery of Amarna diplomacy in dealing with a passage such as this.)

Again, a personage comes now and then on the scene, called Shuwar-data. He appears to have been primarily the governor appointed by Egypt over the

town of Keilah, but to have been driven out by local hostility before the curtain rises on the squalid drama revealed by these letters. He has enemies, including Abd-Khibba, who send an evil report of him to the king; he counters this by sending similar reports of his enemies. He is sufficiently in the confidence of the king to receive some order, the nature of which is not recorded, but which he promises to carry out faithfully—one of the not very many cases in which we can see the Egyptian king answering his numerous and voluminous correspondents. His name has a very Indo-European aspect, and can easily be interpreted as one of the many appellations of the type of Theodotus or Theodore—indicating one 'given' by some god. The god's name has been ingeniously compared with the Indian Surya, the sun god. A similarly constructed name is Yash-data, which belongs to a personage who also suffered for his loyalty.

These scattered examples suggest that it was by the methods of 'peaceful penetration' that the Indo-European tongues gradually spread over the regions where we are now to find them.

It is by no means unreasonable to couple the Indo-European family of languages with iron and with the alphabet among the foundation stones of the culture of the new world. The Indo-European languages are distinguished above all others by the two characters of flexibility and exactitude. They can express with equal ease the noblest poetry and the strictest mathematical demonstration. The Indo-European verb is a magnificent instrument of precision, contrasting most favourably with the vague tenses of 'completed action' and 'incompleted action' which make up the Semitic verb. The Semitic languages are hampered by their formal construction—interesting and ingenious though it undoubtedly is—so that they find difficulty in assimilating new words to express new ideas; the Indo-European languages have an almost embarrassing facility in this respect. The Indo-European language is the language of progress; and progress was to be the keynote of the new phase of human history.

**Foundation stones of modern culture**

# ISRAEL IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

A Reconstruction of the early Days of the Jewish Nation from Biblical and Contemporary Sources

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THE land mass which forms the continental portion of the Old World falls naturally into two great divisions. The larger of these, consisting of Europe and Asia, lies, except for pendent islands to the east, entirely within the northern hemisphere; the smaller, Africa, stretches southwards to the southern temperate zone. The two sections approach one another at each end of the Mediterranean, but while the sea flows between the two at the western end, on the east there is an actual land junction. Yet it is narrow, and the traveller who passes northwards from Africa will find that even when he has crossed the Isthmus of Suez his route is still confined to a comparatively slender strip of land which lies between the sea on the west and the great Syrian desert on the east.

Of the two the latter is the more effective barrier; but for the most part the world's great racial migrations have not used the sea, and this little country of Palestine has been, almost through the whole course of civilized history, the main bridge between the northern and the southern continents.

As we might expect, the land has been of the highest importance in the political history of Man. It has been always liable to invasion either from the north or from the south—twice only in its history has a new power attacked it by sea; into the land have flowed the branches of the so-called Libyan peoples of northern Africa, the mixed races of central Europe and Asia, and the hunting and shepherd tribes of the half-desert, while the representatives of the old Aegean civilization, driven from their homes by the advancing tide of early Greek migration, established here the last of their settlements to maintain anything

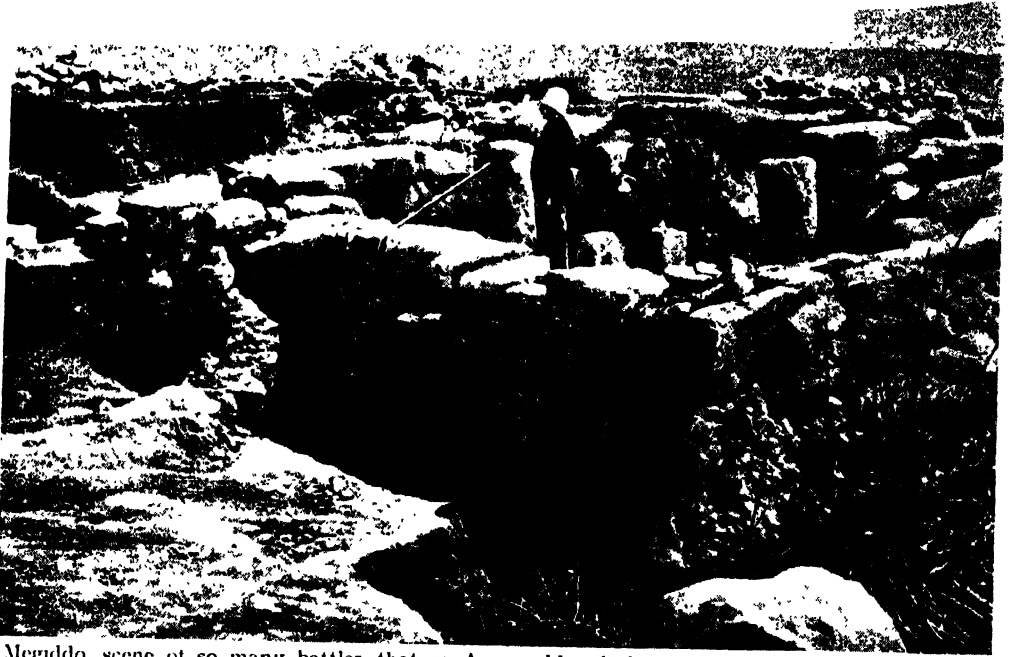
like political independence. Amorite, Hittite, Aramaean, Philistine and Arab have in turn occupied the land, and we may safely assume that no fresh wave of invading settlers has failed to lend its blood to the general mixture of race. But her heterogeneous population has also been welded into unity by the repeated hammer strokes of foreign invasion.

Further, no portion of earth's surface has been the scene of so much armed conflict between great world powers. For thirty centuries and more an Asiatic empire, Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Syrian or Turkish, has stood over against the African realm of Egypt, and the debatable land, the scene of the fiercest struggles, has always been Palestine.

From the day when, **Battleground of early in the fifteenth century B.C.,** Thothmes

III of Egypt led his army to victory through the narrow defile that issues on Megiddo, down to that annihilation of the Turkish army which in 1918 proved to be the decisive military action of the Great War, the history of the country has been the record of titanic conflicts in which the actual inhabitants have played only a minor part, and it is not without reason that the Apocalypticist located in the hills above Megiddo the battle which, he believed, was to end the present world order.

National freedom, in the full sense, has been normally impossible, and has only been achieved temporarily through the simultaneous exhaustion or preoccupation of both great powers. Whether ruled by tributary vassal kings or by foreign governors, Palestine has paid allegiance, nominal or real, to the courts in turn of Memphis, Thebes, Nineveh, Babylon, Susa,



Megiddo, scene of so many battles that as Armageddon it has become proverbial, guards the approaches from the south to the plain of Esdraelon, lying immediately opposite the narrow pass seen below—that which Thothmes traversed. Above are the ruins of its temple or 'high place,' among which are two of the 'mazzebahs' or stone pillars that were a feature of Canaanite worship.  
*From 'Tell el-Mutasellim'*



If the Low Countries can be called the cockpit of Europe, it would be no exaggeration to call Palestine the cockpit of the world. A narrow strip of country between sea and desert, it is the only land bridge connecting the two continental masses of the Eastern Hemisphere; up and down it have marched the armies of most of the warring powers between the days of Thothmes III and Lord Allenby. The practicable roads that it affords are few: this, the pass of Megiddo, is one.

**• SCENE OF MANY ARMAGEDDONS: THE TEMPLE AND VALLEY OF MEGIDDO**

*Courtesy of Professor Garstang*

Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Byzantium, Bagdad, Constantinople—and London.

With such a history we should not naturally expect to find that a country had made any independent contribution to the enrichment of human life. There was certainly no Palestinian art. The products and treasures of the whole ancient world passed through the cities of Israel, for her land was the meeting point of many of the most important of the trade routes. She had at her disposal the manufactures of many peoples, and she did not need to develop her own types. Archaeological discovery tends to show that all her pottery, architecture and metal work were borrowed from elsewhere.

The earlier strata show the influence of Egypt, which exercised sovereignty over Palestine, though it seems that there were never any extensive Egyptian settlements. These are immediately followed by Philistine remains, which exhibit the characteristics of a decadent Aegean type. As far as we can gather from the descriptions which have survived, the later architecture was ultimately derived from Egypt, though it seems to have reached Israel by way of Phoenicia. Assyrian and Babylonian dominion have left practically no trace on the art of Palestine, perhaps because the sovereign state was far away and was content to accept the tribute of native kings rather than to impose its own garrison and rulers. Yet Palestine produced the Jews, a people who have shown more tenacity and resistance than any other in human history. No other nation has ever been able so to hold itself apart, though scattered all over the world, or to maintain against all others



#### FOREIGN ART ON PALESTINIAN SOIL

Potsherds discovered on Palestinian sites usually prove to be local imitations of foreign ware. Egypt provided the earliest models (top two, from Beth-shan, 18th Dynasty); and there are scattered Aegean examples (second two, c. 1300 B.C.). Next follows Philistine ware (lower two, from Beth-shemesh).

*Courtesy of Alan Rowe, University of Pennsylvania Palestine Expedition; Palestine Museum; and Palestine Exploration Fund*

an intense national feeling, finding expression in the preservation of ancient traditions and customs and the continuous study of the national language and literature. And classical Hebrew literature, though, its extant volume is very small, holds a unique position in Man's thought.

It includes some of the finest products of the human mind; such lyrics as those found in the Song of Songs take a very high place, and the Book of Job stands unapproached in the writings of any other people or speech, while the best Hebrew

narrative prose is unsurpassed for stately simplicity. Further, the actual influence of the literature is out of all proportion to its size or to the political standing of the people who produced it. Even the intellectual hegemony of Athens has a smaller place in history than the religious dominance of Judaism.

Of the three great religions which to-day claim to be universal, two are directly descended from Judaism. The Founder of Christianity was a Jew, and the teaching and spirit of the

**Connexion with two Gospels is unintelligible unless it is realized that it has for its basis the teaching and spirit of the Old Testament prophets. Islam, though not so closely connected with the parent faith as Christianity, yet owes more to the Old Testament than to any other literature and derives from it the primary and fundamental doctrine of the unity of God, while a large part of its illustration is taken from stories of the Hebrew patriarchs. No account of the progress of humanity can be undertaken without reference to this small but wonderful people.**

Few subjects within the purview of history are more obscure than the study of the beginnings of Israel. The national traditions, as embodied in the first seven books of the Old Testament, trace the nation back to Abraham, an Aramaean chieftain belonging to a clan whose original home was in the far south of Mesopotamia, in the district of Ur. To Terah, Abraham's father, is assigned the leadership in the migration which brought the tribe northwards, and the narrative states that after Terah's death Abraham led a part of the tribe farther west and south till, reaching the borders of Egypt, they had travelled the whole round of the Fertile Crescent.

For some generations the tribe was almost purely pastoral and wandered to and fro about Palestine, sometimes living on the west of the Jordan and sometimes on the east. The story of Joseph explains a further migration to Egypt, or rather to the north-eastern border of Egypt, and leads up to the servitude to which Israel was subjected for some generations in

that country. This period ends with the rise of Moses, who led Israel out of the country to resume a free nomadic life.

Moses must be regarded as the real founder of the nation, for it was he who united the loosely connected clans into a single people, giving to them a common name and a common religion. The central act of his whole work was the introduction of the people to a God who had been unknown to them in Egypt, and the mutual adoption of God and people, in accordance with the ideas and rites of the ancient Semitic East. For a time the nomad life was maintained, but after the death of Moses the united tribes, by this time on the east of the Jordan, invaded and conquered western Palestine.

Though the Biblical accounts vary in details, it is generally admitted that the conquest, begun under the leadership of Joshua, was at first only partially successful, and actually extended over many generations. It was, indeed, only completed with the capture of Jerusalem by David. In the interval between Joshua and David it is clear that Israel had a hard struggle, and that the isolated sections of the community had great difficulty in holding their own.

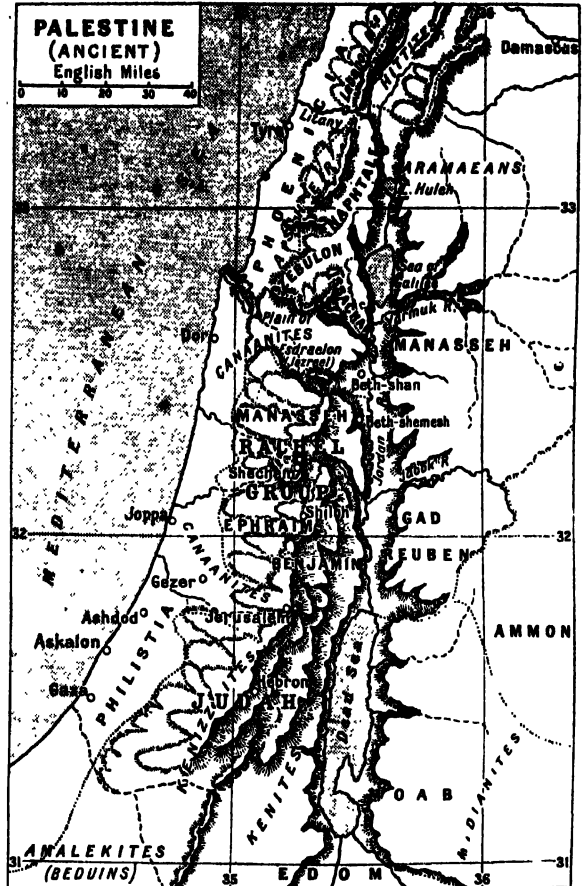
The tribes fell into three main groups: the southern or Judean, whose centre seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Hebron, were almost isolated from the north **Earliest grouping of the tribes** by a line of unsubdued Canaanites whose chief fortress was Jerusalem. In the central hills there were settlements connected with the names of Ephraim, Manasseh and Benjamin—the so-called 'Rachel' group. These in turn were separated from their kinsmen by the agricultural communities of the fertile Plain of Esdraelon, to the north of which again lay other groups of Israelites stretching to the lake to-day known as Huleh.

Naturally, we have no 'history' of this period, but there has been handed down to us in the Book of Judges a collection of accounts of wars and individual exploits which throw a clear light on prevailing conditions. Perhaps the most familiar and useful is the so-called Song of Deborah, in Chapter 5 of Judges. It

celebrates a great victory won by a temporary confederacy of the northern tribes over one of the princes of the Esdraelon district, and while there is no hint of conquest, or of the occupation of the land of the defeated city, the poem offers us an indication of growing strength.

Curiously enough, in the whole collection this is the only instance of war with a Canaanite enemy. The other foes are external oppressors, Moabites, Beduins, Midianites, Philistines, who were just as dangerous to the pre-Hebrew inhabitants as they were to Israel. One narrative, that of Abimelech, shows us, indeed, a prince of mixed descent attempting to carve out a kingdom for himself, and this does result in the Israelite occupation of Shechem; but it is hardly the intention of the narrative to describe a partial conquest of Canaan by Israel. We do not gain the impression that the Hebrews made great military progress in this period, and the Philistines, who seem to have been rather later invaders than the Israelites, exercised such severe pressure on the south-west that, after a heroic struggle, illustrated for us by the exploits of Samson, the tribe of Dan was compelled to migrate to the far north, where the Philistines, at least, could not reach them.

We gather, too, that the settlement of Israel was mainly achieved through the assimilation of the Canaanites by Hebrew tribes, or vice versa. It is significant that the tribe of Judah is traced back to a Canaanite ancestress, and that neither Jephthah nor Abimelech is represented as being of unmixed Israelite descent. The fact that the names of the Canaanite tribes practically disappear after the time of David (though the later literature preserves memories of them) need not mean that they were annihilated; it is at least



PALESTINE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF ISRAEL

In the earliest period of which the Bible preserves traditions the Israelites were by no means alone in Palestine. Philistines held the southern coast, while two enclaves of Canaanites separated Judah in the south and Zebulun, Naphtali and Issachar in the north from the central or 'Rachel' group of tribes.

possible that the necessity for common resistance to the attacks of the Philistines and other enemies resulted in complete fusion of the Israelites with the races already in the land.

It seems clear that the culture which Israel possessed in the eighth century was very largely Babylonian in type; her laws, traditions and social customs find more parallels in Mesopotamia than elsewhere. Direct borrowing is out of the question, and the most likely explanation of the facts is that the Canaanites were the medium through whom the Hebrews received these things. On the other hand, the pottery, architecture and metal work of Israel seem to have been influenced by Philistia and Egypt, the



latter element, strangely enough, being introduced through Phoenicia.

It is, then, only after the time of David that we are able to regard Israel as a unified people. Her origins are undeniably mixed, and many racial threads contributed to the final fabric. Yet the traditions which she herself preserved are practically confined to one only of these primary elements, the Aramaean invaders who entered the land from the east.

Critically studied, the Biblical records yield a fairly clear and simple narrative, which has been followed in the outline sketch above. But the

**Events as told in Bible narrative** whole question is greatly complicated when we try to adduce evidence as to the facts from non-Israelite sources. These, however, must receive some mention, if only to illustrate the difficulties with which historical research is faced when dealing with this primitive period. We may glance at a few of the known facts.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C. Egypt was overrun by Semitic tribes from the north-east, who are known in Egyptian history as Hyksos. They were probably Beduins, and they maintained their position in Egypt for about two centuries, when they were finally driven out after a long and fierce conflict. Josephus believed that the story of the Exodus was the Hebrew tradition of these events, and others have sometimes followed him. But it is generally felt that the chronological difficulties are too great to allow this identification to stand. Two hundred years at least elapsed between the expulsion of the Hyksos and the Hebrew conquest of Palestine, and though the period is not impossibly long, to most scholars the evidence is not sufficient to be convincing.

Furthermore, from very early times certain mines were worked by the Egyptian kings in the Sinai peninsula, not far from the traditional site of the Mountain of the Law. Here there have been deciphered some inscriptions written in a primitive form of the Hebrew alphabet (see Chap. 35), dating from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut, about the end of the sixteenth century B.C. One of the most frequent

names in these inscriptions has been read as Manasseh, and it has been conjectured that he is to be identified with Moses. But the decipherment of the inscriptions is difficult and uncertain, and the picture we receive of this person is very unlike that of Moses as we know him from the Pentateuch. He is an Egyptian overseer, a worshipper of many gods, and a favourite of the queen. Again, identification would be very doubtful, even if we were sure that the decipherment is accurate.

In the well known Tell el-Amarna tablets we have a part of the official correspondence of the courts of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (or Akhnaton), roughly from 1400 to 1360 B.C. Palestine was at that time nominally under Egyptian rule, and the documents include numerous reports from tributary princes, governors and commissioners in Palestine. The whole country is falling into confusion; there is treachery and covert rebellion on the part of the local chiefs and rulers, war and discord between different parts of the country and invasion from the north and east. In particular, tribes grouped together under the general name of Khabiru are attacking the cities and, aided by treachery, are taking possession of the country, whether as invaders from without or as indigenous rebels is not clearly stated.

It has been strongly maintained that these Khabiru are to be identified with the Hebrews. Again, while there is some ground in the similarity

of the names, it is difficult to dogmatise in the absence of more

**Were the Khabiru the Hebrew tribes?**

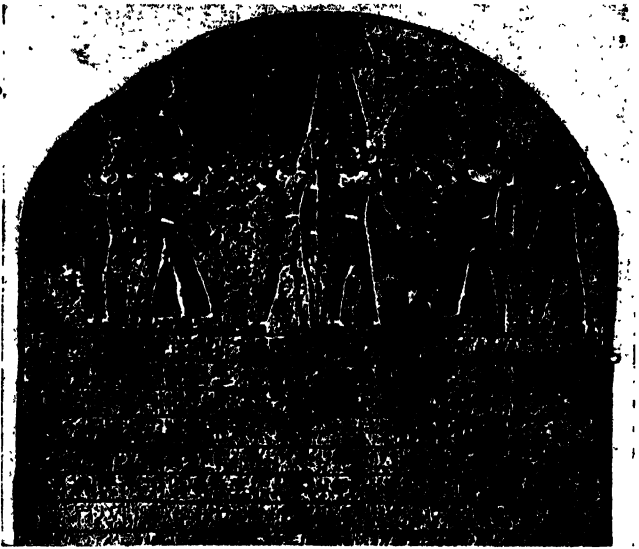
evidence than we possess. On the whole, the most probable explanation of the facts is that reached by Professor Wardle in his recent work, *Israel and Babylon*. He points out that incursions from the desert were a common feature of the early life of Palestine, and suggests that the two peoples, Khabiru and Hebrews, were not identical but overlapped one another. The Khabiru included some of those whom we later know as Hebrews, but not all, and their confederacy—if it was a confederacy—was much wider than the Hebrew race. This seems to be the most reliable evidence we have from outside sources

bearing on the Israelite conquest of Canaan, and even this is uncertain and obscure.

If we are to trust the details of the oppression given to us in Chapter 1 of Exodus, the Pharaoh under whom Israel suffered in Egypt must have been Rameses II (1300-1225 B.C.), for he was certainly the builder of the cities on which the Israelites are said to have been employed. It is, of course, possible that the mention of 'Pithom and Raamses' is a later interpretation of the writer, and that in its original form the story did not name these cities; but, if we assume for the moment that in this detail the narrative is historically reliable, then the Pharaoh of the Exodus must have been Merneptah, the son of Rameses II. But we find, on an inscription which records some of the events of Merneptah's reign, an account in poetry of an invasion of Palestine, with a list of the tribes and peoples which were conquered. This includes Israel, and mentions them in such a way as to suggest that they were already settled in the land, though they were by no means the only nation in Canaan.

It remains to add that inscriptions both of Rameses II and of his father, Seti I, mention the people of Asher, whom we know as one of the Israelite tribes. At the beginning of the thirteenth century they are already settled in the district where they are located in the Biblical narrative.

All this external material makes it more difficult than ever to give an accurate account of the origins of Israel. We have to face the fact that our Biblical narratives come to us from a time much later than the period which they describe, that they give us at best a partial and incomplete account of one only of the various elements of which Israel was later composed, and that the whole history is to some extent idealised. But there are not wanting in the Old Testament itself indications of the mixture of race, and of the uncertainty as



**MERNEPTAH TRIUMPHS OVER ISRAEL**

The earliest mention yet discovered of the word Israel occurs in a hymn of victory graven upon a stele from Merneptah's mortuary temple at Thebes. It had been taken from the temple of Amenhotep III, its original inscription turned face inwards to the wall and its back reinscribed.

*Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie*

to what Israel really was before the time of David.

We have two classes of fact to consider in this connexion. In the first place it is already clear that the historic Israel included many clans who were never in Egypt at all. Even Chapter 38 of Genesis seems to imply a permanent residence of Judah in southern Canaan, and (unless we are to throw the conquest back to an early period) the tribe of Asher had long been settled in its permanent home when Moses was born. On the other hand the Biblical narratives themselves testify to the existence of a number of tribes, more or less loosely connected with Israel, who were yet never reckoned as fully belonging to the people. Their kinship is recognized, but they are still outside the actual Israel. Such are the Kenites—curiously enough Caleb and Othniel, the early Judahite heroes, are not Israelites at all, but Kenites—the Kenizzites, the Midianites (with whom Moses is connected), and possibly even the Amalekites, if we may trust the text of Judges 5, 14.

We may, perhaps, make an attempt at a general, though very tentative and conjectural, reconstruction of the origins

of Israel. At some period before the beginning of the fourteenth century we have groups of shepherd and Beduin tribes, recognizing a certain community of blood and language, wandering over the country between Egypt and Palestine. Certain sections of them come under the power of the Egyptians, but, at some point between 1500 and 1200 B.C. they escape from Egypt under the leadership of Moses. He has already connexions with the Beduin tribes, and succeeds in uniting a number of them into a single people through a new religion which is solemnly accepted by all the confederate clans at the sacred mountain with which Moses is already familiar.

The nomad life is continued for a time, and finally attacks are made upon the fertile land of Canaan by groups of people who cross the Jordan. Possibly there are also invasions from the south. At first the hold on the country is comparatively slight, but the invaders slowly make good their footing. They also gradually inter-fuse with the peoples already settled in Canaan, and from one of these possibly take their name. Towards the end of the twelfth century other invaders appear

from the sea, and the pressure which they exert serves to bind all the more closely the newer and the older settlers.

A real kingdom is established by Saul, whose authority extends not only over central Palestine and even the south, but over parts of Transjordan as well. He is ultimately defeated and killed by the Philistines, but his successor, David, reduces Jerusalem, the last Canaanite fortress to maintain its independence, makes this his capital, crushes the Philistines on the one hand and the Beduin tribes on the other, and establishes his authority over the whole country from the Egyptian frontier to the Lebanon range. Outwardly, at least, the diverse elements in the land have been combined into a single whole, and attain something of a sense of common nationality.

The greatness of David's achievement can best be measured by a comparison between the kingdom of Saul and that of Solomon. The former was a local chief who had been raised to power by his military prowess. His authority was exercised over a part only of the country, and the organization of the kingdom was far from complete. Though the land was



WHERE SAUL'S BODY WAS EXPOSED : VIEW OF THE MOUND OF BETH-SHAN

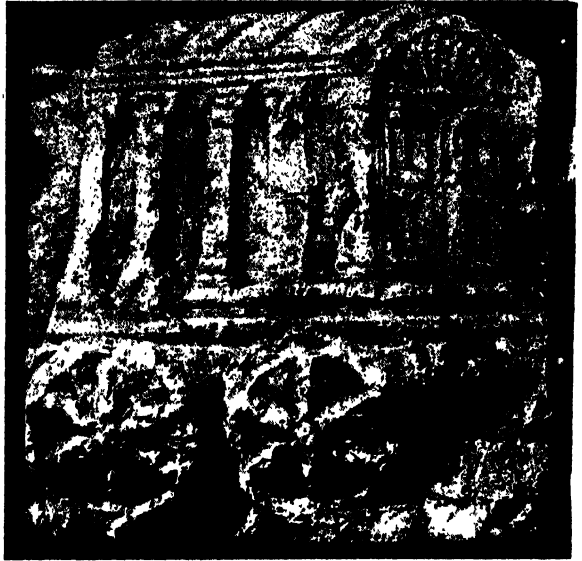
'And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul . . . and they put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth ; and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan ' (1 Samuel 31, 8-10). This is the mound that to-day represents Beth-shan beneath Mount Gilboa. It has been excavated and the foundations of the 'Ashtaroth' temple have been discovered ; the left-hand Egyptian pot in page 811 came from its ruins.

Courtesy of Professor Garstang

slowly passing from the confusion and disunion which are so obvious in earlier centuries, the new order was still far from being established. With Solomon all this is changed. Even allowing for the exaggerations of a later age, which certainly did something to idealise Solomon and his kingdom—as even the Biblical record shows—he was clearly ruler over a larger territory than any other Israelite monarch.

His court was splendid, and he was allied by marriage to the Egyptian royal house. Trade was fostered and was made possible by the comparative peace of his reign. The country was thoroughly organized and a large civil service administered the affairs of the land, collecting the tribute which the king exacted and arranging for the supply of forced labour, without which his elaborate building projects could not have been carried out. The city of Jerusalem was extended and adorned, while it seems that its defences were strengthened. We need not charge either Solomon or his father with hypocrisy when we say that religion also was used for political ends.

Of the various sacred objects round which the devotions of Israel gathered, the most impressive was the ancient Ark, which, so tradition said, had been constructed by Moses himself in the early days of Israelite freedom. This, after many vicissitudes, was brought to Jerusalem by David, and a suitable house was erected for it by Solomon. No attempt was made, as far as we can gather, to supersede worship and sacrifices at other sanctuaries, but it is clear that from the days of Solomon onwards the Temple occupied a unique position in the thought of the people, and two hundred years later Amos could appeal, even in the northern kingdom, to Zion as the proper home of the God of Israel.



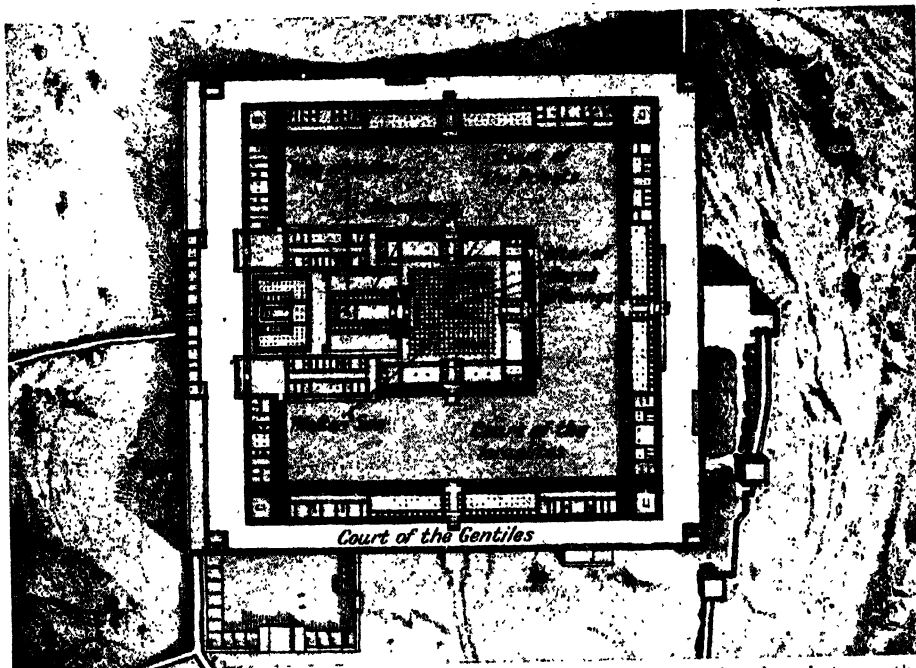
**SCULPTURED MEMORY OF THE ARK**

No trace of the Ark of the Covenant remains, and the descriptions are meagre; but we may presume that traditions of its appearance lingered long. Hence this sculptured block from a synagogue of Greco-Roman times at Capernaum is of great interest. It represents the Ark placed on a wheeled carriage.

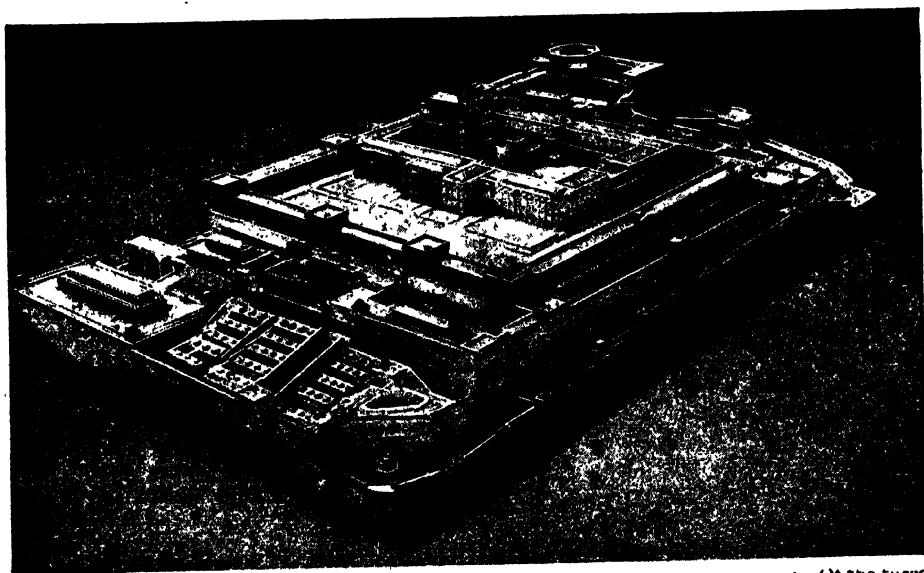
*Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem*

The tenth century B.C. was perhaps the only time in the known history of the nearer east when such a kingdom could be established in Palestine. Neither of the two great world powers was in a position to exercise sovereignty over the country. Babylonia, under the Kassite kings, was always in a state of conflict with Assyria, and, though our records for the period are very scanty, it is clear that neither of the two Mesopotamian kingdoms was in a condition to embark on extensive schemes of foreign conquest. Egypt had been threatened with invasion by both land and sea. As early as the reign of Merneptah the Libyans had attacked her western frontier, and though they were beaten back, it was some centuries before the country was free from their menace.

The overthrow of the Aegean civilization in Crete and elsewhere had flung hordes of 'Sea Peoples' on the coasts (see Chap. 26), and though they did not achieve the permanent position which they obtained in Palestine itself, they were a serious danger to Egypt and even succeeded in establishing settlements in the Delta. Further, the country broke



During the Babylonian captivity the national consciousness and religion hardened, and it was the object of the priestly families to which Ezekiel belonged to perpetuate the Temple ritual. In a vision he sees and minutely describes an ideal Temple, which almost certainly reproduces the main features of the actual Temple, save that details are subordinated to a passion for symmetry.



Of all the famous buildings of antiquity Solomon's Temple is the hardest to reconstruct. Of the three available sources, the site itself is not open to excavation, being occupied by a mosque, while the descriptions in Kings and Chronicles are confused. Ezekiel alone gives minute details that allow the ground-plan above to be drawn, but his is admittedly an idealised vision. The reconstruction above reproduces exactly the features of the site itself, but probably gives an impression of too great size and magnificence.

**SOLOMON'S TEMPLE MAPPED FROM A PROPHET'S DREAM AND RESTORED**

Plan by Ch. Chipiez; reconstruction by Dr. Schick, courtesy of American Colony, Jerusalem

into internal divisions, and the north and south became politically independent of one another; the Pharaoh with whom Solomon was allied was king of Lower Egypt only. Israel was not the only people to profit by this comparative freedom from outside interference.

The available evidence suggests that the Israelite monarchy was unique among the kingdoms of this ancient East, in the limitations which seem to have been placed on the royal authority. Even Saul's formal power (though the record may be partly explained as the reading back of later features into early times) rested on a 'covenant.' There were clearly certain things the king could do, and others which he undertook not to do. It is true that the covenant had a strong religious element in it, and that when we hear of its renewal in the later story of the monarchy, a religious ceremony is always involved. But it seems that the conception of absolute despotism, so characteristic of the ancient East, was foreign to the Israelite mind. As late as the middle of the ninth century Ahab is unable to obtain the vineyard of Naboth against the owner's will, and it does not seem to occur to him that his wishes may be accomplished by violence or fraud. It is only his Phoenician wife to whom the thing seems possible, and her action is regarded as a crime which must, in the long run, be expiated by her own blood.

Solomon's regime was felt to be harsh, and milder terms were demanded of his successor. They were refused, with the result that the larger part of the people declined to accept him, and raised Jeroboam to the throne. Jerusalem and the south country, however, remained faithful to the house



**JACHIN OR BOAZ**

The description in 1 Kings 7 of the twin brazen pillars, Jachin and Boaz, set up in the Temple enables this reconstruction to be made.

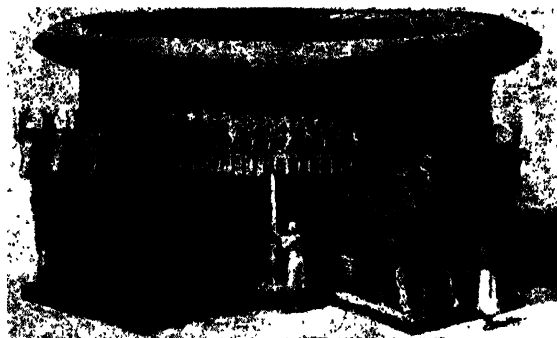
*Reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez*

of David, and from that time onwards the two kingdoms were never united. They were, nevertheless, closely connected with one another, and never lost the sense of national and religious unity.

The northern kingdom was the scene of frequent revolutions, and the century which followed the great secession saw no fewer than four dynasties on the throne. The south was always ruled by the house of David, except for a short interval in the latter half of the ninth century. Relations between the two were not always friendly, and we hear of occasional wars, in which the north is uniformly victorious. In fact, by 850 B.C. the political subordination

of the kings of Jerusalem seems to have been practically complete, and Ahab and his successors on the throne of Israel could count on the presence of Jehoshaphat and his forces in their armies.

The story of the two kingdoms in this period can be very briefly told. In the south the crown descended from father to son, the names of the four kings being Rehoboam, Abijam, Asa and Jehoshaphat. In the north Jeroboam's son, Nadab, was assassinated by Baasha, and his son, Elah,



**MOLTEN SEA MADE BY HIRAM FOR SOLOMON**

Hiram, the skilled artificer from Tyre who made the pillars, also constructed the 'molten sea'—a mighty brazen laver supported on oxen, intended for ceremonial purifications. This reconstruction follows the text and conforms to the general type of simpler examples found elsewhere.

*Reconstruction by Ménégaud*

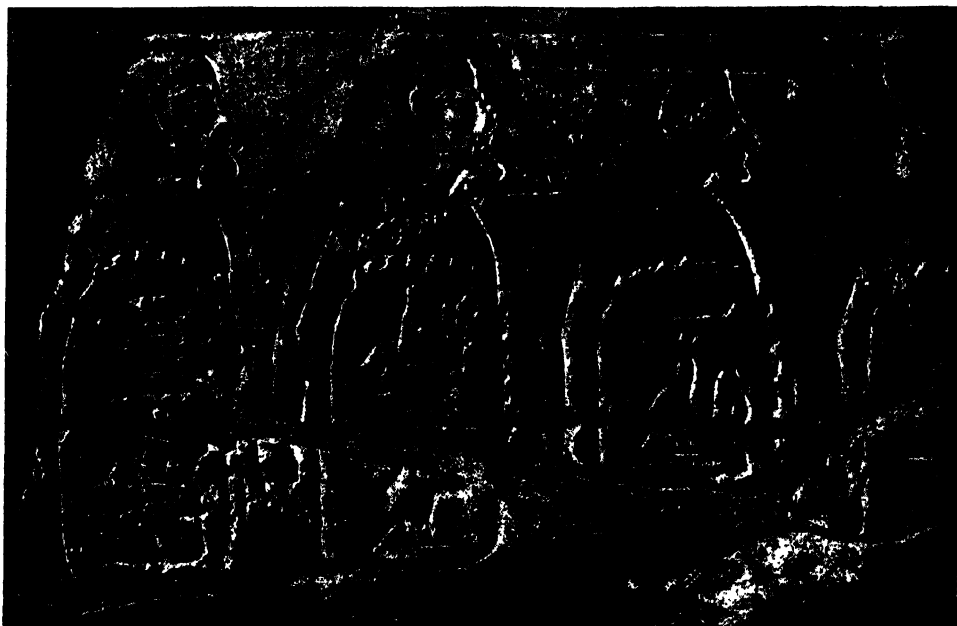
in turn killed by Zimri. The latter reigned for a few days only when he was overthrown by Omri, who was followed by his son Ahab, and two grandsons, Ahaziah and Jehoram.

This last dynasty is by far the most important, and so great was the impression made by Omri on his contemporaries that the Assyrian records speak of Palestine as 'the land of Omri.' Not only did he secure the subjection of Judah, but he cemented an alliance with Tyre by marrying the daughter of king Ethbaal, and conquered Moab, making its king Mesha tributary. The reference by a prophet not earlier than the seventh century (Micah 6, 16) to the 'statutes of Omri' may refer to a code promulgated by him, though it is generally interpreted in a religious sense, as the introduction of Phoenician Baal worship.

There was need of a strong dynasty if Israel was to retain a real independence. Under Ashur-nasir-pal II (884-859 B.C.) the Assyrian empire, which had been

slowly recovering from its period of weakness, once more reached the dimensions of a great world power, and the king carried his arms to the Mediterranean itself. His son, Shalmaneser III, undertook the further conquest of Palestine, and made a great expedition in 853 against that country. For some time the Arameans of Damascus, who had long since recovered from their subjection by David, had been growing in power, and it seems that Israel had suffered not a little from their hostility. But in the presence of a common danger all united, and a force amounting in all to nearly 70,000 men was raised by a number of confederate kings under the general leadership of Ben-Hadad of Damascus; one of the largest contingents was furnished by Ahab, who sent 10,000 infantry and 2,000 chariots.

This army met the Assyrians at Karkar, and though it suffered terribly, yet the result of the battle was that Shalmaneser pushed the campaign no further (853 B.C.). The battle of Karkar may, with some



REPRESENTATIVES OF PALESTINIAN CITIES SACKED BY SHISHAK

After the death of Solomon and the division of his realm the Egyptians seem to have thought it a good opportunity for breaking up the dangerous Palestinian power. At any rate, in the fifth year of Solomon's son Rehoboam, that is about 930 B.C., Shashank, the Biblical Shishak, came up and spoiled Jerusalem. A great inscription at Karnak confirms all this, except that the list of cities taken (admittedly incomplete) does not mention Jerusalem. These captives are clearly Jewish.

Berlin Museum

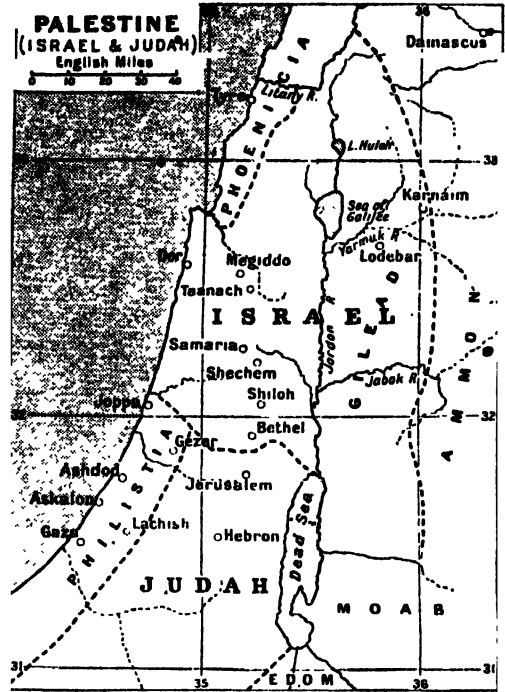
reason, be regarded as the high-water mark of Israelite military power, and from this point onwards it is impossible to think of the political history of Israel without considering the relation of the country to Assyria.

At this point, too, the religion of Israel becomes an important factor in the internal history of the country. Throughout the period of the monarchy, that religion presents the phenomenon known to students of comparative religion as syncretism. That is to say, it was a mixture of two different forms of faith, one of which had, to outward appearance, conquered the other, but yet had absorbed and retained many of the features of its creed; or, more particularly, it was the retention of the essence of one religion under the names belonging to another.

It is difficult for us to reconstruct the religion of Israel before the entry into Canaan, for by far the greater part of what is handed down to us in the Pentateuch clearly refers to a later age, and is read back from the period of agricultural settlement into the primitive nomad life. But it is also clear that the great founder of the religion of Israel was Moses, and that he had brought about the union of his people with a God named Yahweh, previously unknown to them. There is no

reason to suppose that Moses the founder of Israel's cult differed greatly from the tribal monolatry of his contemporaries; the distinctive feature of the new religion was that it was based on a covenant. Other religions, as far as our evidence goes, were natural; the gods of the tribes were from the first their members, either connected with them through actual ties of blood, or through identification with sites near which the peoples made their homes (see Chap. 21). But the relation between Yahweh and Israel was the result of a definite act of choice on the part of the God, and of equally definite acceptance on the part of the people.

It was none the less binding on this account, but there was necessarily one implication which does not appear in the ordinary type of religion, and may have been commonly overlooked in the popular



**PALESTINE UNDER THE KINGS**

After the kingship of Israel had split into two rival houses on the death of Solomon, the boundary between the northern and southern kingdoms usually ran as shown in this map. The northern was the more important politically.

thought even of Israel. The ordinary tribal god exists with and through his people, and if they cease to be, he too is at least degraded from divine rank. But Yahweh was not so dependent on Israel. He had once existed without her and could do so again if she failed to observe the terms of the agreement. He was, therefore, more independent than other gods, and could claim a more absolute authority over His people.

In details the religion of the Israelites before the conquest of Canaan was probably extremely simple. It may be assumed that they had some portable sacred emblem. Later Israel (in different quarters) claimed three of these, the bull, the snake and the Ark—the last a simple box containing, probably, plain stones. We may conjecture that if any of these emblems is to be traced back to the nomad period, it will be the Ark. We may assume that there was a separate tent ('tabernacle') for the sacred emblem, with guardians and attendants set apart



for its service—in other words, the priests. Their function would be a double representation. To Israel they represented Yahweh, and communicated His will; to Yahweh they represented Israel and conveyed to Him any petitions that might be brought forward.

It is uncertain whether there was any recognized sacrifice at all—the eighth century prophets seem to deny it altogether—though it seems probable that the Passover was an ancient nomad festival, older than the time of Moses, and adopted by him as one of the links between the God and the people. The moral standard was probably high, for the simple life of the nomad exposes him to a few only of the temptations of the more complicated forms of social and economic order.



**POTTERY SHRINE**

Also found at Beth-shan, this object is obviously a simplified version of the elaborate shrine of Ash-toreth in the opposite page.

On entering Palestine Israel found a long established worship which in some ways resembled her own, but in others differed widely from it. Instead of the tribal god the agricultural people of Canaan recognized the local fertility spirit, to whom the generic name of Baal was given. While such 'high gods' as Adad and Shamash (of Mesopotamian origin?) were certainly worshipped in the Amarna period, in early Israelite days every town and considerable village had its sanctuary or 'high place,' some of them with considerable buildings.

Sacrifice—including occasionally human sacrifice—was practised, and there were constant payments of different dues.

At the critical periods of the agricultural year—the beginning of the ploughing and



**RUINS OF THE PALACE WHERE OMRI AND AHAB HELD COURT**

Samaria, capital of the northern kingdom, was founded by Omri, the first of a powerful dynasty. Beneath the splendid ruins of the city as built and beautified by Herod the Great there came to light the basement of a ninth century palace, and it was here in all probability that Omri and his son Ahab actually dwelt. During their days Israel was at the height of its prestige.

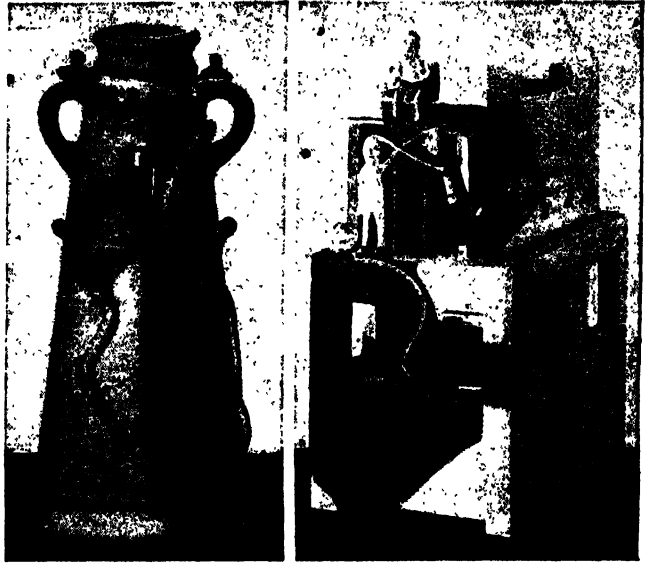
*Courtesy of Professor Garstang*

the beginning and end of the harvest—great festivals were observed. The whole ritual and system aimed at helping the Baal to do his work, and he was not infrequently assisted by a form of ritual fornication which has in it elements of sympathetic magic. Even apart from this dark feature, the moral standard inculcated by the religion does not seem to have been high, and it had little bearing on the practical dealings of Man with his neighbour, save where, as in the oath, the god was directly and expressly introduced.

The most striking and distinctive feature of Syrian and Palestinian religion lay outside the regular and formal worship of the sanctuaries. There were persons who were subject to a strange psychological condition which we call ecstasy. The external symptoms resembled either those of the trance or those of epilepsy and were assumed to be due to the 'possession'

of the person by a deity. At the same time it would seem that the subject of this state was endowed also with the power of second sight and second hearing, and was

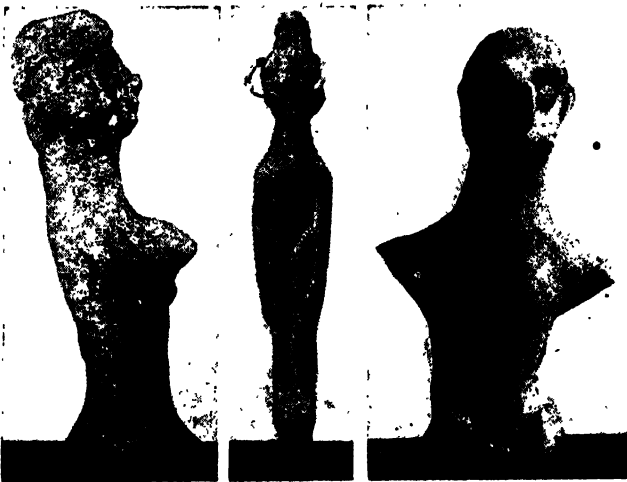
thus supposed to be a direct medium for the communication of divine messages to men. The two phenomena are frequent in many parts of the world, and in combination were in later days familiar to the whole Mediterranean world. But it is noticeable that when thus united they are always connected with deities which can be traced back to Syria or Asia Minor, and our earliest direct reference to them relates to the town of Byblus towards the end of the twelfth century B.C. A person once subject to this state was always liable to fall into it. 'It was curiously infectious, and' might be transmitted from one person to another. The ecstatic prophets tended



**USED IN THE CULT OF ASHTORETH**

Found at Beth-shan, certain strange pottery objects were probably connected with the worship of Ashtoreth. The jar-shaped stand has snakes coiled round it and birds perching in the openings ; while the lady sitting in the window of the three-storeyed shrine, above men and animals, is probably Ashtoreth herself.

*Courtesy of Alan Rowe, Pennsylvania University Palestine Expedition*



**DEITIES WORSHIPPED BY THE CANAANITES**

Ashtoreth was the goddess whom the Greeks called Astarte ; her prototype being the Babylonian Ishtar. This is shown by the statuettes of her offering her breasts, like that found at Beth-shemesh (left). The 'two-horned Astarte' (centre, from Gezer), is a rare object. Right, a household god from Gezer. From Macalister, 'The Mound of the Gezer,' and Palestine Exploration Fund Annual



to group themselves together, to form bands and even communities of a more settled type, and learned to induce their peculiar condition by various practices such as dancing or the use of music and drugs.

We have already seen that, as Israel made herself at home in the agricultural land, she inevitably tended to adopt the civilization she found there already. This included Canaanite religion, and her earliest temptation was to worship the Baals alongside of or instead of her own God Yahweh. But, partly owing to the logic of facts in the pre-monarchic period, and partly also, we may conjecture, to the influence of Yahweh ecstasies, she realized that she must not be false to her national God. But He was now an agricultural God, not a merely nomad deity, and it seems clear that there were transferred to Him all the rites and ideas which had previously attached to the worship of the Baals. There can have been little difference between the Yahweh sanctuary at Shiloh and the Baal sanctuary at Gezer.



#### HIGH PLACE WHERE THE 'ABOMINATIONS OF THE CANAANITES' WERE PRACTISED

Excavations throughout Palestine have shed much light on the indigenous religion against which the Prophets declaimed. Cerefnonial washing, as among the Israelites themselves, was a prominent feature, and a hollow stone trough in the 'high place' at Gezer was possibly a laver comparable to Solomon's 'molten sea.' In the background are some of the sacred pillars. Altars were usually simple and impermanent, an example found at Taanach (above) was of baked earth.

*From Macalister, 'Bible Sidelights from the Mound of Gezer'*

We hear often of the Prophets of Yahweh in the early period of the monarchy. The most striking individual of the class is Saul himself, and it is to the account we have of him that we owe our clearest information as to the character of these early prophets. The distinction between the 'regular' clergy—the priests attached to the sanctuaries—and the 'irregular' clergy, such as these wandering ecstasies, who owed allegiance to no shrine but claimed direct and immediate inspiration, grew throughout the early monarchy. As we have seen, there was a democratic element in Israelite politics, which is usually absent elsewhere in the ancient East, and while the priests—at any rate in northern Israel—tended to the side of monarchical despotism, the ecstatic prophets were often the representatives and champions of the popular side.

They have thus a double aspect, being both religious enthusiasts and democratic leaders. It seems that from the tenth century onwards their influence in both capacities grew, until by the middle of the ninth century they had become one of the most important elements in the Israelite

community. They may have had foreign connexions and have been more or less in touch with similar persons in Phoenicia and in Damascus, though we have no definite proof of this view. In Israel, at all events, they reached a point under the dynasty of Omri at which they were prepared to take extreme steps. The connexion of Ahab with Tyre, the despotic methods of Jezebel, illustrated in the murder of Naboth, and the attempt to introduce foreign worship led to a revolt stimulated and organized by the prophets. In conjunction with others who stood for the simpler life of the nomad against the more elaborate agricultural order, they succeeded in destroying the house of Omri with cruel slaughter and in placing their nominee, Jehu, on the throne. His accession was followed by a wholesale massacre of those who tended to accept the newer order in church and state which Jezebel had tried to bring with her from her home.

With Jehoram, last representative of the house of Omri, fell also Ahaziah, king of Judah. His mother, Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, found an opportunity of per-



**ALTAR OF THE HIGH PLACE IN THE ROCK-CUT CITY OF PETRA**

The 'high places' of the Canaanite cults are mentioned throughout the Old Testament, but beyond the fact that they were obviously on hill-tops and connected with religious rites, little else was known until modern research began to identify them. The earliest to be recognized was the high platform above Petra in Edom. This view shows the stepped, rock-cut altar set in a recess of the wall bounding the platform. The black opening on the left is a trough presumably for ablutions.

*From Nielsen, 'Die Altarabische Mondreligion'*



#### EVIDENCE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE

In the religion of the land occupied by the Israelites—a religion which they were always tending to adopt—there were many primitive features. All over the 'high place' at Gezer were found infants buried in jars (bottom), and near by, in a cistern, the skeleton of a girl who had been sawn asunder.

*From Macalister, 'Bible Sidelights from the Mound of Gezer'*

petuating the new system in the southern kingdom, and seized the throne much as Jehu had done. But, six years later, a child of the royal house, Jehoash by name, who had been saved from the massacre organized by his grandmother, was placed on the throne by the efforts, not of the prophets, but of the priest Jehoiada.

Jehu was no Omri, nor even an Ahab, and one of his first acts was to submit to Assyria, with the payment of tribute (841 B.C.). Shalmaneser had renewed his

attacks on Damascus, and Jehu probably felt that he could thus secure his crown the better, both by avoiding the hostility of the Assyrians and by securing their help in case his subjects rebelled against him. It is worthy of note that the dynasty which he founded was on the throne longer than any other, for he was followed by four generations of his descendants.

From this point onwards the external relations of Palestine remain obscure for a century. We hear of tribute paid by Palestine (the kings and separate states are not mentioned) in 802, and of wars in the west in which the Assyrian influence was predominant; but these do not help us to reconstruct the progress of events.

The truth is that Assyria was largely occupied during the hundred years which followed the death of Shalmaneser III with troubles on her northern frontier, and had little time to spare for the remoter west. She also suffered from a succession of weak kings, and an empire like hers was only held together by the personality of the monarch himself.

We have, on the other hand, a good deal of light on the local politics of the Palestinian states. The alliance between Israel and Judah was at least weakened by the usurpation of Athaliah, and for a time the two kingdoms went each its own way. Moab and Edom had successfully revolted, the former never again to be subdued, though Edom was reconquered by Amaziah of Judah somewhere

about 790. The northern kingdom was engaged in a desperate struggle against Damascus, which received a new opportunity from the weakness of Assyria. Gilead was overrun by Syrians and even Samaria suffered from a siege which nearly proved fatal to the independence of Israel. It was not till the end of the century that the tide began to turn.

Jehoash, grandson of Jehu, succeeded in beating back the Syrians, and repressed an attempt made by Amaziah of Judah to

secure independence or supremacy. His son Jeroboam II completed the work which his father had begun. There seems to have been some kind of alliance or agreement between Jeroboam and his contemporary Uzziah (or Ahaziah) of Judah; at all events their interests did not clash. Judah extended her power southwards, while Jeroboam turned to the north and east, conquered the Lebanon country as far north as Hamath, and recovered the lost territory in Gilead, where we hear the

names of two captured cities, Lodebar and Karnaim. For a few years the international situation repeated that of the eleventh century, with preoccupation both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, resulting in comparative freedom for the Palestinian states to develop and for the strongest of them to obtain a certain hegemony over the rest. Roughly speaking, we may say that the year 750 marks the highest point of prosperity reached by Israel since the days of Solomon.



**HOW JEHU ACKNOWLEDGED THE OVERLORDSHIP OF ASSYRIA**

'Tribute of Iaua of the house of Khumri'—so reads the inscription on one band of the obelisk of Shalmaneser. It is a square pillar of black stone with a column of oblong panels on each face, of which four, encircling it on the same level, show the offerings sent by Jehu (Iaua). He was, in point of fact, not descended from Omri (Khumri); but the Assyrians had come to call Israel the 'land of Omri.' The tribute in these two panels includes golden vessels, fruit and staves.

*British Museum*

In or about the year 760 B.C. there occurred an event which, insignificant as it seemed to contemporaries, proved to be one of the great landmarks not only in the history of Israel, but in the whole story of human thought and spiritual development. This was the sudden appearance at the great royal sanctuary in Bethel of a wild figure from southern Judah, Amos the Prophet.

Outwardly he resembled the familiar prophets, though it is noticeable that, unlike the majority of them, he stood alone. In earlier days men such as Elijah and Micaiah had maintained their individuality, but it is clear

**Advent of the Prophet Amos** that they were the exception, and Elisha, with his companies of professional prophets, was the type. Amos resembled Elijah and Micaiah, not only in his solitude, but also in the content of his message. The normal prophet was a popular nationalist, and spoke of the triumphs that his people would win over their enemies. In its extreme form the usual preaching probably accommodated itself to the current eschatology, and foretold the sudden and dramatic interference of Yahweh on the historical stage, to overthrow in person the enemies of Israel and to inaugurate a period of happiness and prosperity in which His own people should not merely be free from foreign oppression, but should attain also to world empire. Sometimes this might be accomplished through the work of some human king, sometimes through the direct and miraculous use of the super-human powers of Yahweh. But whatever be the details, it is clear that the normal prophet in ancient Israel, both in the north and in the south, was a prophet of salvation, prosperity and triumph.

To all this the message of Amos presented the strongest possible contrast. Coming as he did from the borders of civilization, the barren lands where crops could not be grown and where only sheep could eke out a scanty living from the sparse herbage, he had inherited the traditions, moral and religious, of the nomad period, and saw that the elaborate agricultural and commercial society of northern Israel contained within it the seeds of ruin. The

surface was fair and prosperous, but beneath it was a seething mass of corruption which must, sooner or later, involve the whole people in destruction.

• During the preceding century the whole economic basis of society had undergone a silent revolution. The land was no longer held and worked by Naboths, free peasant farmers owning their ancestral fields and securing by unremitting toil an honest living for themselves and their families. The small holdings had merged into large estates, worked largely by slave labour—we receive just the same impression a generation later from Isaiah and Micah. We have occasional hints as to the methods by which the change had been brought about. The precedent set by Jezebel in dealing with Naboth seems to have been only too often followed, and the free peasant proprietor, impoverished and perhaps ruined by cruel border warfare, had degenerated first into the tenant farmer and finally into the serf. The rich man's standard of comfort had risen; the poor man's standard of living had fallen, and every decade saw the gulf between the two classes growing.

All history shows that such conditions can end only in one of two ways. Either the lower classes retain enough of their manhood to resent and finally to rise against the tyranny of the few, producing an explosion which wrecks the social order from within, or the victims lose their spirit and the result is a national emasculation which leaves the country an easy prey to any powerful and vigorous invader. Either result is ruin. It is not clear that Amos had thought the matter out in this form, nor that he had in mind any special enemy who would overthrow the country, but he did see that civilization as it was represented by Samaria and Bethel was doomed. No help was to be found in religion, for this was at best a system of ritual with no moral force behind it, and at worst not merely tolerated but encouraged the evils of which the prophet complained.

**Reaction against a corrupt society**

Others besides Amos were conscious of something wrong in the social order of their day. Such bodies of men as the Rechabites, who had been so prominent

before this time, had claimed that civilization itself was the evil, and that safety was only to be found in a return to the conditions of the nomadic period. This Amos did not suggest. It would be enough if the people would really seek Yahweh, as the fathers had known Him in the wilderness, Yahweh as Amos himself had been taught to understand Him. What was required was not ritual, but justice, a spirit of fair dealing between man and man.

The thought was carried still farther a generation later by Hosea, who insisted that Yahweh's primary demand was for 'leal love' (though this, or any other English phrase, is inadequate to the expression of the idea), a recognition of the claims of personality, human and divine, and a consecration of the self and of society in answer to those claims. We need not suppose that either Amos or Hosea, or any other pre-exilic prophet (with the possible exception of Jeremiah), developed a genuine monotheistic theology—for them such a question was purely theoretical, and they were concerned with practical affairs. Yahweh was the God of Israel, and therefore in that people His will must be paramount.

That will could to some extent be measured by the human conscience. Amos seems to have been the first in the history of human thought who laid it down as a fundamental principle that

**Ideas of pre-** God is at least as good as  
**Exile prophets** Man, and that anything which violates Man's own sense of moral rectitude will as a matter of course be displeasing to God. The great weakness of most of the world's historic religions is that they have offered gods whose moral standard has been below that of the best men; in Amos begins that line of thought which led men at last to recognize that God's standards are immeasurably above those of the noblest of men, and that the gradual development of the human conscience is one aspect of the gradual discovery of God.

But Amos was taken to be a revolutionary prophet and nothing more. As a prophet he himself was sacrosanct, and violent hands might not be laid on him; but he was expelled from the sanctuary

at Bethel, and his protests and warnings fell everywhere on deaf ears. The fulfilment of his words was not long delayed. With the death of Jeroboam the country fell back into its old ways. His son, Zechariah, was murdered by Shallum, Shallum in turn by Menahem. In 745 the fortunes of Assyria changed with the accession of Tiglath-pileser III, who began at once to recover all the ground that his predecessors had lost, and accepted the tribute of Menahem in 738.

Menahem, after a reign of uncertain length (the Biblical figures in this period are demonstrably inaccurate and confusing) was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, and he, **Circumstances of** too, fell, the victim of an **Isaiah's message** assassin. The last two kings had been vassals of Assyria, and this new revolution must be interpreted as an act of revolt against Tiglath-pileser. The new king, Pekah, was in alliance with Damascus, and there seems to have been an effort to revive the old coalition which, a century before, had resisted the Assyrian invasion. It was necessary that Judah should join the confederacy, and an attempt was made to compel the allegiance by force of arms.

It is in this connexion that the work of Isaiah first becomes prominent. With much the same general convictions as Amos and Hosea, he also held strongly to the belief that Yahweh had made His special home in Jerusalem, and would not lightly see the city the prey of a foreign conqueror. Let Judah trust in Yahweh, and no man could either hurt or help her. Her best chance of safety lay in aloofness and a policy of isolation, a doctrine which, though based in Isaiah's mind on the connexion between Israel and her God, derives support from the geographical position of the city, far away in the hills and off the main trade and military routes.

But Ahaz, the grandson of Uzziah, did not share Isaiah's confidence and appealed to Assyria. The appeal was quickly answered. In 732 Tiglath-pileser destroyed Damascus and overthrew Pekah, appointing a certain Hoshea in his place. At the same time, numbers of the inhabitants of Gilead and the north, were



deported. While Tiglath-pileser lived the new king seems to have been faithful to him; but Egypt had taken fright, and was doing her best to rouse the princes of Palestine to revolt. Tiglath-pileser was succeeded by Shalmaneser V, and soon there followed open revolt. Assyrian armies were once more in the west, Hoshea was taken and killed, and, after a prolonged siege, Samaria itself was captured (721).

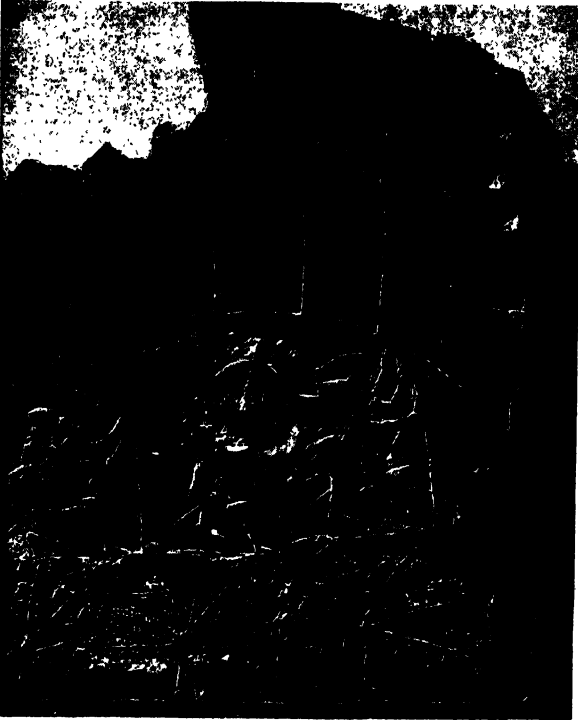
It was not utterly depopulated, for we hear of later attacks by Sargon (who had succeeded Shalmaneser before the final capture of Samaria), and it is clear that the country could not have been left utterly desolate. We have little evidence as to the form which Assyrian government took, but it may be conjectured that Bethel and other places were assigned to Ahaz as a reward for his fidelity to

Assyria. In any case, it is certain that Hoshea had no successor; the kingdom of Israel had come to an end.

In the south Assyrian influence remained dominant and even the externals of worship were modified, apparently as an act of vassalage. A new altar, built on an Assyrian model seen by Ahaz at Damascus in 732, was placed in the Temple at Jerusalem, and it seems clear that some form of Assyrian worship was introduced into the city, probably the adoration of the heavenly bodies. Hezekiah followed in the footsteps of his father Ahaz, and Judah remained for nearly twenty years faithful to the Assyrian alliance.

But the progress of the Assyrians was sure, if slow. Ashdod fell in 711, and the near approach of danger nerved Egypt to fresh diplomatic intrigue. On the death of Sargon in 705 the whole of Palestine blazed into revolt against his successor, Sennacherib. Padi, king of Ekron, alone was true to his allegiance, and the confederates, with the help of a party in the city, seized him and handed him over to Hezekiah for safe keeping.

In 701, however, Sennacherib appeared with his armies and reduced one after another of the rebel cities. The territory of Judah was cruelly ravaged; Sennacherib claims to have taken forty-six walled towns (probably including some in northern Israel) and 200,150 prisoners. The details are far from clear, but it is certain that Sennacherib did not capture Jerusalem, contenting himself with the restoration of Padi, whom he replaced on the throne, and with the exaction of an enormous tribute from Hezekiah. It seems likely that a set-back of some kind overtook Sennacherib's army—an outbreak of bubonic plague has been suggested—and that he was glad to return without having destroyed Jerusalem.

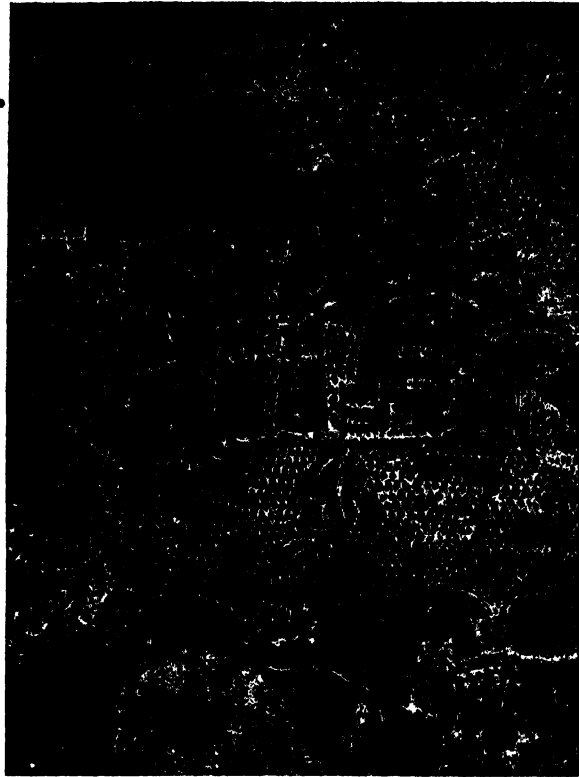


**SENNACHERIB ASSAULTS JERUSALEM?**

Jerusalem must have been the objective of Sennacherib's campaign into Palestine, made necessary by the revolt on his succession. He failed to take it; but a bas-relief from Nineveh may show the assault, as the mutilated name of the city reads '.....alammu'—that is, probably, (Jerus)alem.

*British Museum*

The revolt had been accompanied by a religious reform which went far to meet the demands of the prophetic party. We may be doing no injustice to the genuineness of Hezekiah's religious convictions if we suggest that this had a political aspect. The local sanctuaries and the foreign cults were swept away, and even the ancient serpent worship of Jerusalem was suppressed. Political independence and purity of Yahweh worship necessarily went hand in hand; the latter could not exist without the former, and the attempt to attain it must have been intended and regarded as a political gesture. Both alike failed with the submission of Hezekiah to Sennacherib, and the purer, simpler, ethical religion of the prophets passed under a cloud by which it was hidden for three-quarters of a century.



**SPOILS OF LACHISH BEFORE SENNACHERIB**

It was from Lachish (probably Tell el-Hesi, some 32 miles south-west of Jerusalem), which he had captured, that Sennacherib sent Rabshakeh to demand the capitulation of Hezekiah; and thither Hezekiah sent tribute. This bas-relief is inscribed: 'Sennacherib receives the spoil of the city of Lachish.'

*British Museum*

We have little information as to the course of events in Israel between 701 and 639 B.C. The period is stigmatised as one of reaction in religion and of tyranny, though the account is too vague for us to form any judgement as to details. The Chronicler speaks of a revolt by Manasseh, followed by a captivity in Babylon, after which the king repented of his misdeeds and was restored to his throne. But this may be a later interpretation of a visit which Manasseh paid in 675 to Phoenicia, where, in common with twenty-one other kings of the west, he did homage to Esarhaddon at the foundation of a royal city near the site of Sidon. For the rest, there seems little doubt that he remained faithful to the Assyrian alliance through his lifetime, and that his 'crimes' were committed in the suppression of the anti-Assyrian party in Judah.

Sennacherib died in 681, and his successor undertook still further conquests. World dominion would be incomplete till Egypt was subjugated, and we may well

suppose that this enterprise had been the ultimate goal of every ambitious Assyrian monarch. Esarhaddon was the first to accomplish it, and thereby, though he ruled over wider territories than any of his predecessors, he struck a fatal blow at the permanence of the Assyrian empire. Egypt was too far away for effective control without the expenditure of a large force, whereas it was really the northern frontier of Assyria which needed defence. The strain proved in the long run to be too great, and the subjugation of Egypt in 671 may be said to be the beginning of the end of the kingdom of Nineveh.

The new conquest was insecure; Esarhaddon died in the course of an expedition in which he was attempting to re-establish his authority, but with varying fortunes. Assyrian dominance was maintained till 650. Esarhaddon was succeeded in

Nineveh by Ashurbanipal, the last of the great kings of Assyria. Yet, great as he was, he was hardly equal to the task of maintaining the position of his country in the face of the difficulties with which he was surrounded. It is a significant fact that, although we know about as much of Ashurbanipal as of any other Assyrian king, we have no information at all of any event between 639 and his death in 626. The usual inference is that the empire was already falling to pieces. There had been revolts in Babylon, in Egypt and in almost every part of the empire, but the great danger came from the north, and, as it also affected Judah, it must receive some notice.

The history of civilization in the Mediterranean and south-western Asia has

**Northern hordes** been rudely affected  
**change Ancient World** by incursions from  
the north. From the

highlands to the east of the Hindu Kush, from Turkistan and the Altai, from the countries on both sides of the Ural mountains, there have gathered hordes of rough but sturdy warriors, belonging to different races but presenting the same social characteristics, who have so felt the pressure of overpopulation that they have made their way down into the fertile lands of the higher civilization.

One such racial movement had led to the establishment of the Aryans in India and of the Iranians in Persia. Another was that of the Dorians (see Chap. 32), who expelled that older Aegean civilization which has left so rich a heritage in the Greek Egean and the buried Cretan cities. Julius Caesar undoubtedly checked a similar movement by his defeat of the Helvetii, and during the early centuries of the Christian era Europe was threatened and overrun first by Teutonic tribes and then by Huns; while the Middle Ages witnessed the successful defence of the western world against Tartar hordes.

Such a movement took place in the latter part of the seventh century, and though the invaders, called Scythians and Cimmerians and, later, Medes by the Greeks and Umman-Manda by the Mesopotamians, made no permanent conquests, they left as the legacy of their assault a

world from which the Assyrian empire had completely passed away. The glory of the Semites was waning, and though Assyria was succeeded for a short period by Babylon, the time was near when the hegemony of civilization should be yielded to peoples of Indo-European speech, and remain in their hands till, twelve centuries later, Mahomet raised the Arabs to the height of a world power.

A new race had entered Babylonia. From the shores of the Persian Gulf there came the people known as the Chaldaeans, and they soon rose to the chief power in Babylon. A Chaldaean prince, Nabopolassar by name, threw off the yoke of Assyria on the death of Ashurbanipal, and, making common cause with the Medes on his eastern frontier, attacked Assyria. Twenty years of warfare followed, and in spite of occasional defeats the Chaldaeans steadily pressed forward. Assyria summoned Scythians to her aid and under Necho a reorganized Egypt, now concerned with buttressing her old enemy, gave what help she could.

But the Scythians went over to the enemy, and were rewarded by a share in the plunder of the crumbling empire. The ancient city of Ashur was sacked in 614 and Nineveh herself fell

two years later. An attempt **Palestine after**  
was made to carry on the **Nineveh's fall**  
struggle from Harran, which

in turn was captured by the Chaldaeans in 610. This proved to be the end of the Assyrian Empire, and the last effort of Egypt to play a dominant part in world affairs culminated in the battle of Carchemish (605), where Necho was completely overthrown by Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and the supremacy of Babylon was definitely established.

As an Assyrian vassal and a small buffer state between Egypt and Babylon, Judah was vitally concerned in these events. Manasseh died in 641, and was succeeded by Amon, who was assassinated after a two years' reign and was followed by his young son Josiah. In 626 the Scythian storm threatened to burst on the country. We have no direct evidence as to the damage the invaders did, but the prophecies of Zephaniah and some of the oracles of Jeremiah are commonly assigned

to this period, and call up a picture of a ruined countryside and a universal panic. Whatever happened, Jerusalem remained untouched, and the national life intact.

Five years later the king was old enough to take the government into his own hands, and inaugurated a religious revival. Like the religious movement of Hezekiah, this may well have had a political aspect. Directed, it is said, by a book of law found in the Temple during some repairs, Josiah made the most complete changes in religion that Jerusalem had yet witnessed. All the foreign cults were swept out of Jerusalem and, except for the fact that sacrifice was continued, the religious ideals of the eighth century prophets were in large measure realized. All the old local sanctuaries, with their relics of Canaanite worship, were desecrated, and sacrifice was restricted to Jerusalem. Some necessary adjustments in the social life of the people were made, and the country priests were given permission to establish themselves round the Temple. Once more religious purity and political independence went hand in hand.

But though Assyria was in no state to avenge what was practically an act of rebellion, the Egyptian king, acting nominally in the Assyrian interests, was not disposed to allow Josiah to retain complete independence. In the course of one of his expeditions—that of 608—he summoned Josiah to his presence at Megiddo as he passed through the country, and there put him to death.

This, at least, is the account in Kings; that of Chronicles, introducing a battle in which the Egyptian archers played a decisive part, seems to the present writer to be a later interpretation of the events.

The king's second son, Jehoahaz, was placed on the throne by popular election, but it seems that his policy was unacceptable to Necho, and three months later he was deposed and carried to Egypt, while his place was occupied by his elder brother, Jehoiakim. The new king was a strong contrast to his father, and his character and conduct go far to explain the popular attempt to exclude him. He seems to have set before him as his model some typical oriental Sultan like Solomon. He tried



#### EGYPTIAN RELIGION IN PALESTINE

Reflecting the influence of Egypt, where the hippopotamus was a popular divinity, this little pottery model was found in the Ashtoreth temple at Beth-shan at a level judged to be contemporary with Seti I (c. 1300 B.C.)

*Courtesy of Alan Rowe, Pennsylvania University Palestine Expedition*

to erect magnificent buildings and to vie with the great kings of the world, but these works could be carried out only by forced labour, and at the cost of grave oppression of his subjects. After Carchemish he seems to have transferred his allegiance to the Chaldaeans.

But Egypt, though beaten in the field, did not give up hope of keeping Nebuchadnezzar at bay through intrigue, and ultimately Jehoiakim was persuaded to revolt. Retribution came in 597, and though Jehoiakim himself died before the fall of Jerusalem, his young son Jehoiachin was compelled to surrender after a reign of three months, after which Zedekiah, a third son of Josiah, was placed on the throne in the Chaldaean interest. Once more the intrigues of Egypt worked on the weak king, and in 586 the final vengeance was taken. Jerusalem was laid in ruins, the Temple was burnt, all persons of authority were either killed or deported, and the independence of Judah was destroyed. The Chaldaeans appointed one of the Jewish nobles, Gedaliah by name, to be governor of the country.

For a time it seemed as if there might be some kind of revival, but Gedaliah was assassinated by a scion of the old royal house, and the last remnant (apart from the peasant cultivators) fled down to Egypt. What became of them there we do not know. They may have been

**Josiah's fate  
at Megiddo**

absorbed into the ordinary population, they may have been wiped out in Nebuchadrezzar's invasion of Egypt, or they may have made their way far to the south and become the founders of that strange Jewish community of which relics have recently been discovered at Elephantine, near Aswan. One thing is clear: they never returned to Palestine. The land was not left utterly desolate; it was inhabited and farmed by peasants; but they have left on the history no trace of political independence or of religious initiative, and when, two generations later, the national life made a fresh start in Jerusalem, it was inaugurated, not by those who had been left behind by the Chaldean invader, but through the influence of the Babylonian exiles.

It remains to note two contributions of primary importance to human religious and philosophical thought which were made in the last years of the Hebrew state. Four prophets are commonly assigned to this period: Zephaniah, who dealt almost entirely with the religious aspects of the Scythian invasions; Nahum, whose work is an exultant paean of triumph over the fall of Nineveh; Habakkuk, whose oracles probably come from the early years of Jehoiakim; and Jeremiah, from 626 to after 585. It is the last two who are the most significant.

The eighth century prophets had taught that Yahweh was righteous, and that therefore He would reward human righteousness with prosperity

**The problem of human destiny** and punish human wrongdoing with disaster. But sooner or later men were bound to observe that this easy philosophy of life was not supported by fact. The righteous do suffer and the wicked do prosper. The question became acute when the most righteous of all Jewish kings, Josiah, met with a miserable fate, and his cruel and unjust son, Jehoiakim, supported by Egypt, seemed to prosper.

It was, as far as we know, Habakkuk who first presented this problem in its simple form, and who asked the great question, how can a righteous and pure God, supreme over the human universe, allow such a moral contradiction? Needless to say he found no valid answer; but

the question continued to live and be debated by later thinkers in Israel. It gave birth in due time to the greatest literary composition yet achieved by human genius, the Book of Job, and led the later Israel to seek for a solution in a doctrine of a life after death, in which the moral entanglements of this life should find their meaning and their rectification.

The position of Jeremiah is still more important. His was a supremely lovable character but a lonely life. He had the temperament which

shrinks from publicity of **Lonely struggle** any kind and seeks its **of Jeremiah** happiness in the joys of

obscure social activity. Yet it was his fate to stand alone all through his ministry. For forty years he had to experience the last sufferings of the country which he loved with a passion only less than that with which he served his God, and till the very last he found it impossible to obtain a hearing from the nation which he loved. Despised, rejected, scorned, persecuted, only not murdered, he became a type for ever of the suffering servant of God. He stood alone amongst his people, but he stood yet more alone in his dealings with his God.

Until his day religion had been essentially a matter for the community rather than the individual; the human unit in religion was the people, not the man. A man could only exercise religious functions as a member of the tribe or nation; direct, private, personal dealings with his God were impossible for him. But the nature of Jeremiah's experience forced these things upon him. Like all prophets he found a direct and immediate contact with the deity who inspired him, but no other had in the same way stood face to face alone with God and struggled with Him in the fulfilment of his work.

His experiences are amongst the most terrible recorded in the annals of the human spirit, but they have borne rich fruit. All the personal piety of the later Judaism and of the whole Christian history depends on this isolation of the worshipper, and is thus to be traced back to the life of this prophet. He himself is the noblest gift that pre-exilic Israel had to give to the world.

# THE GREEKS IN THE HEROIC AGE

Vigorous Social Life in the Great Days of the Achæan  
Princes reflected by Archæology and the Homeric Poems

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THE heroic age of Greece offers a remarkable contrast to the periods which preceded and which succeeded it; for while these earlier and later civilizations are known to us almost exclusively from the evidence of excavation and archæology, our knowledge of the heroic age is almost entirely derived from the two great epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which have been among the most valued literary possessions of the educated world from Greek times until the present day. On the other hand, these two poems enable us to realize the life and character of the people they describe with a fullness and a vividness hardly to be rivalled in any literary record of a bygone age, and Achilles, Hector, Odysseus, Helen, Andromache, Nausicaa and the rest live in the Homeric poems with a brilliance and individuality beyond all other personalities in history or fiction.

Before any attempt can be made to describe the life of the Greeks in the heroic age, it is necessary to realize the position of that age in the historical development of the Aegean peoples. The magnificent and imposing civilization of the Minoan age, as described in Chapter 25, was a thing of the past, in spite of the 'hundred cities' of Crete, and was to a great extent forgotten; the palace of Minos at Cnossus was destroyed and buried, and its site reoccupied by insignificant buildings. The relation to the heroic age of the offshoots of the Cretan culture and art on the mainland of Greece is not so clear. While there is nothing in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, beyond some traditional survivals, to suggest the former splendour of Crete, the references to Mycenæ, 'rich in gold,' and to the resplendent palace of Menelaus at

Sparta, certainly seem to imply some knowledge on the poet's part of the art and civilization that have been rediscovered in modern times.

It is still a matter of dispute not only to what place and date the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must be assigned, but also how far they are to be regarded as describing the life of the poet's own day (see also Chapter 29). As to the fi of these questions, Dr. Leaf, in the Introduction to his *Iliad*, says:

Finally, a word may be added as to the place of origin of the poems. The argument for their birth in continental Greece, first stated by Mr. Gladstone, and lately enforced with more effect, if less enthusiasm, by Mr. Munro, appears to me unanswerable. It is to the courts of the great princes of Achæa, whose homes and even whose remains have been found by Schliemann . . . that we have to look for the dwelling of Homer. The Achæan fugitives took with them to the coasts of Asia Minor this most precious of their possessions.

If this opinion be correct—and it is one which seems likely to meet with general acceptance among scholars

—it is a necessary inference that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must have been composed before the Achæans were driven forth into Asia Minor by the Dorian invaders—that is to say, before about 1000 B.C. And the life which they describe must be, in all essential matters, that of those Achæan chieftains. A further inference is that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must have already existed very much in their present form before the Dorian immigration.

It is true that many critics have, during the last century, maintained that the poems

were not finally put together until a much later time, and that they are of a composite character both as to literary form and as to content. But such critics find it very difficult to explain the fact that the life described in the poems corresponds in every way with the probable conditions among the Achaeans in Greece, and differs greatly from what we learn from other

sources of the state of things in Greece subsequent to 1000 B.C. For Homer preceded the poet was not a historian nor an archaeologist, and is not likely to have made a systematic study of an earlier age. As Andrew Lang points out in his *World of Homer*, it is inconceivable that he should make no reference at all to the changed conditions of his own time and his new home, while describing with almost complete accuracy and consistency the life of his predecessors on the mainland of Greece.

The poet indeed regards the heroes of whom he tells as finer and stronger than his own contemporaries; Diomed easily hurls a rock 'such as two men, as men are now, could not lift'—but there are no essential differences of life or custom. Who these heroes were must next be considered.

The word 'hero' varied considerably in meaning at different times. In later Greek usage it often meant a demigod or a mortal to whom divine honours were given. But there is no such implication in the Homeric use of the word; it may be applied to almost any of the chief characters, whether princes, or of divine race, or neither; it is applied not only to warriors generally, but even to heralds and minstrels. And, as Professor Seymour remarks, 'the so-called heroic period of Greece had very few generations.' It appears, indeed, to have been restricted to those who took part in the Trojan war and in some other expeditions or adventures that are referred to in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

These heroes were evidently Greek in language and customs, and they belong to a race which must have come down from the north—or at least from the north of Greece—at some date, which it is difficult to determine, in the second

millennium B.C. They brought with them the beliefs, customs and dress of their northern home, and they spoke the Greek language in some earlier form capable of developing into the epic dialect of the Homeric poems. But they found in Greece a civilization and art far in advance of their own. Though Crete never recovered from the disaster which involved the destruction of the palaces at Cnossus and elsewhere, the offshoots of Cretan art survived in Mycenae, Sparta, Tiryns and other sites on the mainland of Greece. And the immigrating Achaeans did not exterminate the earlier inhabitants, but adopted to a great extent their houses and their towns, and employed them as skilled craftsmen.

The conditions of life described in the Homeric poems are, therefore, in some degree the product of a mixed civilization, the vigorous and warlike immigrants taking advantage of the old-established and more advanced surroundings in which they found themselves. But their life was essentially Greek in spirit and character, so much so that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were studied and quoted by all later Greeks as the typical embodiment of the ideals of the Greek people, and have ever since been recognized by the whole world as representative of Greek genius.

Until recent years there was much difference of opinion among scholars and historians as to how far the life described in the Homeric poems corresponded to an actual historic society and the events in which that society took part. Some regarded it as a more or less ideal picture of a state of things that had never actually existed; or at least as the result of the combining of traditions which embodied the ideas of many centuries. But now that the golden treasures of Mycenae and the actual walls of the city of Troy have been discovered, few would dispute that the tale of Troy is in the main a record of real historical events (see Chapter 29), though there is room for doubt as to how much detail is due to the poet's imagination.

The life of the Homeric heroes seems in many ways closer to that of the Greeks,

**Historical Basis  
of Homer's Epics**

of classical times than it is either to the Cretan civilization or to that of the 'dark ages' which succeeded the invasion of the Dorians. And this is hardly to be wondered at. The Achaeans carried with them to Asia Minor their customs and traditions, and thus preserved many characteristics of the heroic age, to be transmitted later to the Greeks generally. Allowance must indeed be made for the fact that the Greeks of the classical period thought of the heroes as in every way similar to themselves, and so represented them in art and literature. But it appears that many characteristic features of the life of the heroic age, obscured or destroyed by the Dorian invasion, were restored later as part of the common inheritance of the Hellenic race.

The Iliad and the Odyssey, on which we are almost entirely dependent for our knowledge of the life of the heroic age, are somewhat limited in their scope, since the one describes a state of war—and then only a few days in an expedition—while

the other is a story of travel in various countries, real and imaginary. But these are also vivid pictures of home life in the palace of Menelaus at Sparta, and that of Alcinous among the Phaeacians. And, moreover, a state of war was regarded in ancient times as being a much more normal condition than it is considered now—as a commonplace event in which any man might at any time be called on to play his part.

The chief characters in the Iliad and the Odyssey are all princes, but they are attended by many others who seem almost their social equals; many even of the princes ruled over but small districts, and within these were many estates which doubtless gave a certain position to the proprietor. It is to be noted that the kingdom of Odysseus (Ulysses), which only supplied twelve ships to the Trojan expedition, could furnish a hundred suitors who were of such rank that they could aspire to the hand of the queen. But the general tone of the poems, as well



RUINED BATTLEMENTS THAT FOR TEN YEARS DEFIED THE ACHAEAN HOST

The Troy of the Homeric poems was enclosed within massive walls and bastions diversified by towers and gateways. The side walls of one tower are shown here (B and C) projecting from the eastern wall (marked A). At D and E are superstructures built to replace earlier ones of brick; the gate leading through the parapet on to the terrace and thence to the tower is clearly visible. The house wall at F and the massive foundation at G belong to later settlements.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'



as of the society they describe, is distinctly aristocratic.

This quality is most obvious in the battle scenes of the Iliad, which consist mostly of descriptions of the individual prowess of one hero after another, all dependent entirely on their own skill with spear or sword, and not on any

concerted action or  
**Essential nature of** marshalling of troops.  
**the Aristocracy** Sometimes, indeed, one

hero comes to the aid of another who is hard pressed; but none seems to depend on the support of his own special followers. If a hero occasionally seems to lead a charge, as when 'the Trojans drave forth in close array, and Hector led them,' the common soldiery never have any decisive effect on the issue of the fight.

In the wanderings of Odysseus, though the hero again and again comes to the rescue of his companions in peril, his home-coming is none the less welcome to his friends because he returns alone, 'with the loss of all his company.' And, when he does return, he is able, with the help only of his son and two faithful servants, to cope with the hundred suitors who have established themselves in his house. The authority and preponderance of the chiefs are no less conspicuous in time of peace. The social system on which it is based can be inferred from many references in the Homeric poems.

The system of government is monarchical, but without any definite constitution or any permanent division into independent kingdoms. Much would depend on the character and prowess of the individual king. If the Greeks before Troy recognized Agamemnon as their leader, they joined him as free allies rather than as subjects. The words 'king,' 'lord,' 'master' (basileus, anax, koiranos) seem to be equivalent and interchangeable. Odysseus, indeed, when exhorting the Greeks, says: 'A multitude of masters is no good thing, let there be one master, one king'; but he makes this remark only when he is addressing the common soldiery, and addresses the other leaders in very different language. They are evidently thought of as entitled, if they choose, to withdraw their respective contingents and go home.

The word 'king' seems to be used in varying senses even in juxtaposition. A clear illustration of this occurs in the first book of the Odyssey, when Antinous taunts Telemachus about his prospect of succeeding his father as king of Ithaca, and Telemachus, in reply, says: 'There are many other kings of the Achaeans in seagirt Ithaca, kings young and old; some one of them shall surely have this kingship since goodly Odysseus is dead. But, as for me, I will be lord of our own house and thralls.' Here then is evidently a distinction drawn between the king who is merely lord in his own domain, and the king of the whole island. Both rights appear to be hereditary; but a possible breach of heredity is contemplated.

The paramount king, if he may so be called, seems to have further exceptional rights as to the disposal of his vassals. Thus Agamemnon offers to Achilles 'seven well built cities,' and Menelaus tells Telemachus of his offer to Odysseus: 'And in Argos I would have given him a city to dwell in—making desolate one city of those that lie around and are in mine own domain.' Such power seems despotic; but it was probably only exercised in particular cases—possibly in captured territory.

As a rule each king supervised the work on his own property in peace time; a king is represented on the shield of Achilles as superintending the work of his farm. In **Monarchy Limited by the Council** king kept open house, and entertained his subordinates; the 'kings' of Phaeacia were feasting in the palace of Alcinoüs when Odysseus came to request hospitality; but Alcinoüs says to the feasters: 'Hear me, captains and counsellors of the Phaeacians . . . in the morning we will call yet more elders together, and entertain the stranger.'

The power of a king was often thus modified by the advice of an assembly of chiefs or elders, or even of the whole people. If an important decision were to be made, an assembly was summoned, and everyone freely spoke his opinion or advice; but it was the persuasive power and the wisdom of the speaker that counted, not his authority in command. There was no

constitutional sanction. The meetings were usually called by the king or by heralds on his authority; but in Ithaca Telemachus summons such an assembly, though he has not yet assumed regal authority. And the famous assembly at the beginning of the Iliad is summoned, not by Agamemnon, but by Achilles; but when Odysseus, urged by Athena, wishes to summon a second assembly, he borrows the sceptre and authority of Agamemnon. This, however, is clearly a case of individual tact rather than of necessity.

It is by no means clear who had the right to be summoned to such assemblies. Thersites—a man of no account—is present and speaks at the assembly of the Greeks; and if Odysseus chastises him, it is not for his presumption in speaking, but rather for the tenor of his speech. Even the scout Dolon is present at the assembly of the Trojans in the plain, when he volunteers for his fatal expedition. That such an absence of formality led to no anarchy or confusion is a striking testimony to the existence of the same political genius which was later shown by the Greeks of the classical age.

Apart from formal war and travel, which are the main themes of the Iliad and Odyssey, plundering and cattle-raiding by land and piracy by sea are described, and are regarded as in no way discreditable.

Of more peaceful occupations, both in town and country life, a comprehensive picture is given in the description of the shield of Achilles. It is true that this description had been regarded by some authorities as a comparatively later addition to the Iliad; but it contains no obvious anachronisms, and harmonises well enough with the life described in the rest of the poem.

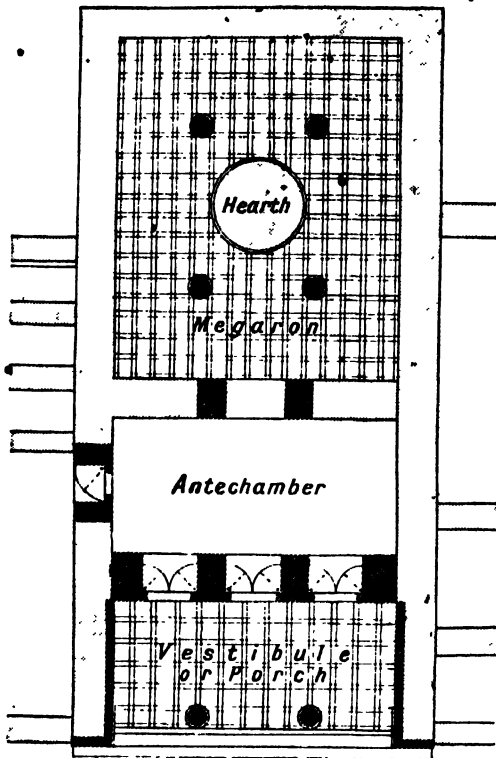
The scenes described are a selection typical of town and country life. Some of them showed a town in time of war—a regular siege or assault on a town, an ambush and a cattle raid—others in time of peace. There were represented first a feast and a marriage procession, with women looking on from their porches; then a scene of dispute and discussion before the elders seated in the crowded market-place. The country scenes were

even more varied; men ploughing, and receiving a cup of wine at the end of each furrow; harvest, with reapers and sheaf-binders, a king standing by and rejoicing in the sight, while heralds prepared a banquet beneath a tree and women strewed white barley for supper; vintage, the plenteous grapes being gathered and carried in baskets by youths and maidens, Simple Pleasures who kept time to a of Rich and Poor viol played by a boy in their midst; cattle grazing, with the incident of the herdsmen and their dogs warding off an attack by lions; sheepfolds with flocks and farm-steadings.

Then there was a choric dance of youths and maidens in festal attire, like that which 'Daedalus devised for Ariadne in Cnossus,' while a minstrel made music and two tumblers whirled in the midst, and a great company stood about the dancers, well pleased. The whole gives an impression of a joyous outdoor life, its freedom and delight enhanced by sudden dangers or adventures, such as is quite in the spirit of the rest of the poem, and anticipates in many ways the conditions found later in classical Greece.

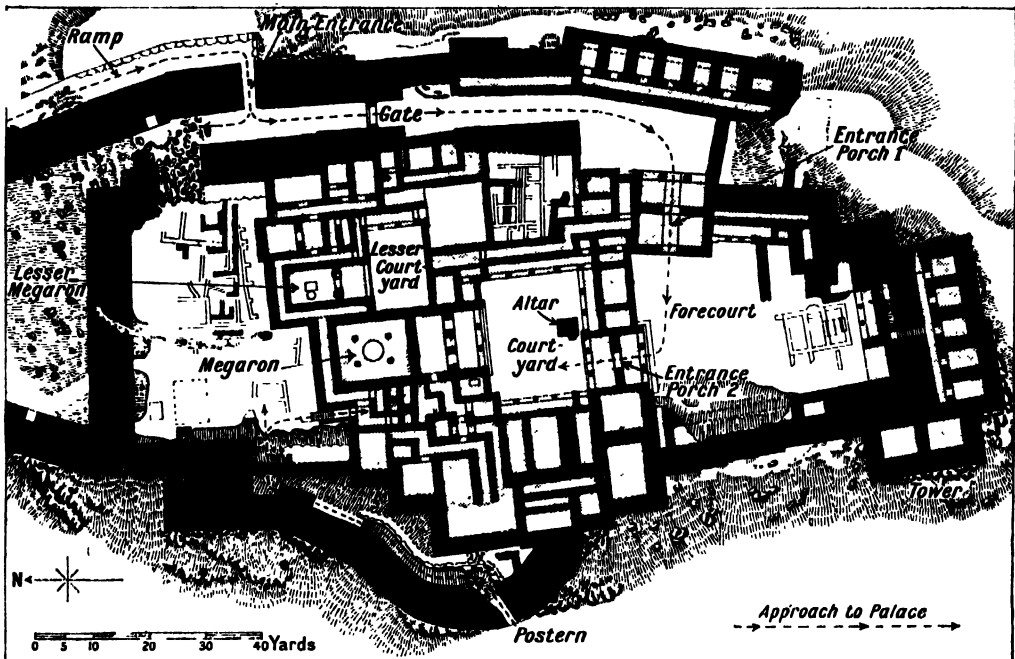
The outward aspects of the environment in which this vigorous life was lived can be inferred, to a great extent, from references and descriptions in the Iliad and Odyssey. We have fairly full descriptions of the palaces of Alcinous in Phaeacia and of Menelaus at Sparta, and of that of Priam in Troy; more details are given as to the simpler and less luxurious house of Odysseus in Ithaca, and there is also an account of the farmstead of Eumaeus the swine-herd. All of these seem to be essentially similar in general arrangement, though differing greatly in size and elaboration. There is always a courtyard entered by an outer gate, and opening into this a living-room or hall, with a porch and sometimes an ante-room in front of it.

Such a plan not only resembles that of the Greek house of later times, but is also similar to that of palaces such as those of Mycenae and Tiryns. It shows, on the other hand, an essential difference from the earlier Cretan palaces of Cnossus and Phaestus, with their central paved courts



surrounded by a complex of chambers with skylights or well-windows. The buildings of Mycenaean type on the mainland have indeed many architectural features and decorations which are evidently borrowed from Crete; but the houses are designed to meet different requirements. An explanation of these points may be found in the fact that these houses were built for the Achaean invaders who brought with them their own customs and traditions from the north, and settled in Greece as the lords over an earlier and more highly civilized population who derived their art from Crete.

The open court, which is always in front of the houses described in the Homeric poems, is merely a kind of farm-yard in the more primitive examples, and it retains much of this character in the house of Odysseus in Ithaca; for beasts are driven into it, and even slaughtered, cut up and cooked. They were usually sacrificed at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (god of the enclosure), which was placed in the court. Even in the camp before Troy, Achilles has such an altar in the



#### HOW THE STATELY HOMES OF THE HOMERIC HEROES WERE PLANNED

From the descriptions given by Homer it is clear that the dwellings conformed in general outlay to this plan of the Palace of Tiryns, of the immediately preceding period; the palace at Mycenae was of the same character, but less elaborate. An enlarged plan of the 'megaron' is given above.

*After Schliemann, 'Tiryns' and Schuchhardt, 'Schliemann's Excavations'*

court in front of his tent or booth ; and it was a regular feature in the court of the Greek house of historic times. In larger houses and palaces the court was of considerable size, and surrounded not only by stables and storehouses but also by chambers often opening into porticoes. It was enclosed by a wall, in which there was a doorway, usually opposite the front of the house itself. At Odysseus' home Telemachus, as son of the house, has a room opening into this courtyard.

special feast-day when Odysseus visited Alcinous, but he found the elders of the Phaeacians feasting in the hall ; and the suitors of Penelope feasted daily in the hall of the house of Odysseus. In these cases the hall is evidently conceived as being of considerable size. But it is likely that unpretentious houses were not essentially different in plan ; Odysseus, when he first comes to Eumaeus the swineherd, finds him seated in the porch of his house ; probably in such a house there



RUINS OF A PRIVATE HOUSE IN THE CITADEL OF MYCENAE

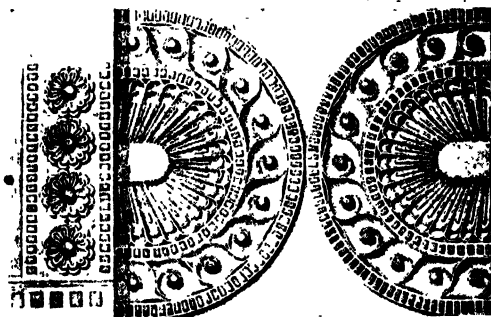
Alongside the Acropolis wall, and occupying as much as possible of the space between it and the wall of the Grave Circle (just visible on the right of this photograph), stood a large residence now called the House of the Warrior Vase, because that famous amphora (illustrated in page 846) was found in one of its rooms. The ruins now to be seen are the foundations of the main floor, used as basements where the level of the ground allowed. In the distance is the plain of Argos.

*From British School at Athens Annual*

The main building of the Homeric house consists of a hall or living-room, with an ante-room and a porch in front of this ; these three divisions are distinctly recognized in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and are also to be found in the houses at Mycenae and Tiryns. The porch was a favourite place in which to sit, and stone benches were placed in or beside it. In the middle of the hall itself was the hearth, which was the centre of social and domestic life ; when Odysseus came to the palace of Alcinous, he found the queen, Arete, seated in an honoured place beside it. The hall was both a general living-room and a place for entertainment. It was no

was a porch only and an ante-chamber. In the porch it was customary to make up beds for visitors.

Other chambers, for working and sleeping, and for store-rooms, must have been provided in the larger houses. A principal bedroom, for the lord himself and his consort, existed in some cases—notably in the house of Odysseus, where one post of the bed was made from a growing olive-tree. In other cases the principal bedroom is described as in 'the recess of the house' ; that is, as some think, in the back of the hall itself. There was also in some cases a second 'storey, providing upper chambers. In the palace of Priam in Troy



**FRIEZES FROM MYCENAE AND TIRYNS**

The elliptical palmetto bisected by a vertical band was a common Mycenaean design. It occurs in the porphyry frieze from Mycenae (top) and in an alabaster frieze at Tiryns; in this the centres and dentils are inlaid with blue glass.

*From Schliemann, 'Tiryns'*

there were fifty chambers built of stone for his fifty sons and their wives, and twelve more within the courtyard for his daughters and sons-in-law; but this amount of accommodation is doubtless extraordinarily great.

On the question of separate quarters for women there has been some misunderstanding. In any case, such quarters were not entered, as used to be thought, by a door at the back of the hall. No such arrangement is found in any extant building, nor is it implied in the Homeric poems. As Professor Myres has pointed out, events narrated in the *Odyssey* could quite well have taken place in a house like that at Mycenae, where the women's rooms open out of the court opposite to the hall. Though some rooms must have been set aside for women's use or occupations, there is no need to suppose any duplication of the essential parts of the house. There is no evidence that the second court and half at Tiryns were reserved for women. On the contrary, visitors to a house often find the mistress and her attendants seated or working in the common rooms, probably in the hall itself; the state of things in the palace of Odysseus at Ithaca was exceptional, owing to its being infested by the suitors.

The schemes of decoration and architectural features, at least of the more sumptuous houses that are described in the Homeric poems, are evidently an inheritance from the earlier lords of Mycenae and, through them, from Crete. The *Odyssey* tells how 'there was a gleam as it were of sun or moon through the lofty palace of renowned Menelaus.' The same description is given of the palace of Alcinous, with the further addition that 'brazen were the walls which ran this way and that from the threshold to the inmost chamber, and round them was a frieze of blue, and golden were the doors that closed in the good house. Silver were the door-posts that were set on the brazen threshold, and silver the lintel thereupon, and the hook of the door was of gold. And within were seats arrayed against the wall.'

The magnificence of the description suits indeed a palace in fairy-land; but the character of the decoration implied is fully in accordance with what has been found at Mycenae, Tiryns and Crete, even to the frieze of blue running round the cornice. All these things were buried and forgotten when the Achaean princes had been driven out by the invading Dorians; and the description of them must therefore date from a time when the princes were still in those regions assigned to them in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

As regards movable furniture, the house of Homeric times, like that of classical Greece, would probably have seemed very bare to modern

notions. In addition **House Furniture in Homeric Times** to fixed seats along the walls there were

portable chairs, called thrones, and footstools, placed as required by attendants. Small portable tables were placed before the guests at a feast. Unlike the classical Greeks, those of the heroic age seem always to have sat, and not to have reclined, at their meals.

Beds, also, for the most part, seem to have been portable, and to have been stored away in the daytime and placed by attendants in the position required when they were wanted for use. But this would not be the case with the bed of the master of the house or of some other privileged persons; they would have private

chambers. The beds consisted usually of frames of wood, which are frequently described as perforated, probably for the insertion of crossed leather straps which formed a kind of spring mattress. Skins of beasts and coverlets were placed both on chairs and on couches; the coverlets might well be the same as were used for clothing, since the latter required no elaborate shaping or sewing. All such articles were kept in great chests; clothes in use would be hung on pegs when taken off.

The dress of the heroic age, as described in the Homeric poems, appears to be almost identical with that of the Greeks of historic times, and to be totally different from what is to be seen in the paintings and other artistic representations of Crete and of the Mycenaean epoch in Greece. These Mycenaean representations, so far as they are not actually imported from Crete, follow the traditions of Cretan art, with its loin cloth and its elaborate confections of the dressmaker. The Homeric heroes, on the other hand, must have brought with them from a more northerly region their fashions of clothing, just as they brought the plan of their houses.



**RICH DESIGNS IN WOVEN FABRICS**

The vase paintings given in this page belong to a much later time—the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. But they probably show the same kind of drapery as was worn by women in the heroic age. Intricate designs are here woven into the fabric.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold*



**WOMEN'S DRESS IN THE HEROIC AGE**

Rectangular pieces of material were gracefully draped over the whole body, fastened on the shoulder by a brooch and leaving the arms bare or loosely sleeved. Sometimes the robe was plain white like those of these dancing women (right); often it was decorated with a woven design, like that worn by Briseis (left).

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold. 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruchmann A.G.*

The garments they wore were of two kinds; one a sort of shirt (commonly translated 'tunic') which was pulled on over the head, the other a loose wrap which was thrown around the body and often fastened with a brooch. The two are always clearly distinguished, and different words are used for denoting them. But, as in classical Greek dress, both were merely rectangular pieces of stuff, probably woven to the size required, and not cut up in any way. They would evidently suit any figure of approximately the right size, for they are very commonly given as presents. And the same person might wear different sizes of garments according to his employment of the moment. The shirt or tunic is sometimes spoken of as trailing on the



#### GEMS LIKE THE BROOCH OF ODYSSEUS

Although belonging to the Mycenaean age, these gems with their animated designs of lion and hinds may be accepted as essentially similar to the brooches described by Homer as personal ornaments of Greeks of the heroic age.

*British Museum*

ground; but for active work it was doubtless much shorter, and upon occasion was girt up so as to offer no obstacle to vigorous action. For both kinds of garments both linen and wool were used, according to occasion and season.

We may then picture to ourselves the Homeric men and women as wearing gracefully draped garments not unlike those that were worn by Greeks of the fifth century B.C. The vases of that age, therefore, do not give us misleading pictures of Homeric scenes in this respect as they do in some others. It may well have been that the Homeric Achaeans, forced to migrate to Ionia and Asia Minor, had taken with them their fashions of dress, which later reacted upon the mainland.

Clothes were woven in suitable sizes upon looms, at which ladies and their women attendants habitually worked. Helen wove into her web many scenes of combat between Greeks and Trojans; and Andromache wove a flower pattern into hers; the web of Penelope, too, must have been of elaborate design. All these were being made for special garments. Spinning, with distaff and spindle, was also a constant employment for women; Helen at Sparta used a golden distaff and a silver basket rimmed with gold, but these are recorded as princely gifts. Thus all households

from the palace to the hut seem to have been self-supporting in the matter of clothing.

Some articles of clothing, such as shoes or sandals, doubtless required special apparatus for their manufacture; but the swine-herd Eumaeus fashioned his own sandals of ox-hide; and in larger houses or palaces there appear to have been workshops of all kinds—even agricultural implements seem to have been made at home as well as purchased in the course of marketing. Achilles, in offering a lump of iron as a prize, says that it will last the winner for five years, 'since his shepherd or ploughman will not for want of iron have to go into the town, but this will give it them.' Some branches of craftsmanship required special skill, but these are sometimes attributed to foreigners. The staining of ivory for horses' trappings, for instance, is said to have been done by a Maeonian or Carian woman. But, like other ornaments, stained ivory may well have been imported.

In the case of all articles of decorative handicraft there seem to be two main sources of supply: native crafts, surviving from the Mycenaean age and doubtless followed by the older inhabitants—the number of objects so produced would be augmented by those made in the past and handed on as heirlooms; and the import trade from abroad, which is supposed to have been mainly carried on by the Phoenicians. The Homeric poems make no clear distinction between the two sources; indeed, a bowl given to Menelaus by the Phoenician King of Sidon is said to have been made by the Greek god Hephaestus.

This same god, when he was cast down from Olympus and found refuge with



#### INLAID DAGGER SHOWING MYCENAEAN SHIELDS

Bronze, tin, silver and gold were all employed by the Mycenaean craftsmen in the marvellous inlaid work of their weapons and armour. This is a portion of a dagger found in a grave at Mycenae, and the shield of Achilles as described by Homer was evidently decorated by the same technique.

Thetis, wrought many ornaments, brooches and spirals and flowers and necklaces. These must have been of gold, though the word which specifies his implements belongs properly to a bronze worker. Similarly the metal worker employed by Nestor to plate a bull's horns with gold uses what are called bronze-worker's tools, and this seems to imply that the same artificer worked in both metals. It was in such fine metal work, as well as in the carving of gems, that the skill in handicraft of the Mycenaean age was handed on by tradition until later Greek times, and therefore it is no surprise to find it mentioned in the Homeric poems.

A good example is offered by the golden brooch of Odysseus, on which there was a life-like representation of a hound seizing in his fore-paws a struggling fawn—just the kind of subject that is often found on gems and gold ornaments of the Mycenaean age and of the period which succeeded it. The description of the shield of Achilles, on the other hand, shows a more elaborate technique; it is evidently conceived as having been decorated with damascene work by the inlaying of various metals, bronze and tin and silver and gold. We are even told how the dark line of ploughed earth was rendered in metal, and how, in the vineyard, wrought in

**Heirlooms of gold, black were the Mycenaean Art** grapes, but the vines hung throughout on silver poles. And around it he ran a ditch of cyanus (blue enamel), and round that a fence of tin. This is precisely the technique which we find on the daggers from Mycenae, with their damascened designs and contrast of the inlaid metals. Such artistic work, possibly known to Homer through heirlooms surviving after the technical skill required for the making of them was wholly or partly lost, may well have suggested the description to the poet, though he has doubtless allowed his imagination to go far beyond anything which he had actually seen.

The other main source of works of handicraft, importation from other nations, is far less important. It used to be the custom to attribute to the Phoenicians a great influence upon Greece in the heroic age. They are indeed often referred to as

traders and kidnappers. But few works of handicraft are attributed to them; examples are the silver bowl, offered by Achilles as a prize, which had been fairly wrought by Sidonian craftsmen, and brought across the sea by Phoenician traders and given to the king of Lemnos; and the richly decorated robes, the work of Sidonian women, which Paris brought back with him from Sidon to Troy.

There is no reference in the Homeric poems, however, to the various products—mostly metal bowls—in a hybrid oriental style of art, which the Phoenicians scattered abroad, from Cyprus and Crete to Etruria; nor could there be, for such objects date for the most

part from about the seventh century B.C., or even later. **Versatility in Craftsmanship** The shield of Achilles, as has already been stated, is far better explained as a reminiscence of Mycenaean work; that analogies for its scenes should be sought in Phoenician bowls was only possible when the date of the poems was not correctly estimated.

Just as women carried on the domestic arts, such as spinning and weaving, in their houses, so too men seem to have been expected to turn their hand to any sort of skilled handicraft. Thus Odysseus could not only construct a bed, but also build a ship single-handed; and one of Priam's sons was captured when cutting slips of wild fig to make hand-rails for a chariot. Doubtless certain crafts, such as smiths' work and tanning, required special apparatus and surroundings; but there is little if any trace of a special artisan class. Of sculpture or painting there is no indication in Homer; for the golden torch-bearers and the golden and silver dogs in the palace of Alcinous, like the golden hand-maidens of the god Hephaestus, clearly belong to the realm of magic rather than to that of art.

The craft of the armourer must have been important in heroic times, and was followed in some cases by special artificers, though doubtless any hero or his attendants would be capable of ordinary repairs. In the heroic age of Greece both the fashion of arms and the material out of which they were made were in a transitional stage. This results in many inconsistencies



of expression, some of them due to survivals from earlier conditions, as well as to variations of fashion. Thus, while iron is known and used for various tools, and its hardness is already proverbial, weapons are almost invariably described as being of bronze and not of iron. Yet the lure of weapons is described in the words 'iron draws a man on.' The two metals must have been used side by side for various purposes.

The chief weapons of offence were spear and sword. Of these the first had a head of bronze; it was used both for throwing and for stabbing. The sword, also of bronze, was used both for thrusting

either of a cylindrically curved shelter or a flattened figure of eight; and the smaller circular shield, which gave less protection, but was more easily carried. This latter type became prevalent in later Greece, and a transitional period between the two is probably to be recognized in Homer. There is, of course, no sort of uniformity in the armour used, and every man was free to wear what was the custom of his home or what suited his style of fighting. Greaves or leg guards, such as are frequently mentioned as being characteristic of the Achaeans, were probably intended, when a large shield was used, to protect the wearer's ankles from

bruises. But they became a regular portion of defensive armour in the days of the round shield.

There is some difference of opinion among scholars as to whether the cuirass was a part of defensive armour in Homeric times. In many cases the description of the fighting shows clearly that a warrior had no defensive body armour besides his shield; but in others there is distinct reference to a cuirass. There is no justification, however, for rejecting all these latter passages as late interpolations; and the only possible inference seems to be that the wearing of body armour, like the shape

of the shield, was a matter of individual taste, some warriors preferring the greater protection of the cuirass, others preferring to retain greater freedom of movement.

Nothing like uniformity of armament was to be found even among members of the same troop or city. Achilles' spear was too heavy for any other Achaean to wield; and when Hector had stripped Achilles' armour from Patroclus, Achilles complains that no shield was large enough for him except that of Ajax. This last shield is described as being like a tower. It was made of seven bulls' hides, and plated with bronze. This and other shields were made by skilled artificers in leather as well as in metal; but in the case of the



GREEK SOLDIERY IN SERVICE KIT

As shown on the famous Warrior Vase, the early Greek soldier's equipment included an embossed plumed helmet with projecting horns, close-fitting coat of mail worn over a fringed chiton, and gaiters below the knee. His shield was circular, save for the bottom segment, and he carried a lance.

*From Furtwängler, 'Mykänischen Vasen'*

and for cutting. The only other usual weapon was the bow and arrow, which was often used by heroes—as by Odysseus himself for slaying the suitors. Teucer was famous as an archer, and Menelaus was wounded by an arrow shot by Pandarus. The most important pieces of defensive armour were the helmet and the shield. The former was usually of bronze, with a high crest of horsehair; but sometimes a skin helmet was used, especially for night forays, when reflections were to be avoided.

As regards the shield, two distinct types seem to have been used—the large one, covering the whole body from neck to feet, usually of the form

new shield made by Hephaestus for Achilles, no material but metal is mentioned. It consisted of five plates, probably superimposed concentrically one upon another; for such an arrangement suits best the distribution of the scenes portrayed upon it. And when Aeneas hurled a spear at this shield, 'it pierced two plates, but three still remained; for there were five plates, two of bronze, two within of tin, and one of gold; and at this the spear was stopped.' This shield, however, was the work of a god, not easily to be overcome by human agency.

These heavy shields were not manipulated by handles, like later shields, but were suspended from the shoulders by a baldric, leaving both arms free on occasion; or they were shifted to side or back as required—an arrangement which can be seen clearly enough upon works of Mycenaean art.

In the matter of food, and especially of meat, the Greeks of the heroic age showed none of the abstemiousness common to this day among Mediterranean people, and also characteristic of the Greeks of historic times. The Achaeans must have brought with them from their northern home the custom of eating quantities of meat, suitable to a colder climate. On every occasion whole oxen or sheep or pigs were sacrificed, and often consumed by a fairly small number of guests.

Nor was this customary among the chieftains only. The swine-herd Eumaeus, when he wishes to entertain a stranger,

kills a five-year-old pig, and

**Meat as Man's** divides the whole among a  
**Staple diet** small company, giving the

whole of the back to his principal guest. Similarly Ajax, after his single combat with Hector, is honoured by Agamemnon at the feast which followed with a helping consisting of the whole back of a five-year-old ox. And similar distributions of meat are made on all suitable occasions. Doubtless the appetite of heroes, as well as their strength, was thought to be greater than that of common men; but the description of such meals must reflect more or less the custom of the age.

Homeric banquets appear to us to be lacking in variety of diet, and to consist

almost exclusively of meat. There may, of course, have been other accessories, which the poet does not think it necessary to mention; but the various descriptions confirm one another. The meat was usually beef, pork or mutton; goats' flesh is also used occasionally; and flocks or herds of all these animals are usually mentioned when they are among the possessions of any man. Fish was also an article of diet, but was little used except when nothing better could be obtained—a marked contrast to the later Athenians, who regarded it as a luxury.

Hunting was a common pursuit of the heroes; deer, wild goats, wild boars and hares were doubtless eaten

as well as hunted; but the flesh of domesticated animals seems to have been preferred. **Other articles of the Dietary**

Geese were kept as pets; but neither they nor their eggs are recorded as having been eaten; the domestic fowl was unknown. Vegetables, apart from cereals, are not mentioned as food, though they were grown in the gardens of Alcinous and of Laertes. But fruit was the chief product of those gardens—pears and apples and pomegranates and figs; grapes were probably eaten as well as made into wine. Onions, too, were grown, and were eaten as an adjunct to wine. But the only accompaniment to meat that is usually mentioned consists of cereals, mostly barley or wheat, either sprinkled on the meat as meal, or made up into some kind of cakes. This, also, is in contrast to the custom of historic times in Greece, when bread was regarded as the staple article of food, various meats and vegetables being used merely as flavouring for it.

The universal drink of the Greeks of the heroic age was wine. This was almost invariably mixed with water before drinking, in various proportions. A particular brand of wine, which Odysseus received as a present and gave to the Cyclops Polyphemus to drink, was so strong that it was usually mixed with twenty times its amount of water; the Cyclops drank it neat, and was quickly overcome by it. A provision of wine was taken as a matter of course on all expeditions. But drunkenness is almost unknown.

Even Nausicaa, when she goes out with her maidens for a washing-day picnic, takes a leather bottle of wine with her; and the swine-herd Eumaeus has a store of wine in his hut to give a drink to a stranger. Water, unless mixed with wine, is never mentioned as a drink for men; but, for a long voyage, Calypso gave Odysseus a large skin of water as well as a skin of wine. Probably on land journeys or coasting cruises a local supply of water from springs was sought to mix with the wine. Wine was also mixed with honey and spices to make a kind of cup.

Almost all districts in Greece had their vineyards, which formed an essential part of any country estate. Some districts

gave better or more

**Use of Milk of** abundant supplies than  
**Sheep and Goats** others; the army before

Troy is said to have imported wine in large quantities from Thrace and from Lemnos.

The only other drink mentioned in Homer is milk; this was drunk by the Cyclops, who had herds of sheep and goats; but it was probably also drunk by human beings. Cows' milk was not used, and is still regarded as unwholesome in Greek lands. The milk of sheep and goats was chiefly used for making a kind of milk cheese, which was the only common article of diet, beside cereals and meat, mentioned by Homer. The flocks were driven out on the hills all day, and milked morning and evening in the pens where they were kept at night. To guard them from wild beasts and from raiders was one of the chief duties of a herdsman or shepherd.

We are fairly well informed as to the preparations for a feast, and the manner in which it was served, by various descriptions in Homer. Meat was never hung or otherwise kept before eating, but an animal (or animals) of the size and kind required was brought in alive and sacrificed in due form, usually at an altar if one were available. It was then cut into pieces, certain portions were burnt on the altar, and the rest was placed upon spits and cooked over the fire; these were then served round to the guests, and whole joints, as has already been noticed, were sometimes given as a special honour.

In the descriptions of this process there is no mention of cooks or other servitors; the heroes themselves and their henchmen did everything, and the principal person present often served out the meat. The wheat or barley cakes which accompanied it were usually distributed, in a princely household, by a special stewardess or housekeeper, who had a most responsible position. In camp, this same office was fulfilled by Patroclus for the guests of Achilles. Wine was mixed with water in mixing bowls that stood ready for the purpose, and was handed round usually by cup-bearers under the superintendence of a herald, always moving round from left to right, or with the sun, as at the present day in passing wine.

The custom of reclining at meals, usual in historic Greece, was unknown in Homeric times, as has already been mentioned. Men sat round a hall on stools or benches, and small portable tables were placed before them. It is not quite clear how far ladies joined in these feasts; in camp before Troy, and in the house of Odysseus, invaded by the suitors, conditions were not normal. But the queen, Arete, was seated beside the hearth when the Phaeacians were being entertained in her husband's palace; and Helen, after her return from Troy, assisted Menelaus in the welcome he gave to Telemachus at Sparta. Children were also allowed to be present; they probably did not sit at table, but were given meat and marrow bones to eat, and wine to drink; no special diet seems to have been provided for them.

**Social Customs**  
**at Mealtime**

It appears to have been part of the training of every warrior to be able to dress the wounds received in battle. More specialised knowledge of medicine, and especially of healing herbs, however, is attributed to surgeons, especially to the sons of Aesculapius, who, however, came as fighting men, and not to exercise their healing art, which their father was believed to have learnt from the Centaur Chiron. Machaon is sent for to treat the wound of Menelaus. Warriors who are wounded often return very soon to the fray; but doubtless heroes were thought to possess unusual natural powers of

recovery, which were often increased by a friendly god.

In the social life of the heroic age, the position of women offers the greatest contrast to what we find both in earlier and in later days in Greece. The noble and dignified queens of Homer are indeed far removed alike from the bedizened and painted ladies of the court of Minos and from the secluded matrons of Periclean Athens. And the prominent part taken by women in the story is all the more remarkable, since the *Iliad* deals mainly with war and the *Odyssey* with travel—both essentially masculine pursuits.

It has already been noticed that women are to be found in the halls and other public apartments of a house or palace, not only when they are employed on their own proper task of spinning or weaving, but also during entertainments. When Odysseus comes as a suppliant to the palace of Alcinous, he is twice advised to appeal especially to the Queen Arete, when she sits beside the hearth; her influence even surpasses the king's, and it is largely because of her favour that Odysseus is provided with presents and an escort home to Ithaca. Alcinous 'honoured her as no other

**Respect and Honour paid to Women** woman in the world is honoured, of all that nowadays keep houses under the hand of their lords. Thus she hath, and hath ever had, all worship heartily from her dear children and from her lord Alcinous and from all the folk, who look on her as a goddess, and greet her with reverent speech, when she goes about the town. Yea, for she hath no lack of understanding. To whomsoever she shows favour, even if they be men, she ends their feuds.' Arete, indeed, was a kinswoman of Alcinous, and belonged to a princely family.

The splendid and graceful hospitality of Helen at Sparta has already been noticed. And it seems to have been quite usual for a king going away on a lengthy expedition to leave his queen in charge of his affairs, often with an elderly seer as adviser. Clytemnestra was thus left in command of Mycenae while Agamemnon was at Troy, and Aegisthus made himself master of the kingdom by inducing her to

come to his house. At Sparta, Helen was really the heiress of her reputed father, and Menelaus ruled as her consort. In other cases, such as that of Pelops and Bellerophon, a stranger married the king's daughter and succeeded to the kingdom, so that the position and authority of the queen seems fully justified.

But women, even of princely rank, did not despise household duties; they supervised the work of their attendants and servants, spinning and weaving in the hall; **Domestic Duties of the Womenfolk** and even princesses took their share in fetching water from the spring, though this was more especially the duty of slaves or other servants. Nausicaa, with her maidens, undertook the family washing and made a picnic of the task. When she met the stranger, Odysseus, she at once took pity on him, and gave him food and clothing; she thought it more prudent, however, to avoid scandal by telling him not to accompany her back to the town, but to follow her by himself. Her father chid her for her lack of hospitality in not bringing Odysseus home with her; but Odysseus defended her by saying it was his own suggestion that he should follow separately. The whole incident gives the most delightful picture of freedom and absence of false shame, and perhaps shows better than anything else the position of women in the heroic world.

Of the love of husband and wife there is no more touching and pathetic instance in all literature than that of Hector and Andromache. The constancy of Penelope to her absent lord has become proverbial; and it is to be noted that she also is left as mistress of the house, with the advice and assistance of an old counsellor, though the suitors intrude into her hall and make it impossible for her to live there in the daytime.

Herodotus, in an often quoted passage, says that Homer and Hesiod 'constructed a theogony for the Greeks, gave the gods their titles, assigned to them their honours and their crafts, and indicated their forms.' The statement is to some extent an exaggeration; it would have been impossible for the poet to describe as he does the gods and their actions unless his

hearers believed in their existence and were familiar with their characteristics. But it would be difficult to exaggerate the influence exercised by the Homeric poems upon the beliefs and conceptions of all subsequent periods. The Greeks of the heroic age, to a greater degree perhaps than any other people, created gods after their own image. These deities have like passions with men, even like weaknesses and defects; they are capable

**Human Passions of the Gods** of favour or of spite towards special peoples or towards individual heroes.

They may almost be said to be in no way different from men and women except in their superhuman power and knowledge. The vindictive spirit shown by Hera against Troy, or by Poseidon against Odysseus, is represented as due to a personal slight or a desire for revenge.

More often, however, such vengeance, whether inflicted upon an individual or upon a whole people, is due to some neglect of a religious rite or to a violation of some religious privilege. Thus Artemis sent the Calydonian boar to ravage the country because she had not received her due share of a public sacrifice; and the plague which Apollo sent upon the Greeks at the beginning of the Iliad was inflicted because due respect had not been paid to the petition of his priest. Conversely, a proper observance of all ritual obligations constituted a claim on the gods for protection and special treatment, and such a claim is often advanced when a prayer for help is made to any god. When Apollo asserts that the corpse of such a man as Hector should not be left to be maltreated by Achilles, he gives as a special reason that Hector had always been exact in his sacrifices and religious observances, and Zeus himself accepts and supports this claim. The relation between gods and men is indeed very similar to that of the Homeric kings to their subjects and dependents.

But other considerations also appeal to the gods. When Athena pleads with them to allow Odysseus to return home from Calypso's island, her argument runs thus: 'Henceforth let not any sceptred king be kind and gentle with all his heart, nor minded to do righteously, but let him

always be a hard man and work unrighteousness; for behold there is none that remembereth divine Odysseus of the people whose lord he was, and was gentle as a father.' Thus it may be inferred that the gods, quite apart from personal favour or spite, 'love not froward deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men.' And the faithfulness with which Athena aids and protects Odysseus and his son Telemachus in every crisis of their adventures is surely due to a real affection and appreciation of Odysseus' character, and is not merely in return for gifts and sacrifices offered by him.

The standard of morals applied to the gods seems distinctly lower than that expected from mankind. Thus an offence against the sanctity of marriage is in Clytaemnestra a crime, leading to a tragic end; in the case of Aphrodite, it is treated as a jest. The case of Helen is peculiar. She was of semi-divine parentage, and therefore not altogether amenable to mortal rules. And in eloping with Paris she was a mere puppet in the hands of Aphrodite, so that she was not responsible for her actions; after her return to Sparta as queen and consort of her rightful husband, she lightly refers to the time when, as she says, 'for the sake of me, shameless woman that I was, ye Achaeans came up under Troy with bold war in your hearts.'

The moral code was not in this matter the same for men as for women. Polygamy is indeed unknown, except in the case of Priam, who was not a

Greek king. The mothers **Moral Codes for the Two Sexes** of several of his fifty sons seem to have had the full

status of wife, though Hecuba was the acknowledged queen. But when a town was captured, it was usual for the women to be distributed among the victors; it was over two such captives that the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles—the main subject of the Iliad—arose. But, in the case of Briseis, Patroclus had promised her that Achilles would take her home and make her his wife. The case of Odysseus is peculiar, for he could hardly escape the attentions of goddesses like Circe and Calypso; and he refused not

only wedlock but also immortality, to return to his faithful consort Penelope.

In some respects a belief in the gods gave religious sanction to social obligations. This was the case with oaths and treaties, which were always made with an accompaniment of sacrifice, entailing a curse upon those who should violate them. Thus the foundations of international law rested on a religious basis. And the duty of hospitality was also of a religious nature. When Odysseus, disguised in rags, comes to Eumacus, the swine-herd says: 'Guest of mine, it were an impious thing for me to slight a stranger, even if there came a meaner man than thou; for from Zeus are all strangers and beggars.'

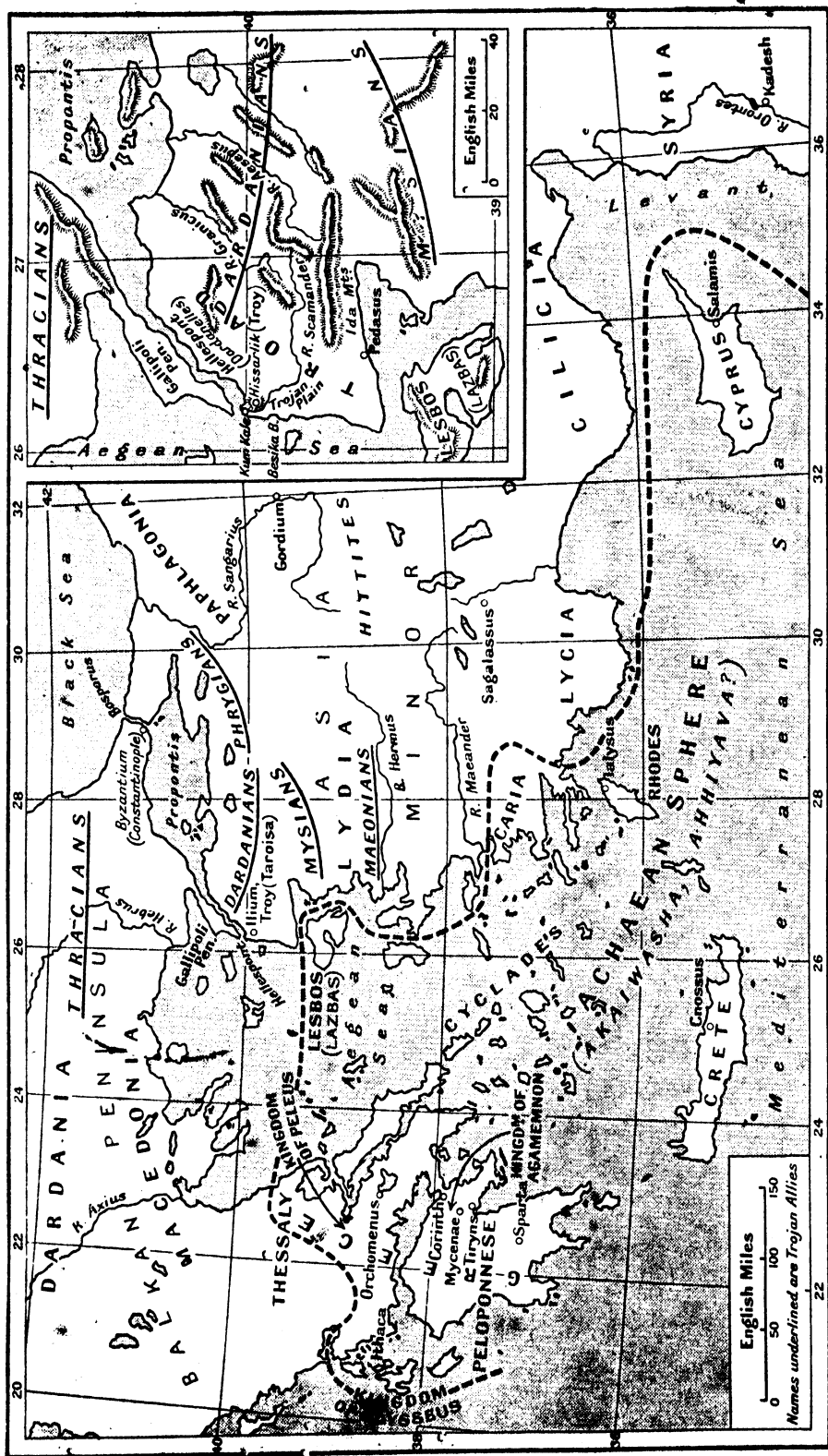
There are many instances in Homer of the arrival of strangers or of guests at a house; and they are invariably received with courtesy, and entertained with food and drink before any inquiry is made as to who they are or what may be their business. The most notable example is the splendid hospitality and rich gifts offered by Alcinous and the Phaeacians to Odysseus, even before they know who he is; but Odysseus appeals even to the savage Polyphemus with the words: 'We come to these thy knees, if perchance thou wilt give us a stranger's gift, or make any present, as is the due of strangers. Nay, lord, have regard to the gods, for we are thy suppliants; and Zeus is the avenger of suppliants and sojourners, Zeus, the god of the stranger, who fareth in the company of reverend strangers.'

This bond of hospitality makes a common appeal to all men, of whatever race or nation, and it constitutes even an hereditary tie between host and guest, so that, for instance, Diomed and Glaucus, who were on different sides, met on the battlefield before Troy and parted with a friendly interchange of gifts, because their grandfathers had met as guest and host, a tie closer than kinship. It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of this institution with respect to social relations not only between Greeks from various regions, but also between Greeks and men of other nationalities.

The question of nationality, however, does not take any prominent part in the Homeric poems. The distinction between Greek and barbarian (or foreigner), so much emphasised in later Greece, hardly seems to be recognized. No difference of language is hinted at either between Greeks and Trojans, or among the various people whom Odysseus and Menelaus visit on their homeward journey. There is little if any distinction between Trojans and Greeks in other matters. Even their gods are the same. Apollo, as characteristically Greek as any god, takes the side of the Trojans on all occasions. The gods are almost evenly divided between the two parties, and Zeus himself sometimes takes one side, sometimes the other, according to circumstances.

It is expressly said of Odysseus that 'many were the men whose towns he saw and whose mind he learnt.' How the poet **Limited knowledge of Outside World** or his hearers learnt about these other men and their countries has been a matter of much speculation. M. Bérard would refer most of them to the tales of Phœnician mariners; but many traditions may go back to the age when the Cretans were masters of the sea. While the lines referring to the Greek mainland and the Troad show full and correct knowledge of the localities, all the regions beyond, whether to the west or the east, belong to an imaginary world, full of strange monsters and other marvels. Hence, while it is possible now to trace on a map the journeyings of the heroes within the Aegean area, any ~~attempt~~ attempt to do the same for their wanderings in these outer regions leads to hopeless confusions and contradictions. The Greeks of the heroic age stand out clearly, in well-known surroundings, against a vague background of mythical peoples and places. Later writers, in both ancient and modern times, have tried to identify many of these; but such attempts give us little help should we try to reconstruct the scenes of the poet's imagination.

[The author of this chapter wishes to express his obligation to Professor Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age* and to Andrew Lang's *The World of Homer*.]



#### TROY'S COMMANDING POSITION ON THE HELLESPOINT AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HER ENEMIES

The political situation at the time of the Trojan war is here displayed, as far as we can recapture it from Homer, from contemporary historical sources such as Egyptian and Hittite documents, and from the progress of archaeological research. Troy seems to have been the centre of a northern confederation embracing the coasts of Asia Minor and extending into Europe, while the Achaeans not only dominated the mainland of Greece and the Aegean islands, but also (what was no doubt a decisive factor in the war) commanded the sea as well. Inset is a larger-scale map giving the immediate surroundings of Troy.

# TROY: ITS PLACE IN LITERATURE AND HISTORY

The important Rôles played by Two of the Nine  
Cities superimposed on the Hill of Hissarlik.

By A. J. B. WACE

Late Director of British School of Archaeology at Athens; Deputy Keeper, Victoria and  
Albert Museum; Author of Prehistoric Thessaly, Excavations at Mycenae, etc.

**T**ROY and her history have long exercised a great influence on men's imaginations by their glamour, and on men's intellects through the Homeric question. Homer and the many versions of the Tale of Troy preserved in whole or in part by other authors have for generations provided scholars with ammunition for wordy wars. The Homeric problem has been a living question since the days of the Alexandrian scholars, but it is only since the eighteenth century that it has reached an acute stage, thanks to the theories of Wolf, who argued that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* consisted of 'loose songs' fused into epic form centuries after they were composed. The amount of literature that has grown up around this topic is enormous, and much of it is worthless. Sir Arthur Evans' revelation that writing was known in Greece many centuries before Homer has, however, stultified the theories that the Homeric poems could not have been written down if composed in the tenth century B.C. More important was Schliemann's discovery of the actual remains of Troy and his excavations at Mycenae which threw out of court at once all arguments based on the presumed mythical character of the story.

The history of the hill of Hissarlik, on which stood Troy, was, therefore, only revealed in the late nineteenth century. The Greeks themselves regarded Homer as a poetical record of events of which the historic account had been lost. Modern Homeric criticism, especially in the earlier nineteenth century, took a turn towards extreme scepticism and rejected Homer, regarding his works merely as poetical

legends. Not only was the Trojan War discredited, but Troy itself was relegated to the list of mythical cities. All at once the whole atmosphere was changed, and changed by the faith and vision of one man, Heinrich Schliemann.

He believed that Homer was based on fact and that Troy had existed, especially since in ancient times the site of Troy had never been forgotten. This long tradition, beginning with Homer and lasting as late, at least, as the reign of Julian the Apostate, had been rejected as imaginary by critics and theorists. Schliemann, by his action in excavating (in 1870-90), the ruins at Hissarlik, which agreed with the site recorded by tradition, showed by the material remains of fortifications and houses, and of household and other possessions, that Troy had existed not merely once, but nine times.

Nine successive strongholds had stood upon that hill from the earliest days of the Bronze Age down to a time well within the Christian Era, thus representing a history **Old tradition verified** of more than three thousand years. We are concerned mainly with the first six of the nine successive settlements at Troy, and a brief study of the growth of the human occupation of the site will provide further material for estimating the position held by the Homeric Troy, a history that has to be reconstructed from the co-ordination of scattered archaeological material.

The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus together make a river that divides Europe from Asia, and, first came into being far back in geological time when continents and seas were slowly evolving. This river



is crossed by the land route that leads from the upper Balkans into the heart of Asia Minor, a route which has at times been described as running from Berlin to Bagdad. It also forms a sea road by which trade from the Black Sea, the Danube and the South Russian rivers, rising far away in the heart of the European land mass, can reach the Aegean and the East Mediterranean, immemorial homes of commerce and culture.

These geographical considerations and the necessities of human intercourse make it inevitable that in every era of civilization there should be some strong city firmly established at some point on either the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles which would direct trade, and by doing so become the seat of powerful rulers. Such a fortress would not, of course, arise in the earliest days of Man's slow advance from a Neolithic to a Bronze Age culture, though from the beginning, as soon as Man's restless spirit urged him to adventure, there would have been intercourse across or up and down the straits. It was therefore in all probability the very dawn of the Bronze Age which saw the first settlement formed on the historic site of Troy.

If, given the conditions postulated, a state is to arise on the Dardanelles, the position of Troy at Hissarlik is admirably adapted for the purpose. The

Gallipoli peninsula, though perhaps more defensible, has no hinterland from which it can draw supplies. Troy, on the other hand, has ready access to the forests and mines of Ida, to the valleys of the Scamander, Granicus and Aeseus, and to the low hills that fringe the straits, and also faces two ways. It surveys the route past Kum Kale up the straits, and it looks out across the low hills round Besika Bay into the open Aegean.

Again, being in a corner, it can be easily defended from the land side, and not being directly on the sea, is less exposed to piratical forays. In fact, the marshes at the mouth of the Scamander would provide natural protection from attack by sea. A site at the same date on the Bosphorus, when the east and west route between Europe and Asia was being used by tribes migrating in search either of new lands to conquer or of territory less liable to hostile raids, would have been constantly exposed to danger, and could never hope to maintain its position for more than a short time. So in early days the Dardanelles, and in later days of more advanced methods of war or of stronger political combinations the Bosphorus, would be the natural seat of the power guarding the straits.

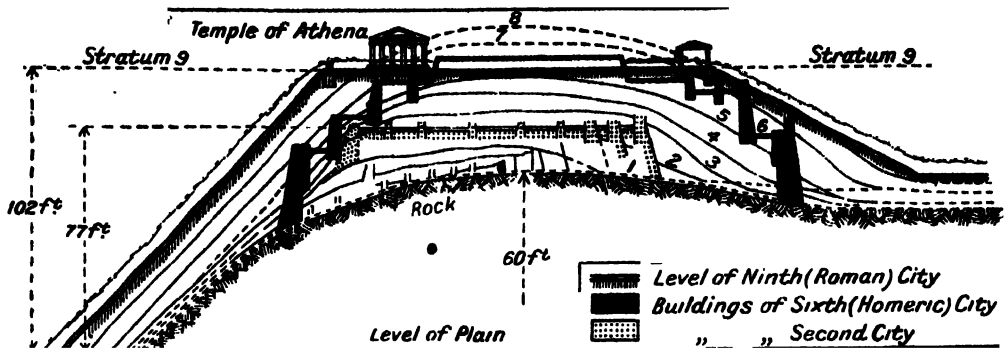
None of the advantages of this favourable natural environment would be fully employed unless the population of the Troad were an intelligent and vigorous people. Their abilities in turn would be



#### LOOKING TOWARDS HISSARLIK HILL OF IMPERISHABLE MEMORIES

Picturesqueness is not a characteristic of the Plain of Troy, marshy and malarious as it is and contained within two low ranges of barren hills. Viewed as here from the north, the Hill of Hissarlik, focus of all its interest, is an inconspicuous bluff, now scarred by pick and spade, projecting into the centre of the alluvial plain at the junction of the two valleys of the Scamander and the Simois, and about three miles from the point where the former flows into the Hellespont.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*



### SECTIONAL DIAGRAM SHOWING THE NINE SETTLEMENTS ON HISSARLIK

By a process of levelling the debris of earlier settlements and bringing up new material for their own buildings, successions of new inhabitants almost doubled the height of Hissarlik, at first only a rocky hump rising some sixty feet above the plain. This diagram shows how each stratum after the first completely enveloped all that preceded it. The Romans who formed the summit into a temple precinct sheared off the whole of the central portion of the important sixth stratum.

*After Walter Leaf, 'Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography'*

wasted unless they had leaders of outstanding merit as statesmen and as warriors. Thus the Trojans were wise in their own generation and far-sighted for the future when they selected Hissarlik as their stronghold. They little dreamt that their citadel would ever become so powerful and so wealthy. Still less did they dream that Troy would be a household word to all the distant ages to come, and that it would owe its fame not to its riches or strength, but to the immortal music of the earliest and greatest of poets, 'the blind old bard of Scio's rocky isle.'

Thus in the problem of the importance of Troy we begin with an axiom, the geographical and other

**Qualities of the Trojan race** natural advantages of its site at Hissarlik. A postulate follows, that its occupiers should be a progressive and quick-witted race ready to recognize and seize the advantageous position. A necessary corollary is that this race should be led by a succession of rulers, true kings of men, resourceful and active alike in peace and in war. We have, therefore, a vigorous folk, traders and warriors, governed by a dynasty endowed with strength both mental and physical, holding a natural fortress which controls two of the principal routes of the Near East.

In the early days of Mediterranean civilization it was hardly likely that any state able to challenge Trojan supremacy should arise in the lands around the Black

Sea or indeed anywhere within the area naturally under Trojan influence, which we can best estimate by the list of Priam's allies in Homer. They extend from Lycia in the far south, all along the western littoral of Asia Minor, as far at least as Paphlagonia in the north. On the European side Priam's allies comprise the Thracian tribes on the north shore of the Aegean, as far as the Axius in Macedon.

Northern Thrace and the Black Sea area as a whole, though open to trade, no doubt highly profitable to Troy, were then 'barbarian' regions and unlikely to disturb the power of Troy at all seriously. Yet these very regions were apt to erupt from time to time and pour down into the Balkan peninsula, or across the straits into Asia Minor or farther east round the Caspian, fierce tribes seeking to profit by the wealth and weakness of their southern neighbours. From these dark lands came Cimmerians who raided Lydia, Scyths who overthrew Cyrus the Great, and in later days Gauls who overran Macedon and were only checked at the pass of Thermopylae.

The Phrygians and their kin who formed the major part of Priam's land allies on the Asiatic side were a Thracian tribe who had left their fellows in Europe and wandered across the river of the Dardanelles to a milder climate and more fertile soil in Asia Minor. To this point we must return below when we come to discuss the Trojans of Homeric Troy.

Troy, standing astride the crossing of two great routes, the north and south, and the east and west, was supreme at the north end of the Aegean, and exercised a strong influence over the lands stretching from the Black Sea down the west coast of Asia Minor. Its position made it too strong to allow any rival in its own northern sphere, but if an ambitious state strong in wealth and in arms were to arise in the south of the Aegean there would be an inevitable clash.

This is what eventually happened. In the early days of the Bronze Age Troy was gradually consolidating its position at the northern exit of the Aegean, its rise being marked by the ruins of the first five 'cities' at Hissarlik. At the same time in the south of the Aegean Crete, under a series of able lords ruling over a people skilled in arts and crafts, had created an island power lying athwart the southern exit of the Aegean. No rivalry between Troy and Cnossus in the early Bronze Age was possible. First, both were slowly building up their power; and secondly, at about the time when Cretan civilization reached its first climax, Troy suffered a set back by the destruction of the second 'city,' and it took three more 'cities' before she re-won her position.

Crete, too, looked southwards towards Egypt rather than northwards, and, though she was in contact with the

**Splendid isolation of Crete**      Cyclades and south-western Asia Minor, seems to have had little influence on the main-

land of Greece at this time. In spite of the swift development of her civilization and the artistic talents of her people she seems to have been, except for her Egyptian associations, somewhat of a hermit, intent on herself, and with little inclination or aptitude for spreading her civilization on the mainland of Greece.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C. all was changed, for a new



#### DISINTERRED RUINS OF THE SECOND TROY

Here, on the south side of Hissarlik, is part of the town wall of the Second City (A). At B is a portion of a slighter wall of the first period and C marks the megaron beside the pyramidal mass of deposit also shown in the photograph in the next page.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*

clement which as yet cannot be defined had come into the mainland of Greece early in the second millennium. It was quick and progressive, for once it came into contact with Crete it absorbed the Minoan culture with surprising rapidity. Crete gradually decayed as the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt became atrophied under the later Amenhoteps, till about 1400 B.C. Cnossus fell and its civilization collapsed.

The newly arisen power of the Greek mainland succeeded to the inheritance of Crete, which was rapidly extended by the lords of Mycenae. They and the other princes who recognized their suzerainty soon spread the Minoan civilization, which they made Mycenaean, far and wide in the eastern Mediterranean. Now for the first time they turned northwards, to Thessaly and the coasts of Macedon. And so the stage was set for the Trojan War, the first episode of the long historical duel between Europe and Asia.

The earliest settlement had been a small castle with no great pretensions, but apparently defended by a circuit wall which enclosed small houses rectangular in plan and with walls of unbaked brick resting on foundations of small stones. Its inhabitants used stone weapons, and polished black hand-made pottery which was sometimes ornamented with simple designs in white. Though it is doubtful

whether they were acquainted with bronze or any metal, they seem from the shapes of their pottery to have lived on the threshold of the Bronze Age, and we can place this, the first Troy, about the beginning of the third millennium B.C. They were well advanced in the social scale and kept domestic animals such as sheep, cattle, goats and pigs, and were fishermen.

This poor settlement was succeeded by a rich and important fortress, which can hardly be called a 'city,' for its enceinte had a diameter of not much over a hundred yards and therefore would have enclosed about two and a half acres. We must therefore consider it rather a castle or the fortified residence of the prince, who would keep his principal officers with him within the walls, while the ordinary population would dwell without, though probably grouped together for mutual protection. This Second Troy had strong walls of stone at least ten feet thick and

ten feet high, crowned probably by ramparts of unbaked brick.

The fortifications were well planned with towers and two main gates, and the latter were paved and carefully designed, with inclined ramps leading up through them. The principal gate, the southern, was roofed and ran through the lower storey of a great bastion, and led directly to the principal building which occupied the centre of the citadel. This, the 'palace' of the ruler, consists of a court enclosing at least three adjoining buildings of a simple 'megaron' type with a porch which gave access to a main living-room with a central hearth. It was built of unbaked brick strengthened with wooden posts and cross ties all set on a foundation of stone. Though the remains of the buildings and of the walls themselves may appear mean, yet considering the remoteness of the age they indicate a great advance in civilization, for the planning



**BRICK-BUILT PALACE OF A PRE-HOMERIC PRINCE**

Situated almost in the centre of the walled enclosure, the second palace at Troy consisted mainly of a great hall 35 feet wide and about 65 feet long. Part of its eastern wall can be seen at A. At B and C is the door-pierced wall that separated it from the portico, whose side walls of sun-dried bricks on a stone plinth (D) are visible at E and F. Half of the 'megaron' (see page 840) was sacrificed in making the excavation G on the left. H is undisturbed deposit.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*



#### TREASURES OF GOLD AND BRONZE FROM A LONG-HIDDEN STORE

It was in metal work that the inhabitants of the Second Troy particularly excelled. Much of it, notably the so-called Treasure of Priam, was hidden in the thickness of the walls and so escaped the notice of those who destroyed the citadel, to be discovered by Schliemann, who erroneously supposed that the second stratum was the Homeric Ilium. Above are seen some of the golden cups and large bronze daggers from this store, together with some almost unrecognizable fragments of other daggers.

*From Schliemann, 'Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer'*

and construction of such fortifications and houses demand considerable skill that can only arise from years of experience.

That the people of the Second Troy were well advanced both socially and materially is proved by the remains of their goods found among the ruins of their habitations. The fact that so much is preserved from this settlement is in some measure due to the fact that it perished by fire, perhaps at the hands of enemies, and its very destruction prevented it from being completely looted. Further, this 'city' has three stages of

development, and so must have had a continuous life of some generations, for twice at least was the area of the circuit enlarged and twice were the houses within rebuilt on a larger scale.

Its ruins thus testify that the people and their ruler enjoyed a long period of increasing prosperity, which is proved also by the wealth of metals they possessed. No fewer than seventeen hoards of gold, silver, bronze and other precious things have been found. There are cups and vases of gold and silver, diadems, earrings, pectorals and other jewelry of

gold, bronze daggers and axe heads, while other treasures include jade, lapis lazuli, crystal and cornelian. They were highly skilled as metal workers, but indifferent potters; since apparently it was not till some time in the course of this age that they first used the potter's wheel.

The most characteristic vases of this period attempt to imitate the human form; these have squat, round bellies, owl-like faces and horn-like arms. There is, however, great variety of shapes, and noticeable among them are the long-spouted, gourd-like jugs, the two-handled cups, and the three-legged pots probably for cooking purposes. So, in spite of its rough appearance, the pottery is not to be despised as uncivilized.

It often happens that great proficiency in metals does not go hand in hand with good or artistic pottery and vice versa, and it was in metal work that the Trojans

excelled. To judge by the discovery of moulds for casting bronze, they won and worked metals themselves, probably from the mines of Ida, which were at once a source of wealth, especially silver, and of power, for the latter often depends on a plentiful supply of efficient weapons. The gold work with its attached spirals and fine sense of decorative effect is not surpassed by similar jewelry of the same date from the Aegean area, and the spiral ornamentation suggests contact with the culture of the Cyclades.

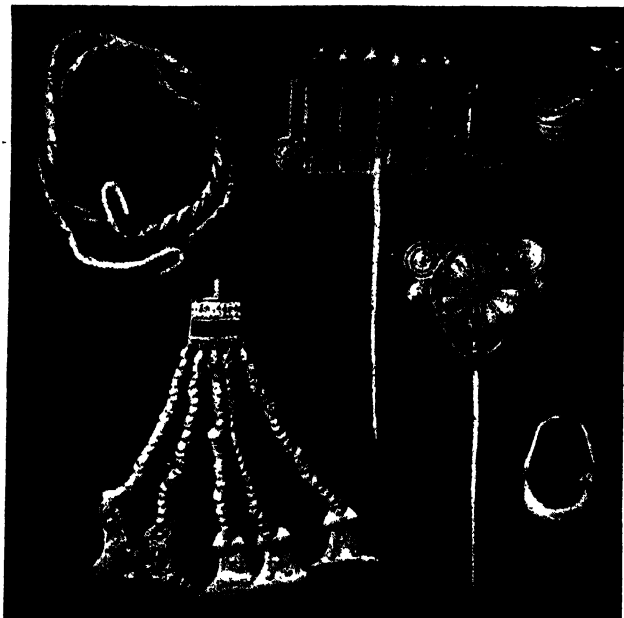
More certain connexions are provided by the hammer axes of stone and bronze. Of these some, in green stone, magnificently carved and polished, which seem to have had crystal knobs to their hafts, may have served as royal weapons or emblems. The decoration and shape indicate kinship with the Danubian district, and indeed similar examples have



CHARACTERISTIC SPECIMENS OF SECOND TROJAN POTTERY

Above, left to right; Three-footed vase with spouts at the sides and holes at the rim for cords where-with to hang it up; tripod vase with grooved neck and side spouts perforated to admit cords; lid decorated with an owl-like face, intended to imitate the human form. Below, left to right: particularly fine red glaze jug with long neck and three handles; magnificent red glaze vase also imitating the human form, with uplifted arms serving as handles; vase perhaps representing a woman, the breasts being indicated by a device resembling the Greek letter lambda.

From Schliemann, 'Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer'



#### ORNATE EXAMPLES OF TROJAN JEWELRY

Personal ornaments of the second Trojan period included armlets of coiled gold with ends bent hookwise (top left); gold pins with panelled heads topped by tiny vases, and others with delicate spiralled heads; 'snake' rings (top right); and curb-chain earrings with a series of tinkling pendants.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*

been found in Rumania. The pottery on the other hand appears, so far as we can tell in the present state of our knowledge, to link up with the earlier wares of western Asia Minor. So we might conclude that the inhabitants of the Second Troy were akin to the early folk, whoever they were, of western Asia Minor, and at the same time had commerce with peoples on the European side. The pieces of jade and lapis lazuli point to trading connexions, almost certainly indirect, with Central Asia, probably by way of the Caucasus and the Caspian.

This Second Troy was both prosperous and powerful, judged according to the standards of its age, for several generations, though, until further exploration of the neighbouring regions is undertaken, we cannot be certain whether it exercised actual control over its immediate neighbours or was merely one of the most powerful members of an alliance.

In any case its influence must have radiated far and wide, from the Danube to the heart of Asia Minor, through the

Aegean as far afield as Cyprus; and the skill of its inhabitants as metal workers, and as the diffusers of the knowledge of metals and how to win and mould them, must have had a profound effect on the whole course of civilization both in the Balkans and in Asia Minor. The Second Troy was, at least, a worthy predecessor of the Sixth—which was to make its name famous for ever.

When this castle fell we do not know in precise terms, but its destruction seems to have taken place about the beginning of the second millennium. After its fall the site for a time lay desolate and then two more settlements occupied the hill, neither of which deserves to be called a castle and still less a city. They were apparently undefended villages of farmers and herdsman. Their remains are scanty and seem to suggest a degenerate survival of the Second Troy.

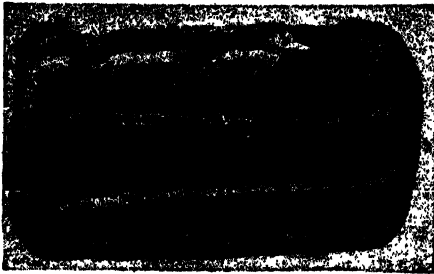
With the Fifth Troy comes a revival. Once again there is a fortification wall which in some ways anticipates the



#### ANCIENT SPINDLE WHORLS

The second stratum at Troy yielded enormous numbers of spindle whorls, made of clay and fashioned into a variety of shapes—spheres, hemispheres, cones, double cones (the most common form), rings, cylinders and disks.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*



#### PRE-HOMERIC CASTING MOULDS

That the inhabitants of the Second Troy knew how to work metals is proved by the discovery of moulds for casting bronze. These were very crude, shaping only one side of an article, the other having to be wrought by hand.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*

magnificent wall of the Sixth Troy and embraced a larger area than the second castle. Who its builders were we do not know, but their buildings and their pottery indicate that they were connected with the future, the Sixth Troy, rather than with the past. There is a distinct hint of a renaissance which was taking place under the inspiration of some new element, and we must interrupt the story of the successive castles to consider what new race could have established itself in this corner of Asia Minor at about this time.

Priam's confederacy, as described by Homer, though it drew most of its forces from Asia Minor, also included the Thracians of Europe, while among the allies from Asia Minor appeared the Phrygians under the command of Phorcys and Ascanius. Thus by the time of the Trojan War the immigration of the Thraco-Phrygians, for Herodotus tells us that Thracians and Phrygians were of the same race, had already taken place, although Strabo says it occurred after the Trojan War. Otherwise we have no Greek tradition about the foundation of the Phrygian monarchy, which seems to have flourished in Asia Minor between the fall of the Hittites and the rise of Lydia, that is to say, between 1200 and 800 B.C.

If the re-establishment of the power of Troy which took place

with the building of the fifth settlement was due to the arrival of some new racial element, there is thus good reason to connect it with the migration of the Thraco-Phrygians across the Hellespont into Asia. This movement taking place before the Trojan War would coincide with the increasing weakness of the Hittite Empire, which at its zenith seems to have controlled, even if indirectly, the western littoral of Asia Minor. The Phrygian thrust would be encouraged by the decadence of the hitherto dominant power. One of the recently deciphered Hittite texts from Boghaz Keui, which refers to events of the later thirteenth century, mentions a state called Taroisa, which may well be Troy itself. Archaeological evidence shows that by this time Troy was already strong and wealthy once more, so that we have no reason to reject the Hittite record.

The date of the Thraco-Phrygian movement into Asia cannot of course be ascertained, and in view of the little we know, about both the Thracians and Phrygians, we cannot be sure that Herodotus is right, though unless there is clear proof to the contrary it would be unwise to reject his authority. This does not prove that the Trojans were akin to Thracians and Phrygians, but there are some clues which point in this direction. The Bithynians who held the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus in classical times are said to have come from Thrace after the Trojan War (which would agree with Strabo's statement), and south of them lay the district of Hellespontine Phrygia. The Mysians, who appear as allies of Troy in Homer, are considered akin to the Moesians of Europe, and foremost among Priam's allies came Aeneas and the Dardanians from Ida. The close connexion of the name Dardanus with Troy is obvious to all Homeric students, and there was a Dardania in Europe in classical times between Moesia and Paeonia.

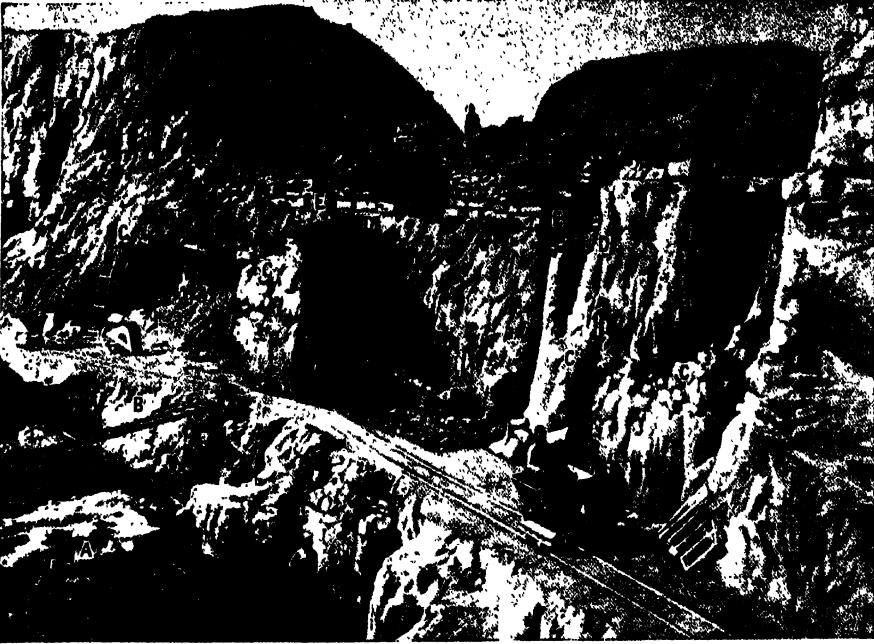
Thus, though there is no absolute proof, it is not unreasonable to rank the Trojans



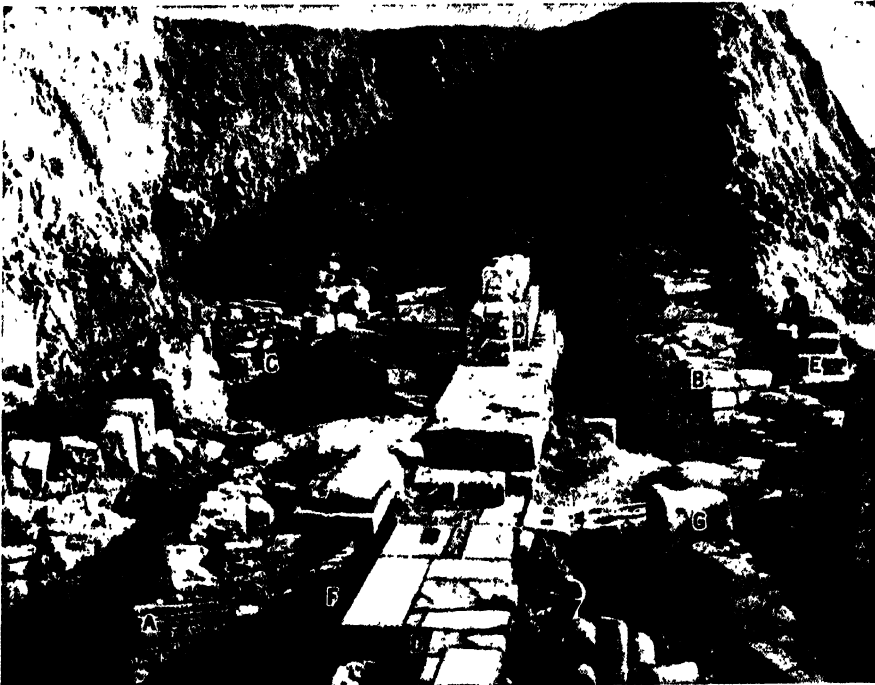
#### LEAD GODDESS

Notable among the metal objects found in the second stratum was this nude relief figure of a female idol wrought in lead.





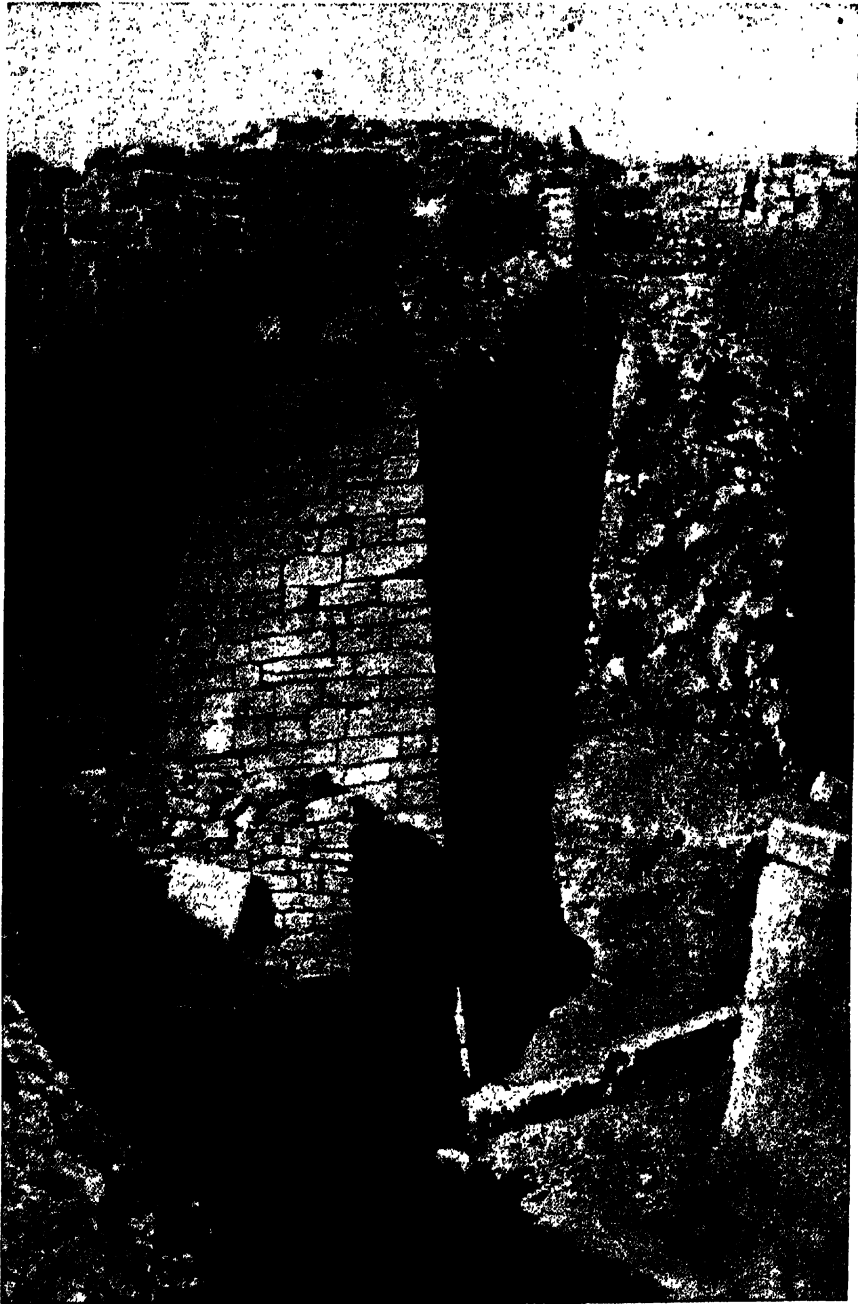
This view of the south-western part of the mound well illustrates the difficulty of disentangling one period from another that confronts the archaeologist. Here A is a tower of the Second City; B, C and D are house walls of the third, fourth and fifth settlements; the points marked E represent foundations of the Sixth City, while the wall behind which a man is standing is of the seventh.



Roman superstructures badly obscured the great tower and gate on the southern side of the Sixth City. Here, for example, the walls of the projecting tower are visible at A and B, while C marks the city wall and the original entrance to the tower. But the tower is cut across by the wall, D, of a Roman building, and at E is the wall of the Roman 'theatre,' more likely the Bouleuterion or Senate House. F and G mark detached stones of the sixth period.

# **THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF HISTORY BUILT IN BRICKS AND STONES**

*From Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion*



#### WATER-TOWER OF THE CITADEL OF HOMERIC TROY

Three great towers served as flanking defences to the original walls of the sixth citadel of Troy. The most important of these stood at the north-east corner of the fortress and its remains—nearly thirty feet in height, with a breadth not far short of sixty feet—are one of the most striking objects among the ruins. In the midst of it is a deep well or cistern which no doubt furnished the chief water supply of the garrison in times of siege.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*



#### RUINS OF THE MIGHTY FORTIFICATIONS THAT PROTECTED PRIAM'S CITADEL

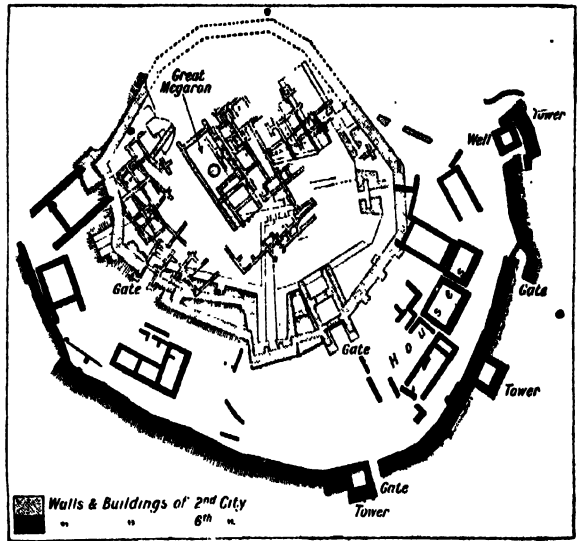
The great wall that encircled the sixth citadel of Troy was built of square limestone blocks (C), sloping upwards so that in a total height of twenty feet the base projects more than six feet in front of the upper edges, where it averaged sixteen feet in thickness. A stone parapet six feet high and six feet thick ran round the summit, leaving a passage nearly ten feet wide for the defending garrison. In this photograph of the southern portion A and B are buttresses and inner walls of a sixth period building within the circumvallation, D and E house walls of the seventh settlement.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*

themselves as a branch of the great Thraco-Phrygian race. Since the Phrygians are said to have migrated into Asia, then the suggestion that Troy was re-established by Thraco-Phrygians can be taken as a working hypothesis, for Troy was the natural position for their national stronghold when they were focused round the Dardanelles. Later, when the Hittite empire collapsed, the Phrygians pushed into the heart of Asia Minor and had their capital at Gordium.

In any case, whatever the nationality of its builders, the sixth citadel at Troy was till Roman times the largest and most imposing structure on the hill. The walls of the fifth settlement were the forerunners of the mighty fortifications that now fenced in the castle. The wall, which was sixteen feet thick, has a height in places of twenty feet, and has a marked batter. It was crowned by a vertical rampart, originally about fifteen feet thick and of unbaked brick, but later superseded by a stone parapet about six feet high and six feet thick. Thus a walk nearly ten feet wide ran round the walls behind the parapet. The wall is extremely well built throughout, though some portions are less carefully worked than others, and is a well designed monument of defensive architecture, and one of the best examples of early ashlar masonry known.

Three large gates give entrance to the castle: two are planned like the Lion Gate at Mycenae, and run obliquely through walls, while the third, which runs straight through, is protected by a strong tower on the left. This is one of the great towers which were added as flank guards to the original walls and show how carefully the lay-out of the whole enceinte was planned from a military point of view. Specially noticeable is the important north-eastern tower covering the access to a deep well which was probably the main water supply in case of siege. Owing



GROUND PLAN OF TWO TROJAN CITADELS

Three periods of the Second City of Troy can be distinguished in the excavation; the second and third of these are indicated in this plan by shading, the first is left white. The remains of the larger Sixth City are shown in black, while hachures indicate the batter of the enclosing walls of both cities.

After Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

to the systematic destruction of the citadel by the enemies into whose hands it fell, and to the levelling operations undertaken in Roman times when the Ninth Troy was laid out, little can be said of the buildings within it, except that the scanty remains of their foundations show the same technical skill as the walls.

It is exceedingly difficult to trace the history of this Sixth and greatest Troy, since when it fell its captors deliberately laid it waste, tore down its ramparts and plundered it so thoroughly that we have little beyond ceramic evidence by which to estimate its date and its culture. The bulk of the pottery is of local manufacture and proves that the sixth castle was not a 'Mycenaean' colony, but the chief stronghold of the people of the Troad, who had wide connexions abroad. There are sherds of vases which seem to have come from the mainland of Greece both north and south, but most valuable are the imported pieces which show intercourse with Crete or Mycenae, and even with distant Cyprus. Scanty as the remains are they bear silent witness to the far-reaching influence of Troy.

The castle was not above two hundred yards in diameter and enclosed an area of

about five acres, but could have held, in addition to a 'palace' worthy of its king and accommodation for his officers, sufficient room for a garrison two or three thousand strong and the necessary artisans and slaves. This would agree with the Homeric picture of the defending army of the Trojans and their allies encamped under the citadel of Troy during the siege, for the small area within the walls would be quite unable to shelter the forces enumerated by Homer as gathered to resist the armament under Agamemnon.

The traditional dates given in Greek sources for the siege of Troy vary considerably from the 1334 B.C. of Duris to the 1136 B.C. of Ephorus.

**Date of the Trojan War** The Parian Chronicle puts the date at 1209-8 B.C., which is close to the 1194-3 B.C. of Timaeus. Since, therefore, this agrees well with the time when 'the isles were restless' according to the Egyptian annals of Rameses III, we may date the Trojan War to the beginning of the twelfth century. This date is consistent with the archaeological evidence as to the overthrow of the Sixth Troy, the strong walls of which are irrefutable proof of the essential truth underlying the Homeric story. The earliest pottery found within its ruins is to be assigned to about 1500 B.C., so that we may say that the Sixth, the Homeric Troy, succeeded the Fifth during the sixteenth century B.C. The Troy of Priam and his dynasty, descendants of Dardanus, would have stood in its pride for nearly four centuries, a period equal to that which stretches between Henry VIII and George V in the history of England.

After the fall of the Homeric Ilium, which marks the close of the Bronze Age, the site was reoccupied apparently at first by survivors of the old inhabitants who settled among the ruins. Presently these were succeeded by newcomers who built differently and used pottery of a new type, including a local ware of rough fabric decorated with knobs and vases with geometric decoration similar to that which is found almost everywhere in the Aegean area at the dawn of the Iron Age. The metal objects they have left behind, such as bronze axes, rings and hammers, are

akin to those of the lower Danube and seem to indicate a fresh migration from Europe. This would agree with Strabo's report that the Phrygians entered Asia after the Trojan War, and we may perhaps recognize in these the second stratum of inhabitants of the Seventh Troy, the people of the Bithynian immigration.

The next settlement brings us to historical times, the Troy where dwelt Greek colonists, Aeolians, who came hither about the eighth century during the Greek colonisation of the coasts of Asia Minor. Of this small township we have few remains, for the whole of the hill-top was drastically levelled by the Romans when they converted the citadel into a sacred precinct. The Greek or Eighth Troy was of no great importance in itself except as continuing the history of its famous predecessor, but it possessed one sacred site which as the heir of the heroic age was a universal object of pilgrimage, the Temple of Athena. The site of this is known, though even its foundations have long since disappeared; it is said to have occupied the same position as the temple which housed the Palladium.

Here Xerxes came before he invaded Greece at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Alexander offered sacrifices at the temple nearly a century and a half later, on the eve of his amazing conquests when

the tide of invasion was again turned eastwards. Alexander, had he lived, would probably have made Troy a great city, but still his successors, Seleucids and Attalids, paid due honour to the town. Probably its own insignificance and its name saved the town from being involved in the constant wars which destroyed so many. When Rome first succeeded to the dominion of the East she hastened to heap benefits on the home of Aeneas; but yet another disaster came. Mithradates occupied Troy, which was stormed and sacked by the infamous Fimbria (85 B.C.). One more Troy arose from the ruins, the Ninth and last.

Julius Caesar visited the famous site and planned to restore it, although it was left to Augustus to realize his design, for they, as Julii, traced their descent from

**Final Chapters of  
Troy's Story**

Trojans. The whole of the site was levelled, and supported with great retaining walls to provide a suitable area for the temple and sanctuary of Athena and other buildings, notably two theatres with which the Romans adorned the city, for Troy now became a city. It began to spread over the hill to the north-east, while the old citadel was reserved for Athena. Subsequent Roman emperors confirmed and extended its privileges and delighted to invent new ways of honouring the historic city. Constantine at first intended to make it his imperial capital, and had even begun to build in the Trojan plain, when he decided instead to rebuild Byzantium. Troy survived well into the Christian era, for a bishopric of Ilium lasted for some centuries. Then the town seems gradually to have sunk into decay and been deserted, no doubt because of the wars which desolated Asia Minor under the later Byzantine emperors and of the superior attractions of Constantinople.

We laid it down above that if there were no Troy the very necessities of human intercourse would create an important city either on the Bosphorus or Dardanelles. Throughout classical times, that is, during the lifetime of the Eighth Troy, its place was taken by Byzantium, which was equally favourably situated

**Constantinople** for the east and west trade,  
**replaces Troy** and even better placed for the commerce coming from the Black Sea. The part played by Byzantium in classical history was by no means inconsiderable, but has been overshadowed by its later fame as Constantinople. The establishment of the Roman empire lessened the importance of Byzantium, which suffered much on account of its attachment to the fortunes of Pescennius Niger and in the Gothic raids which soon followed. It gave shelter to Constantine's rival Licinius; and, when



**TROJAN WARE FROM THE SIXTH CITY**

Pottery found in the sixth stratum included imported as well as native Trojan ware of the period. Specimens of the latter include hour-glass shaped stands (right), craters with two band-handles (top left), and cups with one handle decorated with small protuberances. A typical handle had the head of an ox.

*From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'*

ultimately chosen by the former to be his residence, usurped as Constantinople the immemorial dominant position of Troy. Since then the tide of human history has ebbed and flowed round the Bosphorus rather than the Dardanelles. It yet bears witness to the truth of our axiom that there must always be a great city somewhere on the straits dividing Europe from Asia, and, though the fortunes of Constantinople are temporarily clouded, it has been the home of Caesars, Christian and Moslem, for nearly sixteen hundred years.

Archaeologically, then, though there cannot be any definite proof, it is extremely probable that the sixth fortress at Hissarlik represents the Homeric Troy. Historically too the same holds true, if we consider for a moment the political situation in Asia Minor in about 1200 B.C. All favours the assumption that Troy, in the north-west, was the leading state in the peninsula at that date. The earliest history of Asia Minor is still most obscure, for comparatively little scientific excavation has been done among the ruined cities of prehistoric

and protohistoric times. Still, there are signs that before the end of the second millennium there were strong Semitic influences in Cappadocia, which suggests that there existed close relationship with the early empires of the Near East.

When the curtain lifts again, the important clay archives of Boghaz Keui, which for many years was capital of the Hittite empire (see Chap. 23), show Hittite monarchs of about the middle of the sixteenth century as overlords of eastern Asia Minor and exercising their influence in Syria and on the northern marches of Mesopotamia.

Further evidence to confirm this, in the shape of reference to the Hittites, is derived from Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources. The Hittite state was a military power which by force of arms and personal prestige controlled numerous vassals in the south and west of Asia Minor, especially in Syria, where it trespassed on the Egyptian sphere of influence. As the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt decayed in the nerveless hands of Akhnaton, the Hittite power, correspondingly strengthened under Hattusil and Subbillum, ranked with Egypt and Babylon as one of the great powers of the ancient world. Its position became still stronger as the other two empires declined, and in 1296 Mutallis, the Hittite king, challenged the might of Rameses II at the battle of Kadesh. Among the Hittite allies on that occasion were the Dardenui and Iliunna, identified, if the latter name is correctly read, with the Dardanians and the Ilions, which is consistent with the mention of Troy as Taruisa in another Hittite document of slightly later date.

Less than a century after the battle of Kadesh the Hittite records cease, and Rameses III, in his account of the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea and the northerners in 1194 and 1190 B.C., states that the Hittites had not stood before them. Thus, at about the beginning of the twelfth century, at about the traditional date of the Trojan War, that is to say, the Hittite empire, which had been gradually weakening, broke up, causing very great confusion. One result of this collapse of the Hittite dominion seems to have been the formation of a formidable league

of the maritime peoples in western Asia Minor with their kin in Thrace and eastern Macedonia under the leadership of Troy. The rise of Troy to the height of power indicated by Homer is quite in keeping with the downfall of the Hittites, who seem to have been previously suzerains of the Dardenui and Iliunna.

From Troy we turn to her besiegers, Agamemnon and his host of Achaeans and Danaans, to consider for a moment the circumstances which brought this powerful confederation into being. From the beginning of the Bronze Age Crete with its capital, Knossos, had taken the lead in the development and enrichment of culture in the Aegean area. Crete from the first maintained close relations with Egypt, and seems to have looked always rather to the south than northwards to the mainland of Greece. She had intimate connexions with the other Aegean islands, especially the Cyclades, and seems to have been in contact with Lycia and Caria.

On the mainland of Greece, which was the home of Agamemnon, the history of civilization ran differently. In the Early Bronze Age the Peloponnese was occupied by folk akin to the islanders of Crete and the Cyclades, and different from the neolithic aborigines. In the Middle Bronze Age when Crete reached

the crest of its first wave of prosperity the main-land was affected by a new element, whose origin is still unknown. Though, however, there was intercourse between the Cyclades and the mainland, there seems to have been little, if any, between the mainland and Crete. Not till the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age did Crete and the mainland come into touch, and then so quickly did the skilful and receptive mainland people adopt the civilization of Crete that one might say that the island exercised a spiritual and cultural dominion over the mainland.

At the end of the seventeenth century B.C. Mycenae, which had been in existence as a town of secondary importance since the beginning of the Bronze Age, became the seat of a dynasty which, to judge by the method of burial and the objects found in the graves of its first members, was of mainland origin in spite

**Cretean Culture  
on the Mainland**

of the wealth of Cretan objects in the graves of its later princes. This, the Shaft Grave Dynasty, so called because the dynasts were laid in the shaft graves found by Schliemann in 1876, lasted till the close of the sixteenth century, and was succeeded by another, called the Beehive Tomb Dynasty because its princes were buried in the famous beehive tombs such as that known as the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. This dynasty was strong and wealthy and at the end of the fifteenth century, when the power of Crete collapsed with the destruction of Cnossus, became naturally the dominant force in the southern Aegean.

It was some great king of this dynasty who rebuilt the acropolis of Mycenae with the Lion Gate, the cyclopean walls and the palace which crowns the citadel, and probably also constructed the Treasury of Atreus as his own royal tomb. Under the leadership of this king and his successors the Cretan culture, which through its adoption by the mainlanders was transformed and became Mycenaean, was now spread far and wide in the eastern Mediterranean. This is especially true of its

later phases after 1300 B.C., when Mycenaean influence was at work farther afield than the Cretan had ever been, even in the heyday of Cnossus.

Sicily in the west, the coasts of Palestine in the east, the shores of the Adriatic, all yield Mycenaean objects and so do southern Macedonia and western Asia Minor. Cyprus, which had been reached by imports from the mainland as early as the later sixteenth century, now seems to have received a colony, and Rhodes which served as a convenient stepping-stone was taken into the Mycenaean world completely. Thessaly and the Aegean islands now became culturally subject to Mycenae.

Archaeologically we see that the impulse which promoted the wide diffusion of the Minoan or Mycenaean culture throughout the Levant only came after the fall of Cnossus about 1400 B.C., and it is curious that Crete, in spite of the high state of civilization which it had attained earlier, had, so far as our knowledge goes, influenced her neighbours so little. Though the culture had originated in

Wide spread of  
Mycenaean Culture



RELIC OF THE DAYS OF TROY'S LAST PROSPERITY

Roman plans for the development of Troy into a city naturally included theatres. Remains of two such buildings have been disclosed, to the east and west of the great tower and gate on the south side of the sixth citadel. It seems more probable, however, that the eastern one, here shown, served as the Bouleuterion, or senate house, rather than a theatre. Its situation in relation to the former south gate is shown in the lower photograph in page 862.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'



Crete, it was Mycenae which, succeeding Cnossus as its main focus, and having adapted it, made it a great civilizing factor throughout the Near East. The relations of Crete and Mycenae may be compared to those of England and America. In the eighteenth century A.D. America adopted with certain modifications the contemporary culture of England as Mycenae adopted that of Crete in the sixteenth century, B.C. By the end of the nineteenth century America outstripped England in constructive and technical skill and had become so independent that the English began to complain of being Americanised, a condition of affairs that has its parallel in the history of Mycenae and Crete.

We find this succession by the mainland to Crete's position reflected also in the

Egyptian and Hittite records. In the earlier days of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the days of Thothmes

III and Amenhotep II, appear the Men of the Isles, and of Keftiu, which with great probability is associated with Crete, the Caphtor of the Bible. In the Tell el-Amarna letters of the beginning of the fourteenth century we meet the Peoples of the Sea, among whom are the Danuna, identified with the Danaans. Later, in 1225, under Merneptah we find the Akaiwasha, the Achaeans, among the same folk, and Rameses III in 1194 includes Danuna and Pulasati among the Peoples of the Sea who invaded the Delta. The Pulasati after their repulse from Egypt settled on the Palestinian coast and became the Philistines, and their close connexion with the Danuna, if these indeed be the Danaans, is shown by the fact that the pottery typical of the Philistines is similar to that in use at Mycenae about the time of its destruction.

These wandering peoples of the sea, Danuna, Akaiwasha and Pulasati, had connexions with Mycenae and the mainland and not with Crete and Cnossus, for they appear in history at a time when Cnossus was but a shadow of its former self, and at about the traditional date of the Trojan War when Agamemnon, not Idomeneus, was the King of Men. The same applies to Cyprus, where the large

bowls covered with quaint pictures of men, chariots, bulls and horses are analogous to those of Rhodes, Tiryns and Mycenae, and not to any Cretan pottery. The Hittite tablets as early as 1303 mention the king of Ahhiyava as a great king and the 'brother' of the Hittite monarch, and we have other references to the activity of the king of Ahhiyava on the coasts of Asia Minor in the fourteenth century. The mention of Lazbas (Lesbos) in this context suggests activity in the Trojan area. After 1250 Attarisiyas (see also pages 716 and 737) who may be Atreus, king of Ahhiyava, attacked Caria and later, about 1225, Cyprus, which since the fourteenth century seems to have been subject not to Egypt, but to the Hittites.

If the Akaiwasha, the Ahhiyava and the Danuna are indeed the Achaeans and the Danaans, Egyptian and Hittite records confirm each other and also Greek traditions. The Hittite tablets bring the Achaeans on the scene as early as the fourteenth century, for if we accept the Ahhiyava of 1250 as Achaeans we must accept those of 1330 as Achaeans, for the evidence is equal in both cases.

It has often been held that the Achaeans of Homeric times were northern invaders who had but recently come into Hellas and overthrown an earlier political system. The Achaean invasion is, however, the product of modern criticism, though its actual authorship is uncertain; but in any case there is no warrant for the theory in any Greek authority. On the contrary, Herodotus and Pausanias both regard the Achaeans as natives of the Peloponnese, and there is no hint in Homer or in any of the other poems of the Homeric cycle that the Achaeans were as alien to Greece as the Norman barons to England. If Agamemnon's title to the leadership of Greece were no better than that of William I to the crown of England, surely one of the Trojan heroes or even Achilles in his wrath would have taunted him with it.

Quite apart from the negative evidence of the Greek authorities there is no hint of any Achaean invasion in archaeology. We may then with Homer regard the Achaeans, Danaans and Argives as the

leading peoples of Greece at the time of Agamemnon—a conclusion in accord with Egyptian and Hittite records.

After this long survey of evidence we emerge with a clear picture of the importance of Troy, supreme in the north and east of the Aegean, and in this respect the heir of the Hittite empire. Similarly on the west and south of the Aegean is another power, equally strong, which had spread its influence across to the southern shores of Asia Minor and dominated Rhodes, Cyprus and probably also the Palestine littoral. Priam and Troy depended principally on allies, probably for the most part of the same stock as themselves, with the probable exception of the Carians and Lycians who, possibly akin to the Cretans, would side against the new power of mainland Greece. On the other hand, Agamem-

non is King of Men almost by divine right. He is neither the best warrior nor the best diplomatist, but his sovereignty is recognized by all, even by Achilles in his most rebellious mood. His authority seems to have resembled that of the Holy Roman Emperor of medieval days.

Of the two confederacies archaeology suggests that Troy was probably the weaker as being the more backward in armament and the material means of warfare. Agamemnon, too, was more powerful at sea, for he could raid the Asiatic littoral before the actual attack on Troy began, just as Attarisiyas had raided the coastlands of the Hittites about 1225. For Agamemnon to venture on such an expedition so far from home and threaten Priam in his own stronghold implies political as well as military strength.

The clash between Priam and Agamemnon can hardly surprise us, for Mycenae, bent on enlarging its sphere of influence all round the Aegean and already mistress of the south, was now determined to



#### SCULPTURE FROM ATHENA'S TEMPLE

Of the Ninth Troy as reconstructed by the Romans the chief glory was the Temple of Athena, replacing the earlier Greek temple in the eighth citadel. Some fine pieces of sculpture that adorned it have been recovered, including the metope with this vigorous representation of the sun god in his chariot.

*From Schliemann, 'Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer'*

attempt the north as well. Here she met Troy, the Trojan War resulted and after a long struggle Priam and his castle perished. Yet Agamemnon's power seems to have overreached itself in the effort, for disaster overtook him and most of his chief heroes. It appears that before a century had passed the House of Atreus fell and the return of the Heraclidae with the Dorian invasion completely changed the cultural and political future of Greece. Still the echo of the battle between the two chief powers of the Bronze Age Aegean, the first round in the long contest between Europe and Asia, remained and will remain for ever. Though the Achaean power collapsed not long after Troy fell, yet the removal of the Trojan barrier left the way open for the Greek colonisation of Western Asia Minor. This in turn led inevitably to Alexander's conquests.

The Trojan War was immortalised by Homer, and his influence has been paramount in preserving the memory of the greatness of Troy and Mycenae alike. But Homer was not the only poet to take

his inspiration from this theme. The Cyclic poets told other parts of the epic story, and writers such as Dictys the Cretan and Dares the Phrygian, who survive only in incomplete form, related independent versions of the war. And so, though Homer's version was not the only account of this great war, it is through him principally that Troy has won her immortality. The Greeks of ancient days took Homer as the chronicle of the deeds and lordships of their ancestors—a Homeric descent was the Greek equivalent to 'Norman blood' in an Englishman.

Homer was regarded as history and studied as such. His poems were also the greatest achievement of Greek literature, and profoundly influenced

**Poetry's Greatest Monument**

the whole development of literary expression. They quickly reached high distinction by being promoted to the rank of school books. In Greek art Homeric tales are the favourite subjects for representation, and some of the most moving Greek tragedies by the most human of Greek poets, Euripides, as, for example, the *Hecuba* and the *Trojan Women*, are based on the Tale of Troy. When Greece took captive her conqueror Rome, the story of Troy was no less popular in Latin literature, mainly for the sake of its own tragic and romantic character, as is shown in Virgil's *Aeneid*, but partly because legend said that Romulus was descended from Aeneas the Trojan. Incidentally, the tale that brought Aeneas and his Trojans to the Tiber may have a grain of truth in it, for the Etruscans, who for many years gave Rome her kings, almost certainly came from Asia Minor.

With the decay of literature and art during the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of Christianity, the Tale of Troy and Homer had less influence, but they still survived. When, in medieval times, the age of chivalry first blossomed the heroes of Homer became analogies for the paladins of Charlemagne. Polyxena, too, was sometimes represented almost like a Virgin Martyr. Then romances such as that which Benoit de Sainte More wrote about 1184, on the foundation of Dictys, were in high favour, and were a fruitful source of inspiration to artists.

Some of the most magnificent manifestations of this are the mutilated sets of tapestry depicting the whole pageant of the Trojan War from the Judgement of Paris to the destruction of the city. A series of these once adorned the Painted Chamber at Westminster, and though no complete set now exists, there is one panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum which once adorned the Château de Bayard. It is interesting to reflect that the last flower of chivalry, the Chevalier 'sans peur et sans reproche,' may have been influenced by this pictorial record of heroic deeds before Troy.

Since the Renaissance and the revival of learning the literary and artistic importance of Troy and its history has increased beyond belief. In English literature alone its influence, expressed not merely through Homeric subjects, but through all the aspects of the tale, has been great from Chaucer down to the present day. Troilus and Cressida, Paris and Oenone, Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, and all the episodes that have their origin in the epic struggle between Troy and Mycenae have time and again been the themes of English writers and artists. The fall of a great power and the terrible end that overtook her conqueror are dramatic subjects of the highest order. The beauty of Helen, the wisdom of Nestor, the faithlessness of Paris have become proverbial, and the name and noble character of

Hector have been mis-  
applied to create a  
word for the English

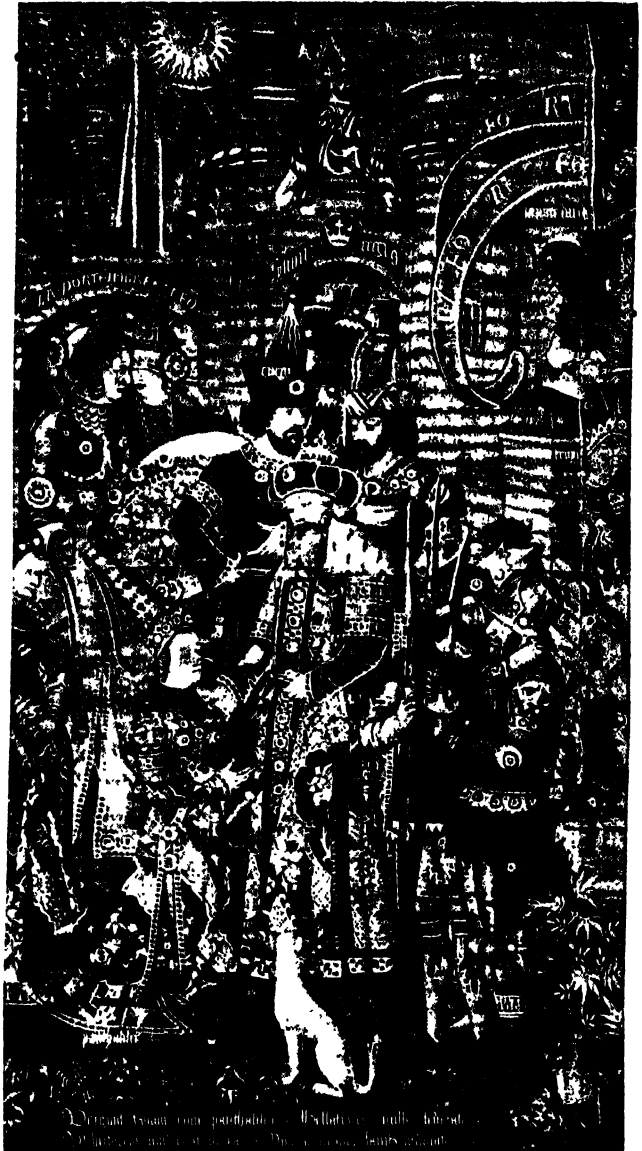
**Creations of an Immortal Genius**

language. The craft of Odysseus and the loyalty of Penelope will be celebrated as long as the world endures, and no poet can ever imagine a scene of greater pathos than the parting of Hector and Andromache. Even if these actual themes are not now dealt with in modern literature, which is rather in revolt against the classical, yet so deeply has the Tale of Troy sunk into our thoughts that allusion to some phase of it is constant. Artists of brush and pen continually draw fresh inspiration and fresh lessons from this, the first on record of European wars.

The political and material causes of the war have long since been forgotten or

obscured by fresh turns of the kaleidoscope of history. The characters and deeds of the leaders, men and women, who took part in it either actively or passively have been overlaid by the long accumulation of legend and literature, but their loves, their sorrows, their joys are still vivid and natural. Much has been lost by oblivion or misrepresentation, but their spirits, noble or ignoble, live vicariously through the greatness of the states that fought, Troy and Mycenae, and of the men who led them, and even more through the genius of poets such as Homer and Virgil. The moral value of such posthumous life is of much greater benefit to mankind than earthly existence.

Some scholars have declared Agamemnon a sun myth, others have transplanted Hector to Greece and called him a reflex of insignificant Greek tribal wars, others have dissected the *Iliad* into innumerable 'original lays.' Homer's poems have been corrected and judged like schoolboys' exercises, and his inconsistencies and repetitions have been used to prove his non-existence. There is hardly an author of any degree of genius who is absolutely consistent: Dickens and Thackeray erred and authors of our own day err likewise. But the steady advance of archaeological discovery and the reconstruction such as we have attempted above of the material and historical past of Troy and Mycenae and their environment in the ancient world make the Tale of Troy daily more real. There is no doubt that the civilization pictured by Homer is, with certain reservations, an epitome of the last stage of the Minoan and Mycenaean culture. The critics shift their ground continually, and their doctrines command no confidence. Troy and Mycenae existed

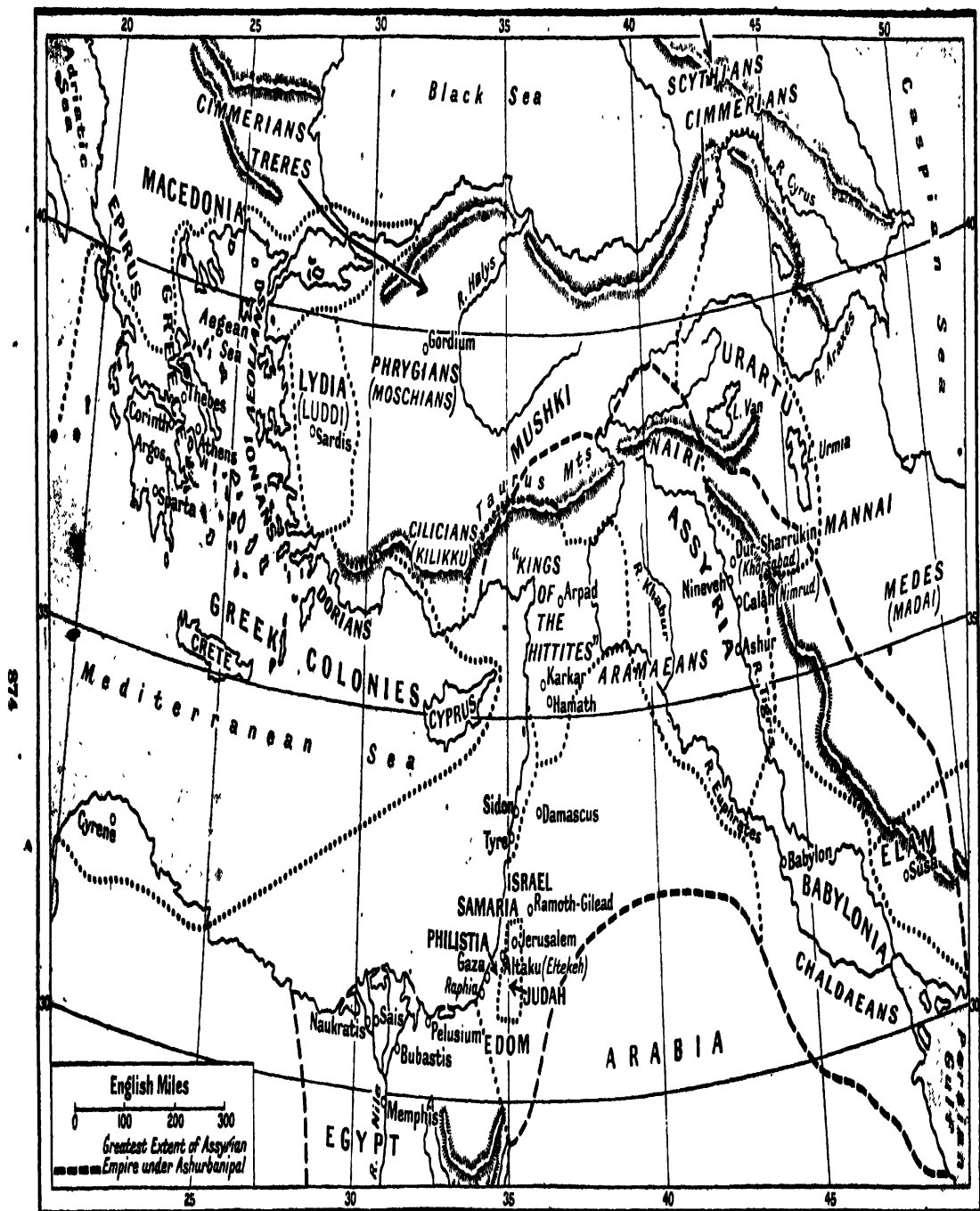


#### IMMORTALITY OF THE TALE OF TROY

This panel of fifteenth century Flemish tapestry, representing King Priam accepting from the kneeling Penthesilea the offer of the services of her Amazons, is but one of innumerable proofs of the eternal inspiration of the tale of Troy.

*Victoria and Albert Museum*

and Priam and Agamemnon probably also existed. Homer, to whom the world returns with refreshed belief from the vanities of criticism, remains immutable as the greatest monument of all poetry for all time. 'Fait Ilium'; but her power destroyed, her walls overthrown, her defenders slain, Troy lives for ever on the lips and in the minds of men.



### WIDE STAGE ON WHICH THE DRAMA OF HISTORY WAS ENACTED IN THE 'DAYLIGHT' PERIOD

In the three and a half centuries with which Chronicle III is concerned, the principal interest of Man's history was transferred from Egypt and Babylonia to the more widely extended area shown above. For the first half of the period human action was mostly concerned with Assyria's struggle for supremacy over, first, Babylonia and then over the various peoples to the west of the river system of Mesopotamia. Simultaneously, however, the colonial expansion of Greece began, while the Medes, the Scythians, the Cimmerians and the Treres were preparing to appear on the stage.

## Chronicle III

### DAYLIGHT: 900—550 B.C.

**W**HEN we reach the ninth century B.C., our chronicle-horizon has already widened and our materials become fuller and less disputable.

To the Euphratic, Nilotic and intervening areas, to which the purview was at first restricted, the Aegean area has been definitely added; in touch, but as yet only just in touch, with the East (in a political sense), and barely beginning to provide a conscious record of itself.

Eastward the great Aryan migrations have attained completion. In the course of many centuries the Iranian branch has populated the unknown lands beyond the trans-Tigris hills which we now know as Persia; but it has not yet shaped itself into organized kingdoms. Another branch, passing across Afghanistan and through the mountains of the Hindu Kush, has penetrated into the Punjab and thence down the Ganges basin; subjugating but rarely exterminating the earlier Dravidian and Mongolian populations and everywhere establishing its own supremacy, but not always preserving the purity of race; expanding southwards also over the whole peninsula, but by way of infiltration rather than conquest. India, however, still remains, as concerns the outer world, a realm of magic and fable, behind a veil raised only for fleeting moments.

#### Ebb and Flow in East and West

**W**ESTWARD, other Aryan races have displaced or dominated the earlier peoples. Phrygians are penetrating Anatolia from the West, Hellenes are masters of the Aegean lands and sea, Latins and Oscans are streaming into Italy, there to clash with another host of non-Aryan invaders from over sea, the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans. A Celtic tide is following a more northerly course, eastward and westward, through Europe, perhaps already crossing the Channel into the British Isles and the Pyrenees into Spain; but of these, as of the Indians, we shall hear no more in this Chronicle—they must be left to discus-

sion in Chapter 30. We shall, however, hear of other, still nomadic, tribes from the lands about the Caspian and the Black Seas: the Scythians and the Cimmerians, who had at least a strong Aryan tincture. The Iranian and western developments will play a prominent part in our story, but it still centres in the region of the ancient empires, and primarily in Assyria.

Through the eleventh and the first half of the tenth centuries, the Mesopotamian and Syrian areas had been without any state that was or that threatened to be definitely predominant. For Babylonia, as for Phoenicia, commercial interests were the controlling factor; political ascendancy was of value mainly for the preservation of open trade routes with the west; at no period of her history had she seriously, or at least continuously, aimed at winning empire by force of arms. In Assyria, no king since Tiglath-pileser I had shown either inclination or capacity for active aggression. Both powers, moreover, were kept constantly on the defensive against the encroaching attacks of the hill-folk beyond the Tigris.

Their weakness facilitated the movement of the Aramaean Semites from the south, primarily Beduin in character, who displaced, absorbed or combined with the Amorite or Hittite principalities on the upper Euphrates and in the old Naharin, as far south as the Lebanons and Damascus, or pushed down the Euphrates and up the Tigris, curtailing the effective if not the nominal dominion of Assyria and Babylon.

#### Reawakening of Assyria

**B**ETWEEN the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, on the other hand, no state or principality had arisen capable of holding its neighbours in more than a temporary subjection, or of welding them together in a corporate state. The Hebrews, led by such a war-lord as David, did in the tenth century set up a wide dominion; but it could not long survive the decadence in the majority of the tribes

### Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.

of Israel which set in with the reign of Solomon. By the end of the century the premier position among the Syrians had passed to the vigorous chiefs of Damascus. Egypt had again relapsed after the signs of a possible revival under Shashank.

But there was reality in the revival that had been taking place in Assyria since the middle of the century. When Adad-nirari II became king in 911 B.C., he found a machinery which had been restored to working order by his recent predecessors, and he set himself, not as yet to expansion, but to careful consolidation—that is, to bringing under effective control the trans-Tigris regions, the northern border and the Syrianised western border along the Euphrates and the Khabur.

In this process the most persistent of the campaigns were called for in the north. The subjugation was finished off in the traditional Assyrian fashion by the deportation of what remained of the population to distant territory. After this, Adad-nirari's campaigns in Mesopotamia, designed not for the annexation of new dominions but to impress his nominal subjects with the reality of his supremacy, were in the nature of demonstrations. Twice, however, Adad-nirari found himself in conflict with Babylon over disputed territories; on both occasions the Babylonian was defeated. The second victory was followed by a boundary treaty which left the Assyrian the acknowledged lord of Mesopotamia, to the Khabur

on the west, the Euphrates on the south and the neighbourhood of the modern Bagdad on the south-east.

The process of actual expansion was barely begun in the six years' reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (889-4), who was in search of a scientific frontier on the north, involving successful campaigns and annexations. Aggressive Assyria definitely revealed herself under Ashurnasir-pal II. The state organization had reached the necessary standard.

Ashurnasir-pal was indebted to his predecessors for a highly organized army trained to hill warfare, well supplied with artillery and horses and very efficiently armed. The policy of conquest on which he embarked may have been either his own, or merely the development which those predecessors had in view in reorganizing their kingdom on a militarist basis. With foes on all her borders who would take prompt advantage of any weakness, Assyria must make herself feared, and attack before she could be attacked; and the suppression of each foe would extend her borders to march with those of a new potential enemy, to whom she would have to apply the same treatment. It was a programme of unlimited but organized conquest, not merely of victorious campaigns.

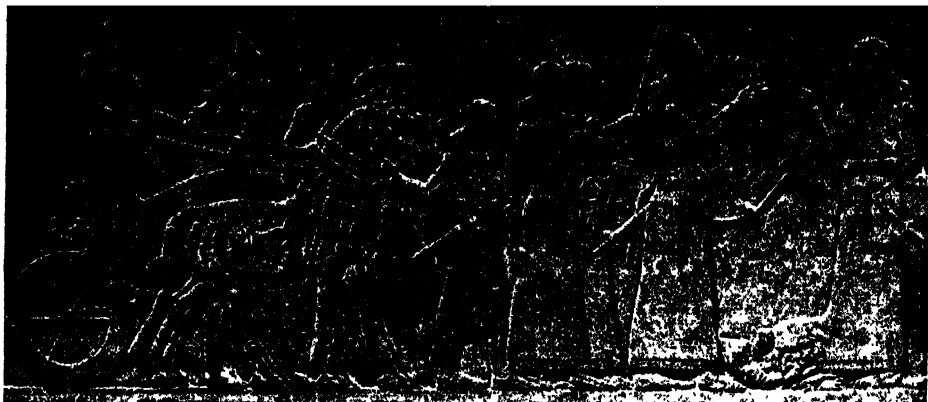
The main objective was Syria, partly because it had once owned the sovereignty of an Assyrian conqueror, Tiglath-pileser I, partly because it commanded



**RUTHLESSNESS INCARNATE**

Succeeding to the throne in 884 B.C., Ashurnasir-pal II inaugurated a policy of conquest which, prosecuted with merciless ferocity, resulted in a greatly extended Assyrian Empire.

*British Museum*



Dismounted from his chariot and shaded by the umbrella of state, the victorious Ashur-nasir-pal receives the submission of his enemies. One stands before him apparently offering fealty, while another lies prostrate at his feet, hoping perhaps, by such abject humiliation, to escape the ferocious vengeance usually inflicted by the terrible Assyrian upon those who defied him.



Chariots and horses formed an important part of Ashur-nasir-pal's forces, as they did of all oriental armies; but the long invincibility of the Assyrians was largely due to their combination of archers and heavy infantry, who also figure in this spirited representation of one of the many battles in which the redoubtable Ashur-nasir-pal was personally engaged.



Vast tribute and innumerable captives fell to Ashur-nasir-pal as the fruit of his victories. Among other uses to which he put them was the rebuilding of Calah, where he erected a luxurious palace, for he was a great builder as well as a great conqueror. Art was greatly developed during his reign, as is shown by these wall sculptures from his palace illustrating his career.

**ENDURING RECORDS OF THE TRIUMPHS OF A GREAT ASSYRIAN KING** •

*British Museum*



### Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.

the western trade routes; 'but before an attack on Syria, the possibility of an attack in the rear must be precluded.

The name of 'the Terrible' might deservedly have been bestowed upon Ashurnasir-pal, for his methods were appalling in their ruthlessness. In his own person he set the extreme example of that merciless ferocity, only occasionally tempered by policy, which became characteristic of the Assyrian Empire, of which he may be regarded as the founder. It was his regular practice to flay alive the chiefs who headed revolts; when cities defied him and offered stubborn resistance to his arms, the inhabitants were massacred with every circumstance of savagery; the populations of conquered districts were deported, in part or in bulk. Where he had once passed with his invincible troops, it was not likely that resistance would again arise.

In the opening campaigns of his reign the Assyrian thoroughly terrorised the hill-folk on the left bank of the Tigris, northward up to the district called Nairi, the borderland of Armenia, where the river has its source. Thence he swooped upon rebellious Aramaeans between the Khabur and Euphrates, rapidly reducing them to humble submission for the moment. The harshness of the new regime generated a new revolt, countenanced by the alarmed king of Babylon who sent a strong contingent to the aid of the insurgents; they were nevertheless crushed in a decisive two days' battle by the archers and the heavy infantry of the Assyrians, who were proving their superiority over the chariots

and horses on which oriental armies were wont to place their reliance.

The battle practically completed the subjugation of all Mesopotamia above the Babylonian kingdom. When Ashurnasir-pal crossed the Euphrates, it was not to conquer the principalities between the river and the coast of the Mediterranean, but to receive their submission. For the remaining fifteen years of his reign, the conqueror sought no more extension of territory. In 859 B.C. he was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser III.

Ashurnasir-pal had refrained from challenging the great trans-Euphrates power, the loose confederacy of Syrian states of which the hegemony lay with Ben-Hadad of Damascus—too disunited to form an aggressive empire, but capable of gathering a formidable combination for defence, as Shalmaneser was soon to learn when he renewed the policy of Assyrian expansion. Damascus remained the bulwark of the south against Assyrian aggression for some generations; though when she was not in the throes of an Assyrian

war she was generally fighting with Israel or with other tribal principalities, which might nevertheless reconcile their jealousies in face of the menace from the north.

Such a quarrel, in which King Ahab of Israel had gained substantial success, had just taken place when Shalmaneser turned his arms against Syria in the seventh year of his reign, 853 B.C. Yet Ahab and a host of minor princes joined Ben-Hadad, and there was a great fight at Karkar. The Assyrian recorded it as a great victory; but though the Syrian army dispersed,



**CONSOLIDATOR OF ASSYRIA**

Son of Ashurnasir-pal II, whom he succeeded in 859 B.C., Shalmaneser III continued his father's policy of Assyrian expansion. This stele was found at Kurkh on the Tigris.

*British Museum*

## Daylight

Shalmaneser had suffered so heavily that it was five years before he attempted again to conquer his stubborn foe.

Ahab, on the other hand, seized the apparent opportunity to 'go up to Ramoth-Gilead' against Ben-Hadad, actually to his own death. A few years later his house, 'the house of Omri,' was extirpated by Jehu. Ben-Hadad's energies, however, were absorbed in beating off the renewed attacks of Shalmaneser in three successive years. Each onslaught failed, though in the last Shalmaneser brought into the field a force of unprecedented magnitude, computed at no less than 120,000 men. Ben-Hadad must have been a first-rate fighter, though Assyrians and Hebrews alike ignored his greatness.

The murder of Ben-Hadad by Hazael who succeeded him, and the fall of the

house of Omri in Israel, gave Shalmaneser another opportunity. In 842 he inflicted a heavy defeat on Hazael, but still failed to crush Damascus, though her power and influence were seriously diminished. The task of establishing the Assyrian sovereignty over all the region north of Damascus between the Euphrates and the sea was greatly simplified.

Of no less importance for the consolidation of the Assyrian empire was Shalmaneser's intervention in a contest for the throne of Babylon between two brothers; which had the natural result that the brother who owed him his crown became his tributary. The Babylonians in general were well content to pay the price for the trade security they enjoyed under the Assyrian supremacy, while it paid Assyria to foster her tributary's wealth.



At intervals throughout his reign, Shalmaneser III came into conflict with the highland people of Ararat (Urartu), then consolidating themselves as a power—also called the Vannic kingdom, from Lake Van—that later expanded and formed an alliance with the Medes. This strip depicts the Vannites coming down from the mountains to engage in battle with the Assyrians.



In this strip, a continuation of the one above, the Assyrians are seen besieging Arsashu, one of the many cities of Ararat that were captured, plundered and destroyed by Shalmaneser. The city is shown with flames soaring above its battlements, and Assyrian frightfulness is represented in the corpse already decapitated, although the battle is still raging.



Yet another strip records the capture and destruction of the cities of Pargâ, Adâ and Karkar. In the portion of it reproduced here the victorious Shalmaneser is depicted seated on a throne receiving spoil, including horses, from the men of Karkar. These bronze bands adorned the gates set up by Shalmaneser III to record his conquests, and are superb examples of the Assyrians' skill in metal work.

**BRONZE PLATES FROM SHALMANESER'S GATES OF HONOUR**

*British Museum*

## Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.

At intervals, from the beginning of his reign till his death in 824, Shalmaneser's troops had been in collision with a power which was consolidating itself in the northern hills the 'Vannic' kingdom (named from Lake Van), also called Urartu (Ararat) which first came under the casual notice of Assyria in the days of Ashur-nasir-pal. The Vannites, though Aryanised as to language at a later date, seemingly had at this period no Aryan affinities. The collisions at the time were not of serious moment, but they foreshadowed trouble.

The power of Shalmaneser in his last years was diminished by the revolt of his eldest son, Ashur-danin-pal, whose claim to the succession was set aside in favour of the younger, Shamsi-Adad V: a revolt which was not finally suppressed till the

latter (824-811 B.C.) had been nominally reigning for three years. Consequently Shamsi-Adad's remaining years were mainly occupied, not with the extension of the empire, but in re-establishing within it the authority which had been shaken by the prolonged civil strife. Revolt in northern Syria had to be suppressed. In Babylonia the anti-Assyrian party had recovered ascendancy with the weakness of Assyria, and it was not till 813 that the decisive battle was fought. Two years later Shamsi-Adad was dead, and Adad-nirari III, his son, reigned in his place; though from 811 to 808 the government was controlled by the queen-mother, Sammu-ramat, original of the famous Semiramis.

This Adad-nirari was the last efficient ruler of his line. He lost no territory, he established his authority throughout his



On the east side of the monolith, these panels represent (above) payment of tribute of elephants and apes by the people of the land of Musri (in Syria?), and (below) tribute of ivory and rare woods from Marduk-apal-usur of the land of the Sukhu (Aramaeans).



### THE BLACK OBELISK FROM SHALMANESER'S PALACE AT CALAH

In his central palace at Calah (Nimrud) Shalmaneser III set up a black alabaster monolith inscribed on the four sides with an account of his campaigns in the thirty-one years of his reign and with twenty panels in relief illustrating the text. Among the vanquished princes is Jelu the Israelite, from whom, as shown in the illustration in page 827, Shalmaneser received tribute in the course of his expedition against Hazael of Damascus in 842 B.C.

*British Museum*

## Daylight

dominions and he exacted tribute from the hitherto unconquered princes of Syria even to the southernmost region of Edom.

Many of the new tributaries probably looked on the Assyrian rather in the light of a liberator from the yoke of Damascus; a ready homage brought no worse evil with it than the payment to him of tribute which they had not been able to withhold from Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad III. Jealousy of the powerful state close at hand was a more urgent motive than fear of the distant power, whose fiercest attacks Damascus had hitherto been able to repel.

Adad-nirari could comfortably boast himself the sovereign of many peoples who had never owned the sway of his predecessors; and Damascus, still stubborn though deserted if not actually attacked by her former confederates, was the only formidable foe with whom he had to deal in the south; it surrendered in 802. In northern Syria, Phoenicia and Mesopotamia, including Babylonia, he had only to confirm what had been accomplished by Shamshi-Adad.

More credit probably ought to attach to his more difficult but more obscure operations on the northern and eastern marches where the power of Urartu, the Vannic kingdom, was expanding and allying itself with the Medes on the east and with the Mannai, who may have been at least in part a sort of Median advance guard. It is claimed that Adad-nirari penetrated to the shores of the Caspian, but, though he had to do hard fighting, and his hand fell heavily on many Median townships, he occupied no new territory.

After his death in 782, Assyria again fell from its high estate, under the three successors whose rule covered the next

thirty-seven years. In their wars these monarchs were habitually unsuccessful. In the highland debatable land Sarduris and Argistis of Urartu firmly established themselves, and the Assyrians had to fall back. Babylonia, long quiescent, revolted and recovered her independence. Princes in north Syria rebelled and defeated punitive expeditions. In the farther south, since the crippling of Damascus, the kings of Israel were extending their power, at the expense of their old rival.

The incompetence of the monarchy plunged Assyria herself into revolts and civil war, kindled perhaps by the superstitious excitement caused by an eclipse in 763. The great kingdom fell into a state of anarchy which ended only when, in 745, an able captain named Pul (according to the generally received view) exterminated the royal family and seized the crown him-

self, under the style of Tiglath-pileser III, a name recalling ancient glories.

**B**EFORE proceeding with the chronicle of the second phase of the Assyrian Empire, we should remind ourselves of that once great southern power which had been so long in eclipse; and of the nation-making that was in progress outside the area to which detailed and connected record has hitherto been for the most part confined. For the new streams and the old are now nearing their confluence.

We left Egypt at the close of the tenth century, when she had been showing signs,



**KING SHAMSHI-ADAD V**

Younger son of Shalmaneser III, whom he succeeded in 824 B.C., Shamshi-Adad V spent most of his reign in suppressing civil strife engendered by the revolt of his elder brother.

*British Museum*

### Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.

not destined to fulfilment, of a revived vigour under Shashank I (the Shishak of Scripture), a Libyan founder of what is known as the Bubastite dynasty (947 B.C.), the royal seat being at Bubastis in the western Delta. Her momentary energy had, however, waned; though Philistia, to secure herself from Hebrew hostility, had declared allegiance to her, she had made no military appearance in Asia since the raid of 930, in which Shashank carried off his spoils from Jerusalem. The Bubastites did no more than rule lethargically in a lethargic land, while princes of the house that Shashank had dispossessed reigned over an independent Nubian kingdom in the far south at Napata, and Egyptian nobles paid little enough heed to Pharaoh.

In 860, Upper and Lower Egypt were again parted by the setting up of a companion dynasty at Thebes. About a hundred years later, at the moment when Tiglath-pileser was seizing the Assyrian crown, a partly Nubian or Ethiopian king of Napata, Kashta, whose wife was daughter of the Bubastite Pharaoh, secured for himself the throne of Thebes.

In the hills on the other side of the lower Tigris, the vigorous state of Elam played an active part in the early chronicles of

Babylonia, but for many centuries her appearance had been only occasional. Never able to dominate Babylonia for any prolonged period, she had more than enough to do in maintaining herself against the pressure of the Iranian tribes which had been pushing through the hinterland for a thousand years. But she was still discharging her office as a bulwark against their advance, although the time was approaching when, broken by Assyria, she would be absorbed by the Persians; and she still provided occasional aid and an occasional asylum for revolting pretenders to the Babylonian crown.

#### Advent of the Medes and Persians

THE Iranians, the Medes and Persians, had not yet developed an organized state, but they occupied the country to the rear of Elam, and were in possession of the mountain ranges from which in times long past the hordes of the Gutians and Kassites had descended upon Mesopotamia. The Persians are not yet specifically in evidence, but the Medes, 'Madai,' have come definitely on the stage in the northern wars of Adad-nirari III. Through the Mannai, they are now linking up with what has developed into the organized Armenian state of Urartu. The Vannic kingdom is not mighty enough to quit its mountain fastnesses and try conclusions with Assyria on the plains of Mesopotamia, but is already a dangerous menace on her rear whenever she turns her face to the south and west.

Since the break-up of the old power of the Hittites no other so formidable has developed in Anatolia; but on the ruins of Hatti there has arisen a Phrygian ascendancy, the 'Mushki' of the Assyrians, an aftermath of that penetration from the west which had set in motion the forces that had been bridled by Rameses III. We can only conjecture the story of the development of this ascendancy on the theory familiar to students of the Aryan expansion. No migrating hosts had conquered Anatolia, dispossessing its ancient inhabitants; but the Phrygian immigrants had gradually established aristocratic families so that in the west whence they had come their name was given to the



**ASSYRIA'S MAN OF DESTINY**

A great soldier, Pul, as he is named in the Old Testament, seized the throne of Assyria, in 745 B.C. as Tiglath-pileser III, conquered Babylonia and Syria, and before his death in 727 extended his empire to the confines of Egypt.

*British Museum*

## Daylight

country in which they settled and ruled. The mass of the population in what was known to the Greeks as Phrygia was certainly not of the stock known to the Homeric bards as Phrygian, but there is every probability that their princes were of Phrygian descent.

In the eighth century B.C. most of Anatolia behind the coast-lands was dominated by the Phrygian kingdom whose capital was at Gordium, and whose princes always seem to have borne the name of either Gordius or Midas, both familiar to Greek legend in later days. In Assyrian annals the Phrygian king appears as 'Mita of Mushki.'

To the Mesopotamians, with a historical tradition and a continuous culture of at least two thousand years behind them, Medes and Vannites and Phrygians were all barbarians on a lower plane than themselves; but beyond them lay the outer barbarians of the north, from Thrace on the west to the Caspian Sea on the east, who were on a still lower plane, barbarians in the view of Medes and Vannites and Phrygians, nomad hordes roughly divided as yet into Scythians and Cimmerians (see Chapter 30), who were presently to be a disturbing factor in the affairs of the civilized world. And in the west were the peoples, as yet all but unknown in the east, who had already left the barbarian stage behind them, though they had not yet learnt to regard the immemorial East as no better than barbarian in comparison with the Hellenic race. The world was not yet divided for them into Barbarians and Hellenes.

### Developments in the Hellenic World

By the tenth century Hellas had come into full being. What we all think of as 'Greece' in Europe, with all the isles and most of the remaining northern and eastern coast-lands of the Aegean, was occupied by Hellenic communities. The north-western coasts of Asia Minor



### ASSYRIAN ARTILLERY IN ACTION

Methods of warfare stereotyped by the terrible Ashur-nasir-pal II were employed by Tiglath-pileser III more than a hundred years later; witness this marble slab from his palace at Calah, depicting impaled prisoners from a town under siege by Assyrians with archers and battering rams.

*British Museum*

had been settled under the name of Aeolis. The Dorian migration had run its course. Under its pressure Ionia in the middle regions of the coast of Asia Minor had been colonised, while the Dorians themselves occupied the south. Broadly speaking, every community took the form of a city state (though the state was not necessarily confined to one city), ruled by a hereditary king with a council of nobles. But gradually, state after state following a similar course with minor variations, the king dropped to the level of the nobles, and the old monarchy passed into an aristocracy of birth.

With few exceptions this change had attained completion in all the cities of Hellas before the middle of the eighth century. The most notable exception is Sparta (Lacedaemon), whose unique institution of the dual kingship survived for centuries; and kings were still reigning in the great rival Peloponnesian city of Argos. And in the wilder mountainous regions of the north and west, such as Macedonia and Epirus, the city organization had not yet developed, the king remaining rather as the high chief among a number of clan chieftains.

### Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.



**CHALDAEAN KING OF BABYLON**

King of Babylonia from 721 to 709 B.C., Merodach-baladan was Chaldaean by origin. On this stele he is confirming a grant of land to Bel-akhe-iriba (right), a Babylonian magnate.  
*Berlin Museum*

Elsewhere the city-state system had long been thoroughly established. Every one of the great cities which was to play a prominent part, continuously or transiently, in the developments of the next four hundred years—Sparta, Corinth, Athens, Thebes and the rest—had been a recognized sovereign state for centuries already; and as yet the most advanced of them were those on the Asiatic coast. But the westward Mediterranean expansion of Greater Hellas had not yet begun.

Hellas, however, was not so much a concrete fact as an idea. The great aggregate of Hellenic states was without political unity. There was unity of sentiment, a sense of common kinship and common superiority to other races, resting upon common traditions, common religious conceptions, a common pantheon, a common language and a common literature. But ordinarily the crowd of independent states was linked together solely by this thread of sentiment, of which, politically

speaking, the unifying force was much less than the disintegrating force of rival interests and rival ambitions.

But now for the first time we must for a moment turn our eyes to the western horizon. For in the first half of the eighth century two cities were founded, one on the African coast and one in Italy, whose development was big with fate. About 800 B.C. the Phoenicians of Tyre planted a commercial colony at Carthage; and in 753 B.C., according to the traditional chronology, Rome was born.

#### **Assyria's Man of Destiny**

**T**HE might of Assyria, which had been weakened, not by organic decay but by the incapacity of the last kings of the old line, was restored, as we have seen, and more than restored after 745 B.C. by the very able usurper Tiglath-pileser, the third of that name, though often styled the fourth.

During the last disastrous years, Assyria herself had been torn by civil strife. She had lost her grip on Syria; she had allowed Urartu to consolidate her power on the north and north-east highland marches; and on the south and south-east Babylonia, practically a protectorate for half a century, had recovered her independence but not her power. In the eighteen years of his reign Tiglath-pileser ruled undisputed over the homeland, restored the Assyrian domination over Syria, drove back Urartu, strengthening his own frontier, again took the Babylonian Nabonassar under his protection and, finally, annexed the crown of Babylon himself. Evidently the Assyrian armies under capable leadership were as irresistible as ever.

On his accession the most immediately pressing task of statesmanship lay in Babylonia and on the lower Tigris, owing to the feebleness of the central government, which could not control the communities of Chaldaeans, who, like the Aramaeans, were a fresh Beduin infiltration into the land. Tiglath-pileser's first campaign was directed to securing a peaceful Babylonia by the establishment of Assyrian authority as the power behind the king Nabonassar, through whom it continued to be exercised

## Darlight

when the Assyrian withdrew. There followed after a short interval, spent in the hill country east of the Tigris, an attack on a north Syrian confederacy fostered if not organized by Sarduris of Urartu. The confederates were routed, and Sarduris, who was present, had to flee ignominiously from the field. After two more years of campaigning Tiglath-pileser was once more master of all northern Syria, including Damascus.

### Climax of Tiglath-pileser's Glory

OPERATIONS against Urartu were interrupted or delayed by another Syrian revolt in 739, for which the old king of Judah, Uzziah, may have been responsible, the advance of Israel having been brought to a sudden stop by a series of revolutions. Then came the main attack on Urartu, which was effectively crippled for some time to come though all attempts to capture the capital failed. The next three years were passed in Syrian campaigns, in the course of which Philistia was reduced to submission, Damascus was finally crushed and practically all Syria paid service and tribute to Assyria.

Meanwhile disorder had again broken out on the south in Babylonia, various claimants with or without plausible titles snatching at the crown on the death of Nabonassar in 734. Among the Chaldaean princes, Marduk-apal-iddin II, the Merodach-baladan of the Bible, makes his first but by no means last appearance. Tiglath-pileser took matters in hand in summary fashion, smote all insurgents impartially—probably to the general satisfaction of the citizens of Babylon, who took no interest in the broils—and deported to distant regions more than 100,000 of the provincial populations. For a time he left Babylon kingless under Assyrian governors; but in 728 he assumed under his own name, Pul, the crown and titles of the Babylonian kingdom. A year afterwards he died.

The reign of his successor Shalmaneser V (727–722 B.C.), was brief. Israel revolted under her last king, Hoshea, and the siege of Samaria was in progress when, in his fifth year, Shalmaneser died—the victim perhaps of the conspiracy that gave Sargon II undisputed possession of the Assyrian throne in 722.

Tiglath-pileser presumably had no better title to the throne than he seized than the fact that he was the man of destiny who had come forward and saved the commonwealth. Sargon, on the other hand, claimed to be the representative of the ancient royal stock. His name, like that of Tiglath-pileser, may have been assumed to remind Assyrians of past glories associated with Sargon of Agade. His accession seems to have been accepted without demur. But from the outset he found hostile forces active.

One army was actually engaged in crushing the obstinate king of Israel. In Babylonia the Chaldaeans were again in arms, and the diplomacy of Merodach-baladan, who had escaped in the last insurrection, had reinforced them with the more efficient troops of Elam. Rusas, the successor of Sarduris in Urartu, was concerting alliances with the Medes on one



**KING SARGON AND HIS GRAND VIZIER**

Next to the monarch, the highest place in the Assyrian social organization was held by a kind of grand vizier, the Tartan or commander-in-chief of the royal armies. He is usually shown facing the king in a dignified and respectful attitude.

*The Louvre*



side and on the other with Mita of Mushki (otherwise Midas of Phrygia), who in his turn was fostering disaffection in what we may henceforth call Cilicia. And Egypt was on the point of making once more at least a display of intervention in Asiatic affairs. Already Hoshea had counted, vainly enough, on Egyptian aid, when he refused tribute to Shalmaneser.

## Egypt incites Syria to Revolt

**W**HEN Kashta the Ethiopian established himself at Thebes in 745, the Bubastite dynasty was ingloriously flickering out in the Delta, mere nominal overlords of a number of baronial kinglets. Presently the most powerful of these, Tafnekht of Sais, was bidding for recognition as Pharaoh. By the appeals of a recalcitrant baron, Kashta's successor Piankhi was easily induced to intervene. Dissatisfied with the result of the first expedition dispatched, he took the field in person, reduced the northern barons to submission, was universally recognized as Pharaoh (722) and then withdrew himself to Nubia, leaving a viceroy in the north—probably the Shabaka who followed him on the throne.

The Assyrian generals before Samaria captured the city and deposed the rebel Hoshea immediately after the death of Shalmaneser. Sargon himself was first occupied in an attempt to suppress Merodach-baladan and his Elamite allies; but he met with a repulse at the hands of the latter which caused his withdrawal from Babylonia, and the Chaldaean was triumphantly seated on the throne.

Sargon postponed further interference, finding other problems more pressing. The Egyptian revolution excited fresh hopes in Syria; from south to north, from Gaza to Hamath and Arpad, revolt broke out. Leaving Babylon to its own devices, Sargon swept south. The Egyptian viceroy marched to the aid of the Philistines, and was ignominiously and overwhelmingly routed at Raphia (720). Ignoring Egypt, Sargon exacted the customary penalty from the rebels—a redistribution of the populations, including that of the northern Hebrew kingdom, on whose soil a mixed multitude of folk was planted, the 'lost

tribes' vanishing out of ken. Thenceforth Israel was not; but Judah had not taken part in the revolt.

For some years to come Sargon had no time to spare from preoccupation with the northern menace which centred in Urartu. Doubtless incited by Rusas, tributary princes or chiefs east of Van attacked those who were loyal to Assyria, and several hard campaigns had to be fought before the rebels were reduced to subjection. Among them appears the name of a Median, Daiukku, who was carried captive to Hamath, and is very doubtfully identified with the Deioces who was the traditional founder of the Median monarchy. Sargon's methods varied; for whereas one rebel chief was slayed alive, another was pardoned and reinstated as a local prince.

Mita of Mushki pursued a course similar to that of Rusas, inciting revolts in Cilicia, but himself keeping out of reach of Sargon's arm. As a consequence of these disturbances, Sargon developed the practice, departing from that of his predecessors, of placing Assyrian officers in charge instead of leaving the administration of the provinces in the hands of the native princes. To the competence of the new type of governor the strength of Assyria may be largely attributed.

## Troublous Times in Egypt

**I**T was probably in consequence of the Egyptian disaster at Raphia that Tafnekht recovered a brief supremacy in Lower Egypt, where he was succeeded by Bokenranef, the Bocchoris of the Greeks; but in spite of a high reputation for wisdom the latter was overthrown in 712 by Shabaka, who had now succeeded Piankhi and proceeded to recover the mastery of all Egypt. If he was the commander whom Sargon routed at Raphia, he may have been meditating an anti-Assyrian policy already, but he did not venture to move as long as Sargon was living. An abortive insurrection in Philistia in 715 had merely been a warning that Assyria was not to be trifled with.

Twelve years after his defeat by the Elamites, Sargon again turned his attention to Babylon. This time Elam did not come to the rescue; Merodach-baladan was

## Daylight

deposed without difficulty, but curiously enough was allowed to retain a tribal principality; while Sargon resumed the crown without the full royal titles.

Another movement, however, was imminent beyond the northern frontier. In 707 Argistis of Urartu found himself facing an irruption of the Cimmerian hordes, and met with a great defeat. In 705 Sargon himself fell, probably in battle with the same horde, and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib. But the campaign must have been victorious, for the Cimmerians turned to the west and flooded Anatolia, submerging Mita of Mushki in the end and immediately paralyzing him for any intrigues against Assyria.

The death of Sargon encouraged the irrepressible Merodach-baladan to seize once more the crown of Babylon, since Sennacherib did not immediately assert his own title. He again drew to his side the king of Elam. At the same time he incited Judah and Philistia to a revolt, which, however, was delayed. But the city of Babylon always preferred the

Assyrian to the Chaldee. In 703 Sennacherib routed the Elamites and ejected Merodach-baladan, but left another Babylonian, Bel-ibni, as king. Then, too late for Merodach-baladan, but encouraged by hopes of Egyptian aid, south Syria, joined by Sidon, revolted.

THE campaign which followed was entirely successful. The king of Sidon fled on the approach of Sennacherib, who swept south, over-ran Philistia, shattered at Eltekeh the forces sent by Shabaka of Egypt to help the rebels, and subjugated all Palestine except the almost impregnable city of Jerusalem; whose king Hezekiah nevertheless made full submission when Sennacherib retired to the north, for reasons not specified. This was in 700; and according to the Assyrian record he never had cause in the remaining fifteen years of his reign to revisit the south.

We are forced, however, to doubt the completeness of the official story. From two separate sources we have it reported that at some time or other a great disaster



**SENNACHERIB AT THE HEAD OF HIS GLEAMING COHORTS**

Desire to transmit the remembrance of their exploits to posterity was a distinguishing characteristic of the Assyrians, and their kings employed sculptors primarily to commemorate every act of their life, especially as conquerors. It is as commander-in-chief that Sennacherib is here represented at the head of his army. The long documentary series of bas-reliefs that cover the walls of the royal palace are the illustrations to a history of which the cuneiform inscriptions are the text.

*British Museum*

### Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.

befell Sennacherib's army near the Egyptian border, attributed in both reports to direct Divine interposition. More than two centuries later the Egyptians told Herodotus that Sennacherib advanced against Pelusium, but the gods sent an army of field-mice which destroyed the bow-strings and other equipment of the Assyrians so that they were easily cut to pieces. The Hebrew historian, in his very dramatic account, says that Sennacherib was laying siege to Libnah when the Angel of the Lord passed by night over his army, and 'when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses' (2 Kings 19, 35).

These variants may be reconciled on the theory of an outbreak of plague introduced in the Assyrian army by mice, which are notorious carriers. As a matter of fact, an outbreak of plague might very well have decided Sennacherib against the contemplated extension of a campaign of which the primary objects had already been thoroughly secured; and it would account for the apparently hasty withdrawal of his main force from the south. On the other hand the Egyptian story was only a tradition, and the Hebrew account is chronologically confused. The Assyrian invasion is apparently placed in the eighth year after the fall of Samaria, at the beginning of the reign of Sargon, and is immediately followed by the assassination of Sennacherib, who reigned for twenty-five years after Sargon's death; moreover the Egyptian is 'Arhakah king of Ethiopia' instead of the reigning Pharaoh Shabaka, of the same dynasty.

It was apparently Sennacherib's original intention to preserve Babylon as a separate but dependent kingdom. But the fugitive Merodach-baladan persisted in his intrigues; Bel-ibni was incompetent; and so after an expedition a younger son of Sennacherib—not his presumptive heir—was installed. Elam still sheltered the rebels. An expedition was sent in 694 to make a flank attack on its south, which Elam countered by invading Babylon and carrying off her Assyrian king and leaving a Babylonian in his place, who in turn was ejected by the Assyrians; after which constant confusion reigned, until in 690 Sennacherib fell on Babylon itself, sacked it and laid it in ruins. Esarhaddon, the son whom Sennacherib destined to succeed him, was made not king but viceroy of Babylonia.

The rest of the records of Sennacherib's reign are obscure. In 681 he was assassinated by two elder sons, who probably resented the selection of Esarhaddon as his heir; but the assassins were very promptly and thoroughly crushed by the new king. In Babylonia

Esarhaddon had already inaugurated a policy of pacification, conciliation and restoration; since the grand ambition of his life was the conquest of Egypt.

Some years in fact passed before Esarhaddon could give effect to this project. Elam was disturbed, though its troubles did not actually involve serious war. Tribal movements in the eastern hills called for military expeditions, which were mainly demonstrations. In the north Scythians were pushing on the track of the Cimmerians, who were over-running Anatolia



**ESARHADDON THE ASSYRIAN**

Set up at Shamal (the modern Senjerli) in North Syria, this stele with his portrait in relief details Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt in 671 B.C.

*Berlin Museum*

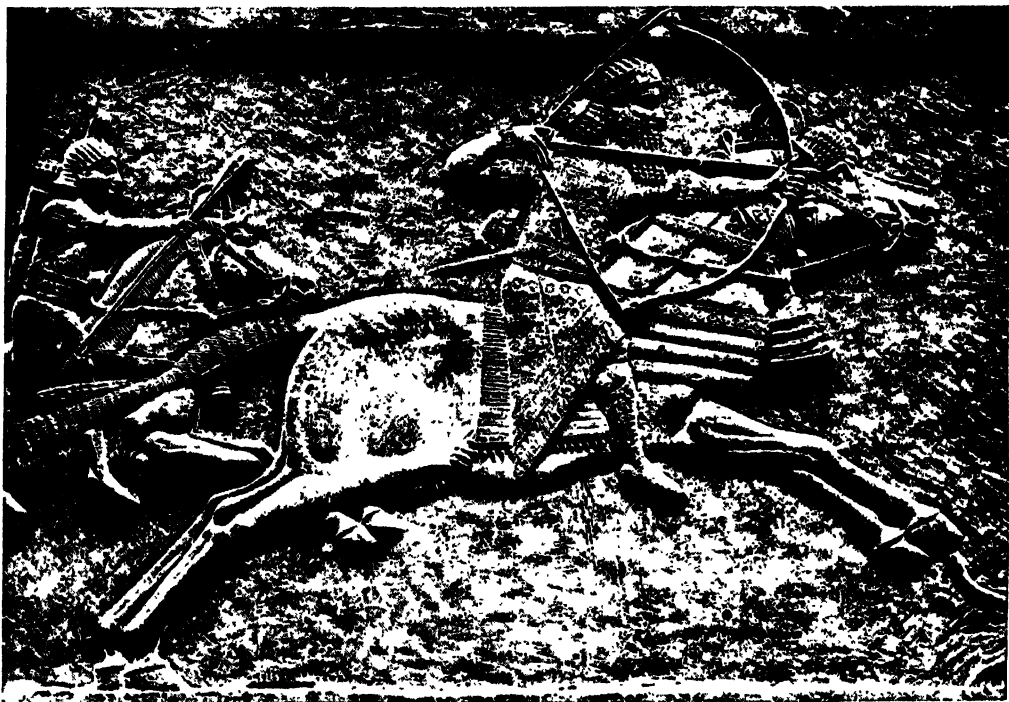
## Daylight

and incidentally raiding therefrom through the Taurus passes. The Medes were pressing westward, and Urartu would not long be able to serve the function, latterly forced upon it by circumstances, of a buffer between the barbarians and Assyria. Esarhaddon struck no crushing blow; he did no more than was enough to give pause to immediate aggression and suppress the local revolts which inevitably accompanied pressure on the frontier, while he prepared for the invasion of Egypt, where Taharka ('Tirhakah the Ethiopian') was now reigning.

The conquest itself presented no very great difficulties. The Assyrian army met with a check on its first campaign in 675 owing to a storm, an event with which it is just possible to identify that divine destruction of Sennacherib's army, of which there is no Assyrian record. But next year Assyrian forces were in the Delta; and in 671 these experimental campaigns

were followed up by an invasion in force. Taharka's army was scattered in rout, Memphis fell a fortnight later, and Esarhaddon was master of Lower Egypt. Assyrian officers or Egyptian nobles, supported by Assyrian garrisons, were appointed governors of the nomes or districts. Among them was Niku (Necho) of Sais. Esarhaddon then withdrew. He was hardly gone when Taharka, who had been left at large in the south, raised the standard of revolt; and Esarhaddon, returning in wrath to crush him, died while on the march (669).

He had willed that his elder son Shamash-shum-ukin should rule as king in Babylonia, but as vassal of his younger brother Ashurbanipal, the heir to the throne of Assyria. Ashurbanipal, known to the Greeks as Sardanapalus, made haste to crush the Egyptian revolt; with no undue severity. Taharka was again defeated, and Memphis, which had



**KING ASHURBANIPAL IN THE HUNTING FIELD**

Cruel in war and tireless in the chase, Ashurbanipal was also a patron of literature and the arts, establishing in his palace at Kouyunjik a library that is now invaluable to Assyriologists and enriching the building with many superb bas-reliefs. In his reign Assyrian art aimed higher than ever before, and the pictures describing his campaign against the Elamites and his hunting exploits are triumphant representations of energy—especially in the case of the animals.

*British Museum*



#### DOOM OF THE CITY OF KHAMANU IN ELAM

Crudity of drawing notwithstanding, the flames issuing from the turrets, the stones and timbers sent crashing to the ground by the picks of the demolition party, and the men issuing from a postern laden with booty, make a vivid picture of the destruction of Khamanu by Ashurbanipal about 640 B.C.

*British Museum*

opened its gates to him, was reoccupied. But the Assyrian's back was no sooner turned than Taharka returned to the Delta and started intrigues with Necho and other governors, Assyrian as well as Egyptian. This conspiracy, however, was nipped in the bud, Taharka was driven back to Napata and Necho taken in chains to Nineveh. Curiously enough, however, on arrival he was not only pardoned, but reinstated at Sais.

Five years later (663) Taharka's nephew Tanutamen again broke out, and was welcomed in Thebes; Necho, who remained loyal, was slain, but this time Ashurbanipal took summary vengeance. Thebes was sacked and devastated; as a city it ceased to exist. Psamtek (Psammetichus), the son of Necho, was made viceroy of all Egypt and allowed to assume the pharaonic titles—to prove in after years a much more dangerous because a much more crafty

foe of Assyria than the Ethiopian. The might of Assyria, however, seemed at the time to have been more convincingly established than ever.

**W**HILE the Assyrian kings were expanding their empire, the Cimmerians and their kinsmen the Treres, who had probably entered Asia Minor from Thrace, had annihilated the power of Phrygia; but they had not prevented the rise of a new power, the Mermnad dynasty of Lydia, in the west. Gyges of Lydia, now engaged in a desperate struggle with the barbarians, appealed to Assyria for help, which was given either not at all or very half-heartedly; consequently Ashurbanipal missed the chance of an alliance which might have proved invaluable when the Cimmerians had been finally driven out of Anatolia by Ardyss, son of Gyges.

For some fifteen years longer, Ashurbanipal could flatter himself that the power of Assyria was ever advancing.

Assyrian armies rarely met actual defeat in the field. Revolt within the empire was invariably suppressed with alternate displays of magnanimity and brutality. Psammetichus in Egypt, without open display of disloyalty, quietly made himself completely independent, but the Assyrian merely ignored his action. Expeditions beyond the border were officially successful in attaining their objects. An incursion in the west, of the Cimmerians retreating before the advance of Lydia, was repelled by the Assyrians on the spot.

But the great triumph of Ashurbanipal, the overthrow of Elam, was probably a grave factor in the approaching downfall of the military empire; since hitherto Elam had served to bridle the Iranian tribes on her rear, and Assyria had reached the point where extension of dominion meant not added strength but weakness.

## Daylight

In this fateful war Elam had herself been the aggressor. Her king Te-umman seized the opportunity of the last expedition to Egypt for an invasion. He was defeated and beheaded, some Elamite territory was annexed, and a vassal king was installed. The next stage was the insurrection of Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, Ashurbanipal's brother, who was joined by Chaldeans and by the king of Elam (652). But the allies were themselves rent by factions. Ashurbanipal came down on them in 648. The Chaldeans were driven



**A WILY PHARAOH**

Appointed viceroy of Egypt by Ashurbanipal with the title of Pharaoh, Psammetichus I managed in 651 to free himself from Assyria.

*British Museum*

off to Elam; Shamash-shum-ukin was blockaded in Babylon, where he set fire to his own palace and perished in the flames. The Assyrians advanced on Elam, they stormed and destroyed its capital Susa (unwisely, as it turned out), and Elam as an independent state disappeared for ever.

In 642 Ashurbanipal held in Nineveh a great triumph to celebrate the glories of his reign, a triumph in which four captive kings were harnessed to his chariot. The Assyrian chroniclers tell us of no more achievements. We are aware only that at the close of his reign a Scythian tornado swept through and laid waste the western and coastland provinces of the empire, practically unresisted. Already that empire was tottering in the year of his death, 626. Fourteen years later it was mercifully obliterated.

THE connecting link between the ancient East and the rising West lay in Anatolia or Asia Minor, the lands between the Taurus Mountains and the western sea. In the centre and east of this region, Phrygia, still known to the East as Mushki, had entered on the inheritance of the Hittites and was certainly dominant for a century before the great Cimmerian irruption which had begun about the time of Sargon's death. In that deluge Phrygia, left unaided to her fate, had gone under; the last Midas perished, if tradition be true, by his own hand, overcome by despair, while Esarhaddon was planning the conquest of Egypt. The task of holding up the nomad hordes in the west thus fell upon the rising principality of Lydia, whose crown had been torn, according to Greek legend, from the old Heraclid dynasty by Gyges.

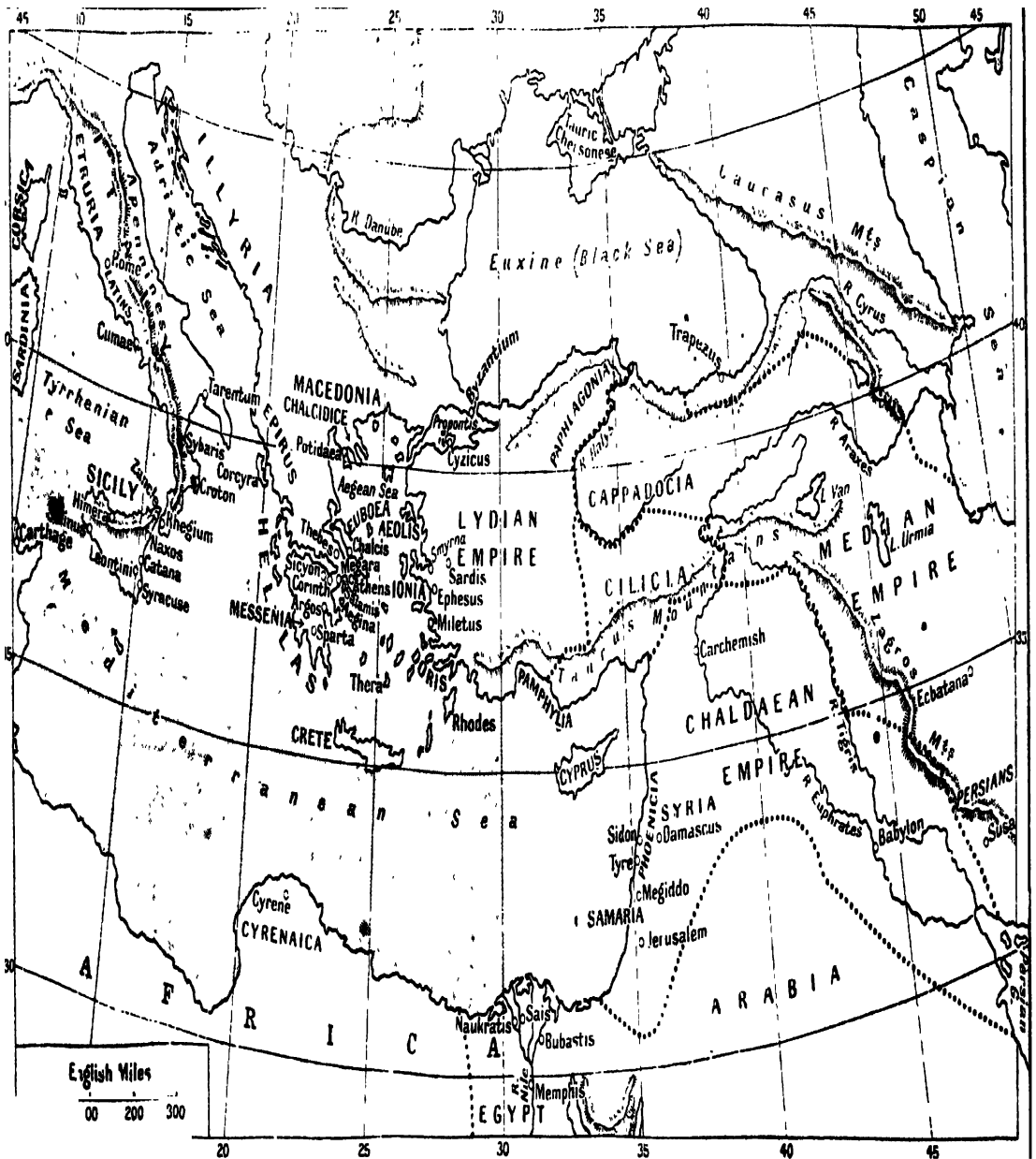
We have seen Gyges appealing in his struggle for aid from Assyria. With or without aid, he inflicted defeat on the Cimmerians, but only in his turn to be defeated and slain. The struggle was main-



**FATE OF KING TE-UMMAN OF ELAM**

Almost immediately after his accession to the throne of Elam, King Te-umman provoked a quarrel with Ashurbanipal. In the battle that took place Te-umman was seized and decapitated, with his eldest son. This relief shows him kneeling and wounded while the son defends him.

*British Museum*



### LANDS ENCREACHED UPON BY THE RISING TIDE OF CIVILIZATION AFTER THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

After the extinction of the Assyrian Empire, the western half of its territory was absorbed by the Chaldaean Empire, with its capital at Babylon, the Median Empire taking possession of the eastern portion. Egypt virtually disappears from the arena and the interest of the human drama shifts steadily westward to peninsular Europe, where Greek colonial expansion attains its maximum and the Etruscans and Latins appear in Italy. In the East Lydia was at the height of its power, exercising dominion over the coastal Greek cities, while Cilicia was independent. Persian tribes held Elam.

## Daylight

tained by his son Ardys, who ultimately succeeded, with help from the Ionian cities, in beating off and driving back the barbarians; who finally evacuated Anatolia altogether, leaving Lydia the most powerful state in Asia Minor.

Although Ionian cities made common cause with Ardys in battling with the common danger which threatened them as well as Lydia, they were themselves

which were to bring her a unique military prestige, and from which she emerged with her equally unique political constitution—ascribed to a legendary law-giver, Lycurgus—in full play.

The next period witnesses the expansion of Greater Hellas, the establishment of colonies in Italy and Sicily and on the shores of the Euxine sea, the Propontis (the sea of Marmora), and the as yet un-



**CUMAE, THE MOST ANCIENT GREEK SETTLEMENT IN ITALY**

Notable as the first deliberate colony founded by Hellenes in Italy, Cumae was planted from Aeolian Cyme fourteen miles to the westward of Naples, of which, with Puteoli and other port towns, it later became the founder. Cumae was thus one of the sources of Greek civilization in Italy. The Acropolis rock is honeycombed with caves, from one of which, according to the legend, the Cumaean Sibyl brought the Sibylline books to Rome. These ruins are of Roman date.

the object of Lydian attacks both before the Cimmerian onslaught and after its final repulse; for the successors of Ardys (who died about the same date as Ashurbanipal), and probably that monarch himself, definitely aimed at the lordship of all Asia Minor.

We have seen that by the middle of the eighth century the city states had already long been established over all Hellas proper, and the whole Aegean area, Asiatic as well as European; and that almost throughout it the old monarchy of the heroic age, the 'god-descended kings,' was giving place to the rule of aristocracies. At this time the wealthiest and most prosperous among them were to be found mainly in Aeolis and Ionia. Sparta had not yet fought the Messenian wars

Hellenised Thracian and Macedonian coast on the north of the Aegean; as well as the fuller political development of the several Hellenic states.

The planting of a colony was the enterprise of the single state (or more rarely the combination of two or three states) which planted it. The colony was itself an independent city state, often bound to the mother city by a strong tie of sentiment but no longer under its jurisdiction.

The cities of the island of Euboea, but more especially Chalcis, were the pioneers of colonisation. At some date unknown, two of them combined with Cyme in Aeolis to plant Cumae far away on the coast of Campania—perhaps not the first appearance of Hellenes in Italy, but certainly the first organized colony.





#### MERCHANT ADVENTURER OF CYRENE

Dating from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., this scene inside a Laconian cup illustrates the oversea commerce then being carried on by Greek colonists. It depicts Arcesilaus of Cyrene seated on the deck of a ship watching the weighing of merchandise in a balance hung from the yard.

*Cabinet des Médailles, Paris*

Why these settlers came to be known to the Italians as Graii (modified into Graeci) we cannot tell; they were presumably responsible for teaching the Latins to identify their own deities with those of the Hellenic pantheon. The curious influence they exercised is shown by the Roman legend of the Cumaean Sibyl and the Sibylline books. The real era of activity began in the second half of the eighth century.

Chalcis led the way in the western expansion by founding the first colony in Sicily, Naxos, on the east coast almost facing the extreme toe of Italy, in 735; Catana and Leontini, Zancle (better known as Messina) and Rhegium on the Italian side of the strait following before the century closed. Corinth followed suit with Corcyra (on the island of Corfu) and Syracuse in 734, if the traditional dates be correct; in the course of the next century more colonies were planted—some the daughters of those already there—along the south and also the north coast of

Sicily; of which the most western were Selinus and Himera. Achaeans and Locrians from the shores of the Corinthian gulf founded Sybaris—that type of effeminate luxury—on the gulf of Tarentum, and Croton and other less famous cities on the south and west coasts of Italy; and Tarentum or Taras itself was founded from Sparta, her one colonial effort, about 708. It was not perhaps till the end of the seventh century that Aeolian Phocaea, hard pressed at home by Lydia, founded Massalia, far away on the shores of Gaul, whence colonies were presently to be planted even on the Iberian Peninsula.

But in Sicily the Hellenes had other maritime rivals to compete with; for the Phoenicians from their great outpost at Carthage had already established trading stations in the west of the island. Moreover, long before the Hellenes, those

Shirdanu and Tursha whom we met with in the story of Egypt had sought new homes on the western Mediterranean, and had not lost their piratical instincts. We incline to find in them the origins of the Sardinians and of that Etruscan people who were becoming or had already become the dominant group in Italy, though challenged and ultimately to be mastered by the Aryan Latins and Sabellians.

THE cities of Aeolis and Ionia turned their colonising energies mainly to the Euxine and the Propontis, with a view to commerce, almost monopolising that region, though it was Megara on the isthmus of Corinth that founded Byzantium. The Euboeans added to the western enterprises of Chalcis the colonisation of the north, and especially of the triple promontory which became known as Chalcidice; though here Corinth also thrust in and planted Potidaea. In the second half of the seventh century, Cyrene

## Daylight

was planted on the Libyan coast from Thera, one of the most southern isles of the Cyclades. Naukratis, on the Canopic mouth of the Nile, started about the same time merely as a trade depot of Miletus, but grew into a market for Greeks generally.

On the mainland of Greece there were three cities which may be distinguished as gaining during the eighth and seventh centuries the status of territorial powers. Sparta became lord of half the Peloponnese, Attica was united with Athens, and Thebes dominated Boeotia. The Spartans were lords of a subjugated population; the minor states of Attica were voluntarily incorporated with Athens and their citizens became citizens of Athens; the Boeotian states were theoretically independent, but could not stand out of the Boeotian confederacy in which Thebes was practically dictator.

Sparta had long been supreme in Laconia. Spartan citizenship was confined to the few who were of the Spartiate tribes. The rest of the population was free but politically subject to Sparta—these were the 'perioeci,' the 'dw' llers round'—and there was also a very large slave population, the Helots, the pre-Dorians who had been conquered and enslaved.



**FLOWER OF THE SPARTAN ARMY**

It was to the efficiency of her infantry armed with heavy spears that Sparta largely owed her growing predominance on the mainland. This painting inside a cup shows two such 'hoplites' carrying a slain warrior on their shoulders.

*Berlin Museum*



### ARMED TYPES OF THE ASIATIC GREEKS

Huge vessels containing calcined bones have been unearthed at Sparta. Details of the armour and of the Homeric battle in the moulded reliefs on these fragments show that the urn was copied from an Ionic original.

*British School at Athens Annual*

In the eighth century Sparta was only one of several powerful states—Argos, Sicyon, Corinth—to any one or to none of which it was still possible that definite leadership might fall. The development of the Spartan military system in the Messenian wars of that eighth century gave the ascendancy or 'hegemony' definitely to her in the course of the century following. Only Messenia, however, was added to her subject territory; the independence of the northern states was unaffected, and their rivalry was still a possibility. The whole organization of the Spartan state was directed to military efficiency, so that the Spartan discipline has become a proverb.

In this connexion, it may be remarked that Sparta owed her military ascendancy in part at least to the high state of perfection to which she raised the heavy-armed infantry, the mail-clad spearmen called 'hoplites' by the Greeks, who were to give them repeated victory in the coming conflicts with oriental forces.

The unification of Attica was the basis of the power which Athens was on the way

## Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C. •

to attain. Unlike Sparta, she was a sea-going state, but at this period she was only one among several of equal rank, enjoying no special predominance. She had immediate rivals in Aegina, Megara and the cities of Euboea, whose mutual feuds were destined to lose for them that supremacy which at one time seemed likely to be theirs. The direct conflict with Aegina was deferred; but two wars with Megara for the possession of the island of Salamis, in the last quarter of the seventh and the second quarter of the sixth centuries, beginning with the defeat and ending with the victory of Athens, gave her the definite ascendancy over that competitor, though she was still far from being a naval power.

Corinth, planted on and commanding the isthmus that joins or severs northern and southern Greece, and difficult to approach by land, in a position equally adapted for eastern and western maritime expansion but virtually isolated northwards and southwards, was not to enter into competition for political hegemony. North of Boeotia and the Maliac gulf there were no cities of equal prominence with these; there were only loose leagues or confederacies. Beyond Thessaly the hill-tribes of Macedon acknowledged a king who claimed to be a Hellene, but ruled

over what could hardly be called an organized kingdom.

On the east of the Aegean we have no such detailed knowledge of the development of the great cities of Aeolis, Ionia and Doris as of their western contemporaries. What we do know is that both intellectually and materially they were rather in advance of the states of Greece itself than behind them. They held their cities against Cimmerian onslaughts. Their 'wise men' and their poets were famed all over Hellas. But they were as incapable of close union as their European kinsmen. Failing to recognize a common menace when they were individually attacked by an alien power, they were forced one by one to submit to the far from exacting overlordship of Lydia under the successors of Ardys—Sadyattes, Alyattes and finally Croesus, the monarch whose sway, in the second quarter of the sixth century, extended all over Asia Minor as far as the river Halys.

A class dominant in the government of any state always tends to subordinate the interest of other classes to its own. The aristocracies of birth which were ruling in nearly all the Hellenic states in the middle of the eighth century were no exception to the rule. The subordinate classes demanded release from the



*Age of Ardys*



*Sadyattes or Alyattes*



*Gold Coin of Croesus*



### RELICS OF THE DAYS WHEN LYDIA DOMINATED THE ASIATIC GREEKS

Memorials of the Lydian Empire that loomed so large behind the Asiatic Greeks are few, principally through lack of archaeological excavation. Most interesting are the coins, because they seem to have been the earliest struck; the system of weights is Babylonian, but the idea of minting these weights in figured medallions may be specifically Lydian. The occurrence of lions' and bulls' heads in the Hittite manner among the devices is interesting as a survival. The material of these examples is electrum.

*British Museum*

## Daylight

economic burdens imposed on them, and political power. In state after state a struggle developed. Sometimes the aristocracies simply held their own; sometimes wealth succeeded in superseding birth; sometimes aristocratic statesmen carried through reforms out of which democracy was in time evolved, such as those introduced in Athens by the most famous of 'wise men,' Solon, in 592, or the little less famous Pittacus in Mitylene at about the same period. A more detailed investigation of these social and political changes must be sought in Chapter 36 under the following Era.

A very common stage in the struggle was the appearance of what the Greeks called the Tyrannis, a despotism seized generally by a popular leader who had overthrown the aristocrats as a champion of democracy and maintained himself in power by troops of mercenaries. The Tyrannis produced many rulers whose oppression gave a very sinister meaning to the name of 'tyrant'; some who in fact were very brilliant princes, such as Periander of Corinth, Cleisthenes of Sicyon and Peisistratus who made himself Tyrant of Athens in 561. Several tyrants had established themselves in the cities of Ionia and Acolis at the close of our period, and the Tyrannis was generally supported by the Lydian overlord.

### Developments in the Far West

**T**URNING again to the far west, we have seen that Italy was brought into touch with the Hellenic world by the expansion into Magna Graecia. But apart from the Hellenic colonies, the centre of Italy's development is in the lands lying between the Apennines and the western sea, the lowlands of Etruria and Latium to which the nearest approach was made by the colony of Cumae. Etruria, however, and Latium are now themselves within our ken, though not yet in the full light.

We know little enough of the earlier inhabitants of the peninsula, who were doubtless the basic stock of the Italian people. The progressive peoples were the later invaders, the Etruscans who came over the sea probably from the east, but in any case non-Aryans, and the Aryans

who came in through the Alpine passes or round the head of the Adriatic. The lowlands are divided in two by the river Tiber, flowing due south from the hills to the sea. When dawn breaks in the eighth century, we find the western region, Etruria, occupied by the Etruscans or Tuscans, the eastern, the plain of Latium, by the Aryan Latins; behind and past whom are pressing southward through the mountains a second Aryan group of Oscans or Sabellians (a name which also appears as Sabines, or later as Samnites). Etruscans and Latins have both developed the city-state system, and are in hot competition, while both are holding back the pressure of the still migrant Oscans in the mountains.

The date traditionally fixed for the entrance of Rome on the scene is 753. Planted on the Tiber, the city strategically commanded the gate between Etruria and Latium, and the possession of it was a constant bone of contention between Latins, Sabines and Etruscans. It remained predominantly Latin, but with substantial Sabine and Etruscan elements. The story of the monarchy in Rome is mainly legendary; but in the sixth century the reigning dynasty, there certainly and perhaps in some other Latin cities, was Etruscan, while her nobles and her commons were of all the three races. Owing to her position, her state organization was necessarily directed to military efficiency. It was not till the close of the sixth century that she shook off her monarchy and established an aristocratic republic.

### Decline and Fall of Assyrian Empire

**T**HE closing years of Ashurbanipal were troubled by disease and by family discords. Though Herodotus says that a great attack by the Medes was utterly routed, no Assyrian record of it remains; and Ashurbanipal was certainly unable to check the Scythian irruption. The old native Assyrian fighting force had been depleted by endless wars, and the levies from subject peoples provided much less efficient troops. Egypt was free of control under Psammetichus, and after the Scythian incursion the cities of Syria and

## Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.

Phoenicia no longer acknowledged the Assyrian overlordship.

The successors of Ashurbanipal had but a precarious hold even on the Assyrian crown. He was hardly dead when Babylon revolted and set up a Chaldean king, Nabopolassar, against whom the new

Cyaxares the Mede united to destroy Assyria, and her last king, Sin-shar-ishkun,\* perished helpless in the flames of Nineveh, as Shamash-shum-ukin had perished in the flames of Babylon thirty-six years before—if the Greek legend that so describes the end of Sardanapalus is accurate save for the confusion of names. Save for a remnant that fled to Harran and maintained itself there for a few years, Assyria the Terrible, the eternal type of bestial force, of ruthlessness systematised, was utterly blotted out; and the world breathed more freely.

### Empires of Media and Babylon

**T**HE empire was parted between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares; the Babylonian taking Mesopotamia and Syria, the Mede all that lay east and north of the Tigris.

In 608 the successor of Psammetichus, Pharaoh Necho, nominally as champion of an Assyrian pretender, occupied northern Syria, where the new authority was by no means securely established; and perhaps smiting Josiah king of Judah at a second battle of Megiddo. The events are obscure; but in 605 Necho was overwhelmingly defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadrezzar, Nabopolassar's heir, and was pursued to the borders of Egypt, whence Nebuchadrezzar was recalled to the north by the news of his father's death. Necho made no further demonstration against the new empire, nor, probably, was there any later attack on Egypt.

The Median power pushing westward under Cyaxares and the Lydian pushing eastward under Alyattes came into collision in eastern Anatolia. The war ended in 585. A great battle was actually in progress, but was interrupted by a solar eclipse (foretold by Thales of Miletus, another of the Grecian 'wise men'), which so perturbed the combatants on both sides that a truce was called on the spot. The rivals agreed to invite the mediation of the kings of Babylon and Cilicia, and a formal treaty established the river Halys as the boundary between the two kingdoms. Media had already absorbed Urartu. The new alliance was cemented by the marriage of Astyages, the Median heir-apparent, to the daughter of Alyattes.



### AN UNPOPULAR PHARAOH

King of Egypt from 588 to 569 B.C., Apries rashly fostered a revolt against Nebuchadrezzar, as the result of which Judah and Tyre suffered heavily. This stela, showing Apries offering vases of wine to a god, came from Abydos.

*British Museum*

Assyrian monarch could take no action. A powerful Median kingdom had meanwhile been consolidated—by Deioces and Phraortes, according to Herodotus, by Arbaces according to Ctesias. Medes and Babylonians were alike waiting eagerly to enter upon the inheritance of Assyria, whose only (very doubtful) allies were among the Scythians. When fear as a motive was removed, loyalty in the subjects of that most grievous empire was not to be looked for.

In 612, not 606, as is proved by recently discovered evidence, Nabopolassar and

### Chronicle III. 900-550 B.C.

Lydia overlapped Hellas on the west and was now in close association with Media, the rising power in the east. The clash between Hellenism and Orientalism was bound to come ere long.

#### Nebuchadrezzar's Napoleonic Qualities

**N**EBUCHADREZZAR (Nabu-kudur-usur) of the Bible, was a great captain (an unusual phenomenon among the Chaldeans), an able administrator, a great architect and engineer; but as a matter of course he followed the methods which had been the established practice of Assyria almost from time immemorial. When Judah revolted in 596, he suppressed the revolt and deported part of the Jewish population. When she was mad enough, in 587, to revolt a second time (in conjunction with Tyre and Sidon), in spite of the warnings of Jeremiah, he slew the king's sons before his eyes in cold blood, blinded him and carried off most of the population into a cruel captivity, while the remnant for the most part found an asylum in Egypt. But he established throughout his dominion an order which was not that of pure terrorism, and his 'hanging gardens' in the magnificent city he made of Babylon were among the 'wonders' of the world.

There was no collision with Media, nor with Egypt while Necho and Psammetichus II after him were ruling there; but the latter's successor Uahibra, the Hophra of the Bible and the Apries of the Greeks, brought trouble, stirring up the (second) revolt of Judah, and that of Tyre, by promises of assistance which was not forthcoming. That Tyre was reduced at all, though only after a siege of more than two years, is proof of Nebuchadrezzar's military skill; her situation gave her an unequalled power of defying siege operations.

Hophra had started the revolt by an invasion of Phoenicia, but had retired incontinently when Nebuchadrezzar moved. The prevalent idea that the Babylonian at a later date marched into Egypt and effected a temporary conquest rests upon insufficient and doubtful evidence. Hophra was extremely unpopular, owing

partly to the favour he showed to the Ionian and Carian mercenary troops who were actually the core of the Egyptian armies. Hence a popular but low-born general, Aahmes, known to the Greeks as Amasis, had no difficulty in deposing him and making himself Pharaoh in 569. Nevertheless as Pharaoh Amasis continued the policy of favouring the western aliens. It was at this time that Naukratis was established, as a privileged Greek trading station and factory for Greek wares rather than a colony in the proper sense.

Nebuchadrezzar died in 562. His Chaldaean dynasty rested on no more secure foundation than his own personality. Six years later it was deposed, and the Babylonians set on their throne the amiable archaeologist Nabonidus, who soon seems to have become unpopular with the priesthood.

#### The End of the Old Order

**A**SSYRIA was stone dead. The virility if not the vitality was gone out of Egypt. The life went out of the new Babylon with Nebuchadrezzar. But Hellas was young, Lydia was young, Media was young. With them, to a discerning eye, lay the future. And behind the Medes were the kindred tribes of the Persians—as near akin as Scots to Englishmen, differing in little except the fact that they led harder lives in a sterner country. To them it had fallen to absorb the once turbulent but now ruined Elam, and to make its old capital, Susa, their own principal city, though they were not city-dwellers. Moreover, within the last century, they had organized a kingdom with a double royal line, descending from the two sons of Teispes or Chispis the son of Achaemenes (to use the Greek renderings of his name).

Cyrus, of whom tradition affirms that his mother was a daughter of Astyages the Mede, became the fourth king of Anshan (Elam), of the elder line, about 552. In 550 with his Persians behind him he claimed and seized the crown of Astyages, and the Medes accepted the dynastic revolution apparently without demur. That event was the death-blow of the Old Order.



# THE GROWTH OF CULTURE IN BARBARIC EUROPE

An Outline of its slow Progress through the Ages of  
Bronze to the Full Daylight of the First Iron Age

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CIVILIZATION and recorded history began to the south of the great east-to-west mountain spine that divides the Eurasian land mass into two parts. The regions lying to the north of this barrier remained sunk in barbarism and illiteracy till the beginning of our era, and for the most part much later. Yet, as explained in Chapter 20, their inhabitants had absorbed some emanations from the civilizations of the south, and had been raised thereby from a state of mere savagery to barbarism. And they had modified what they received to meet their own special conditions. Thus the barbarians of the north were in a position to react upon the progress of civilization in the south and even to alter its course. Here we must try to get some idea of this barbarian world as the background to early Greek and Roman history.

Naturally, in the absence of all written records, our knowledge of the human groups that once lived north of the Alps, the Caucasus and the Himalayas is very fragmentary. Yet, by laboriously collecting and comparing such of their material remains as have survived, the archaeologist can draw a rough picture of their development and culture. Of course such a picture is full of gaps; so much has been irretrievably lost. And the details are extremely uncertain. Indeed every sentence in the following account should be preceded by the phrase: 'Perhaps the balance of probabilities favours the view that—' But we shall not weary the reader further with such doubts. Let us see how the culture of our rude forefathers grew up and how they lived at the moment when they enter the

stage of History through contact with the Greeks and the Romans. Our main concern will be with the peoples of barbarian Europe; for these made a positive contribution to Western civilization and played a prominent part in those acts of the drama of World History that introduce Greece and Rome.

Peninsular Europe was in fact marked out by nature herself as the womb of a favoured type of culture. It enjoyed a temperate climate as contrasted with the extreme continental regime ruling in upper Asia. The land surface was so diversified that peoples following varying modes of life might live side by side, so that an interaction between different types of culture was always going on. The Favoured home of seas that bounded it and Special Cultures the mountain chains that divided it put a brake on nomadism and obliged the early inhabitants of Europe to halt and settle down. The peninsular area was sheltered by wide tracts of mountain and forest from the inroads of the shifting hordes whose restless wanderings over the grasslands of upper Asia have never given time for the growth of a stable industry and civilization there.

At the same time Europe lay adjacent to the original foci of culture in the eastern Mediterranean. Gaps in the mountain spine permitted the influx of fertilising currents from those shores. The Danube was part of a natural highway leading from the Aegean across the Black Sea into the heart of central Europe. Several passes give access from the Mediterranean to the upper valleys of the Danube and the Rhine. Finally, the seas



that wash the northern and western coasts offered a ready path to the adventurous and skilled mariners who were being trained in the eastern Mediterranean about five thousand years ago.

The realization of these potentialities was the work of prehistoric man. He found no unified Europe ready-made for him. By experiment and effort he learned to create that adjustment of life required by his environment. He found out the routes for trade and migration that roads and railways follow to-day. But these opportunities were not always there.

Peninsular Europe, like the rest of the Eurasiatic land mass, endured a 'glacial period' (see Chap. 5), and that just at



#### HOES OF PRIMITIVE EUROPEANS

That the Danubians practised agriculture is proved conclusively by the 'shoe-last' celts found in their settlements. Flat on one side and curved on the other, and sometimes perforated for a handle, these were, in reality, hoes.

*After Reinert and Seger*

the time when more favourably situated peoples of North Africa and Hither Asia were making the first steps towards civilized life by the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants. At that epoch Europe was only fit for the sort of Eskimo culture represented by the cave men and reindeer hunters of the Old Stone Age. The dry, subarctic climate in the greater part of Europe outlasted the so-called last ice age by many centuries.

Eventually, however, as a result of land movements, the cold spell gave place to a warmer and moister climate. The mean temperature of northern Europe rose well above the present average. Warm, moisture-laden winds from the Atlantic blew right across North Germany and carried to those lands a more liberal rainfall than they enjoy to-day. As a consequence a dense forest of moisture-

loving trees and undergrowth invaded the regions that had hitherto been tundra or pine woods.

The hunters of the reindeer and other game, who in the Old Stone Age had roamed over the bleak open plains, now found their movements blocked by a dense forest of oaks and thick undergrowth. In the end they became confined to the coastal tracts, the shores of lagoons and lakes or open sandy patches in the midst of the forest. Thus isolated in small bands, they continued to live on much in the old way as mere hunters and fishers, making no progress and even losing ground in the strain of adjusting themselves to the new conditions.

On the other hand large areas in central Europe are covered with a fine soil termed loess, which had been deposited by the winds during the dry phases of the Ice Age (see page 193). This soil is not favourable to the growth of heavy timber and at the same time it makes extraordinarily good agricultural land. The loess areas accordingly formed an ideal territory for colonisation by early food-producing peoples. And, as a matter of fact, we find that the loess plains of central Europe were soon occupied by a race of peasants.

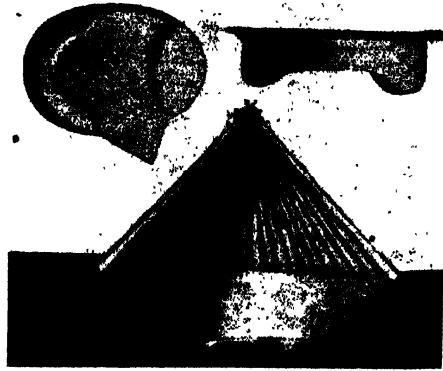
These people probably came from the south-east and belonged to an early branch of what is called the Mediterranean race—a short, dark stock. As they certainly possessed some form of boat and travelled along the rivers, it seems likely that they first entered central Europe by water, coming up the Danube from the Black Sea. In northern Serbia and then in Slovakia and lower Austria they found suitable stretches of fairly open loess land, rising above the marshes and water-sodden forests that then bordered the banks of the Danube. On these open spaces, free from danger of floods, they made their first settlements, and we may accordingly style the colonists Danubians for want of a better name.

Certain it is that these Danubians brought the first food-producing civilization to the interior of Europe. They lived primarily on the products of the

**Arrival of  
the Danubians**

soil which they tilled in small plots with the aid of stone-bladed hoes. They cultivated wheat and barley in their garden plots and also possessed domestic animals—swine, cattle, sheep and goats, all of rather different varieties from those which are bred to-day. Hunting played a quite insignificant part in their domestic economy, and their relations with one another were normally peaceful.

They lived together in little hamlets. The huts were round or oval pits, roofed with skins or turves laid over a conical or beehive-shaped framework of sticks. In such miserable cabins the whole family lived huddled up, sleeping round the ashes of a central hearth but effectively protected from the cold and wet. The same type of dwelling persisted in Europe throughout the prehistoric period. Indeed it survives to-day in out-of-the-way places; even so near London as Epping Forest the charcoal burners' huts that were in use till the beginning of the present century preserve the form of the old primitive cabin of the New Stone Age. Besides agriculture and domestic animals, the Danubians introduced the arts of pottery-making, basketry and weaving. They worshipped a mother goddess, of whom they fashioned rude images in clay. Probably some superstitions, such as the belief in vampires or ghosts that rise from the grave to suck the blood of the living, may be traced to this stock.



#### CABINS OF THE NEW STONE AGE

Danubian huts were round or oval pits roofed with skins or turves laid over a conical framework of sticks. Above is a sectional reconstruction of one such cabin, with the ground plan and section of another shown above.

*After L. Kozłowski*

The system of agriculture, or rather 'garden culture,' practised by the Danubians did not entail anything like permanent settlement. No site was occupied continuously for any length of time. When the fertility of the plots showed signs of exhaustion, or when the villagers' superstitions were aroused by deaths or other untoward events, the settlement would be removed to a new site not far off.

Moreover, each group was constantly sending out daughter colonies to relieve the pressure of population, or simply because the younger generations grew restive under the restraints imposed by



#### TWENTIETH CENTURY SURVIVALS OF PREHISTORIC DWELLINGS

There are few more interesting examples of the survival of types which, however primitive, are adequate to their purpose than that provided by the huts of the charcoal burners in Epping Forest. For in plan and construction these are identical with the huts of the neolithic Danubian peasantry. Here, on the right, is seen the timber framework built over the pit, and (left) the turf-covered finished cabin no different from those that furnished the home for an entire family 5,000 years ago.

*From The Essex Naturalist*



#### SYMBOLS OF UNTUTORED FAITH

Peasants of the Danube region worshipped a mother goddess whom they represented by clay figurines, which may have been fertility charms. They are of a type very widely distributed, and the early examples are most crudely modelled.

*Courtesy of Dr. Absalom, Brno*

the elder. And thus it came about that all the loess areas in the Danube valley and in the basins of the Vistula, the Oder, the Elbe and the Rhine were gradually colonised by the Danubians. And everywhere from Galicia to North France the peasants appear as the heralds of the stage of culture that is rather loosely termed 'neolithic.'

There was nothing to urge the Danubians on to improve their industries and methods; plenty of land was available, and there was, at the moment, no one to dispute its possession. And so the Danubians stagnated. In fact, their culture even suffered degradation among the pioneer groups who had struggled through the forests separating the strips of loess, and who had thus become more or less cut off from their kin. However, the tendency to stagnation and degeneration was to some extent counteracted by contact with other groups whom the Danubians encountered in the course of their expansion. Some of these were survivors of the food-gatherers of the Old Stone Age, culturally inferior to the Danubians. Yet, through the contact of two types of life, new adjustments to the environment arose. In the Alpine regions, for instance, the sturdy mountaineers were building up the civilization of the Lake Dwellings described in Chapter 20, not without borrowing from the Danubians.

The foundation of central European culture was thus laid by the Danubians. But naturally other stocks besides the survivors of the food-gatherers contributed to its development. The highland plains of South Russia, where there are also deep deposits of loess, were occupied by another tribe of agriculturists who enjoyed a somewhat higher civilization than the Danubians; in particular they knew how to paint their vases and to build rectangular houses with posts to support the walls of mud and interlaced boughs, while they were indebted for their culture to Mesopotamia and Elam. This group probably originated in central Asia. They eventually crossed the Carpathians and came into contact with the Danubians in Hungary. Other groups of lowly agriculturists were at the same time spreading over western Europe, having come from Africa by way of the Strait of Gibraltar. They, too, would belong to the Mediterranean race and would have spread in precisely the same gradual way as the Danubians.

But soon a very different current of civilization was to affect the coasts of Europe. In the Ancient East men were setting out in search of fresh supplies of metal and precious substances. Colonies were planted at many points in the western Mediterranean. Thence bold voyagers set out farther afield, sailing through the Strait of Gibraltar and coasting along the shores of the Atlantic till they reached even the British Isles. Thence they crossed the North Sea to Scandinavia. A few of these voyagers actually settled at various points on the coast, generally in the neighbourhood of deposits of ore or gold, as in Brittany and Ireland, or near the amber supplies of Denmark.

These navigators had doubtless imbibed a good deal of the culture of the Ancient East and imparted some elements thereof to the aboriginal descendants of the old food-gathering stocks whom they encountered on the coasts and to whom they may well have appeared as demi-gods and culture heroes. But as the visitors were relatively few, the culture which they implanted soon became degraded and barbarised. They may have brought with them cereals,

**Eastern source of  
Megalithic Culture**

domestic animals and even metals, but what impressed the natives most deeply was their doctrine about the future life and the cult of the dead.

The most permanent monuments of the visits of seafaring peoples from the south are the vast chambers of huge stone blocks which were erected as resting places for the dead, and it is therefore convenient to term the mariners megalith builders. But it must be

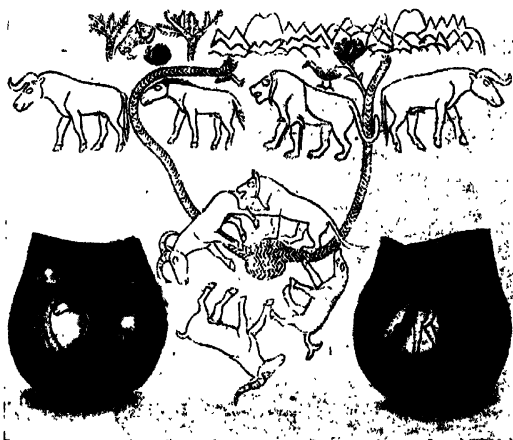
remembered that most of these tombs, and especially those in the hinterlands, were not built by the visitors themselves, but by natives who had assimilated the idea rather imperfectly and were trying with increasing ill-success to copy the models that they had seen. These latter were far too preoccupied with their cult and the labours it involved to make any real progress in the more practical arts.

Their achievements in megalith building have been described in Chapter 20, and need not delay us further here. There remains one more group that was destined to play a great part in the formation of European civilization. On the great plains of northern and eastern Europe and more especially on the open grasslands that extend eastward from the northern shores of the Black Sea dwelt tribes of nomad horsemen and pastoralists. They had absorbed some emanations from the high civilizations of Mesopotamia and the Aegean; for the quest of metals, timber and precious stones had brought explorers from Babylonia and Assyria into the Caucasus, while early Argonauts had sailed through the Hellespont and established trading stations on the Black Sea coasts. They had dealings with both groups and acquired from them some rudiments of culture. These steppe folk were probably the so-called 'Aryans' from whose speech English, Latin, Greek, Persian, the Hindu dialects of India and many other languages are derived.

Now, about the middle of the third millennium B.C. a dry period had set in which compelled some of the Aryans to seek fresh pastures. The growing dryness opened a path for them westwards. The rainfall was diminishing over northern Europe though the temperature was still higher than to-day. This caused the primeval forest to die off in parts to make room for heath or steppe plants. And so the whole plain from the Caucasus to the North Sea became more easily traversable. Bands of Aryans, accordingly, trekked westward with their herds and their wagons across the withering forests and eventually invaded the central European loess areas and the coasts of the North Sea.

The culture of the invaders was in many respects inferior to that already ruling in central Europe. They lived almost entirely on the products of their herds and the chase. They made no permanent settlements but dwelt in caves, in movable tents and perhaps in wagons. Yet they were careful about the disposal of their dead and heaped a barrow over the grave.

Apart, then, from the introduction of the horse and of wheeled vehicles, a very important event, the advent of the Aryans



HOW THE HORSE FIRST CAME TO EUROPE

Most important of the Aryan contributions to the culture of Europe was the horse. Bones have been found in the kurgans, or mound graves, of the South Russian steppes. The species depicted on this silver vase (left view), found at Maikop in the Caucasus and dated to about 2500 B.C., is the still surviving Mongolian wild pony—Przevalsky's horse (see page 225).

From 'Materials for the Archaeology of Russia'

made but a small contribution to the development of material culture in Europe. Indeed, the invaders were largely parasitic. They congregated where others' hands had already laid the foundations of civilization; they levied toll upon the coastal settlements round the amber deposits of Denmark, and reduced the Danubian peasants to a state of dependency. And they kindled a martial spirit in regions where the arts of peace had hitherto flourished. Alone, or as leaders of older groups, they spread to Britain, Switzerland, Italy and the Balkans. And everywhere their path is marked by splendid battle-axes of stone, copies of metal prototypes.

Nevertheless, the advent of the warriors was a necessary moment in the opening up of Europe. The clash of different modes of life and varying systems of social organization broke down the rigid framework of older groupings and opened the way for the growth of individuality and the assimilation of new ideas. In particular the constant state of war created a growing demand for new and better weapons of offence and defence. That demand was to be satisfied by trade with the older civilizations of the South.

Of course some sort of interchange of products between different regions had



#### STONE BATTLE-AXES OF THE ARYANS

Stone axe-heads perforated to receive the shaft, copies of metal prototypes, mark the path of the Aryan invader all over Europe. The two lower specimens here were found in Silesia, the uppermost at Snowhill in Gloucestershire.

*From Childe, 'The Aryans,' and British Museum*

been going on in Europe for a long time. Even in the Old Stone Age shells brought from the Indian Ocean had been carried to Italy. In the New Stone Age interchange of products had become quite common. Mediterranean shells were worn by the Danubian peasants even in Moravia and South Germany; amber from the Baltic was carried to Portugal; the fine flints, mined and worked at Grand Pressigny in western France, were traded as far afield as Belgium and the Swiss lake villages; Hungarian obsidian was sometimes used in Croatia and Silesia.

But at first such transference of products was not the result of anything like regular and systematic trade; it was rather through the ceremonial and obligatory interchange of gifts that always accompanied a visit that one group became possessed of objects manufactured by another. The first voyages along the Atlantic coast may indeed have been undertaken in the hope of finding metals and precious substances, and when those hopes were fulfilled some of the new-found wealth may have been sent back to the starting point. But it rather looks as if the megalith builders valued gold and amber primarily for their supposed magical properties, and for use in their own funeral ritual rather than



#### WHAT AN ARYAN WAGON LOOKED LIKE

With the horse the Aryan nomads from the East introduced wheeled vehicles into Europe, wagons in which perhaps they dwelt. This clay model of the superstructure of one such wagon was found

• in a grave at Ulski in the Caucasus.

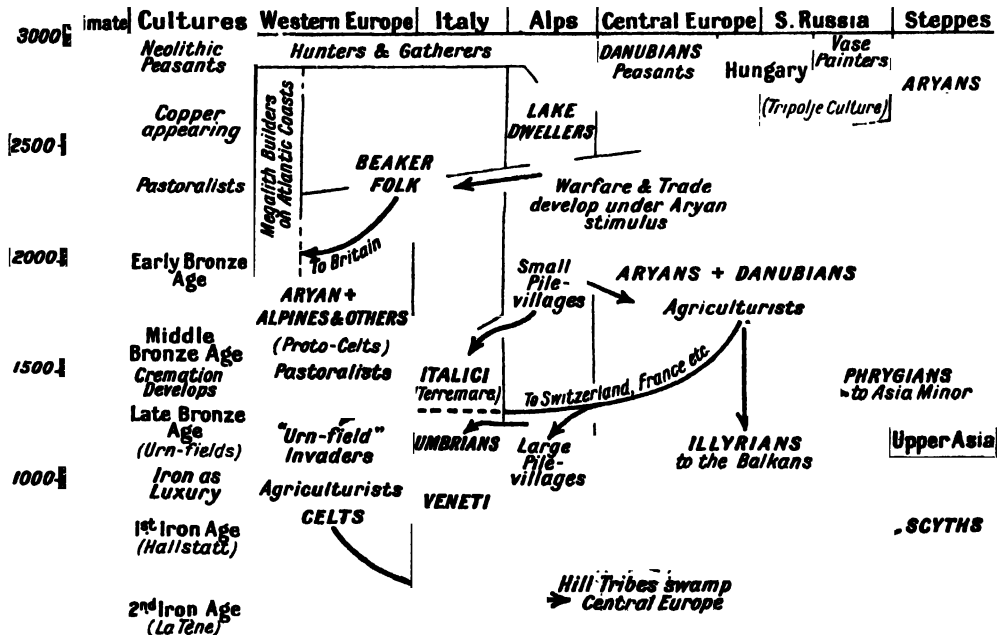
*Courtesy of Dr. Harold Peck*

as commodities to be exported and exchanged. As for the peasants of the loess, they tended to be entirely self-sufficing; they grew their own food and manufactured clothing, pots and implements within the family circle.

The warrior, on the other hand, was always on the look out for new implements of death and would welcome a good copper axe or dagger. And just at the time that the warrior appeared on the scene, the peoples of the Ancient East began to want substances that Europe could supply. It had been discovered that the addition of tin to copper both lowered its melting point, thus facilitating casting, and increased its hardness. Now, tin is a comparatively rare metal. The peoples of the Ancient East may at first have drawn their supplies from Persia or Nigeria, from Tuscany or Spain. But there were far richer lodes in Cornwall and Bohemia and soon after 2000 B.C. these were laid under contribution.

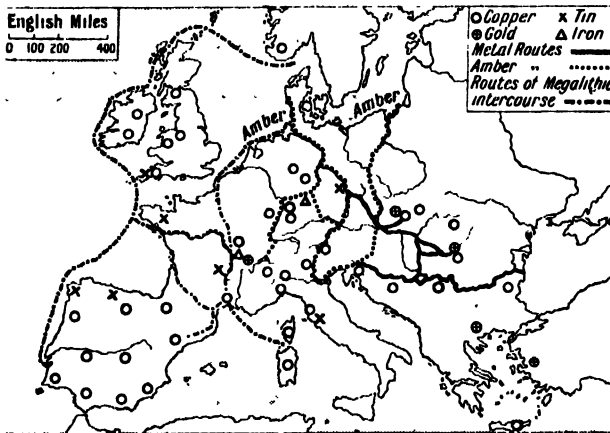
The Cornish tin may have been discovered in the first instance by the

megalith builders, but the growth of a precocious bronze-using civilization in the British Isles coincides with the arrival of the first wave of Aryan invaders about 1900 B.C. In the opening up of the Bohemian tin lodes the lords of Troy (not the Homeric city, but an older town—the 'Second City') seem to have played the leading part. They may well have sent expeditions up the Danube, aimed, no doubt, in the first instance, at the Transylvanian gold-fields that were the richest in Europe save for those in Ireland. And some of these parties may have hit upon the new precious metal. By offers of good Aegean daggers and trinkets they would persuade the local chief to set his subjects collecting the mineral products of his territory, while some of the visitors must have settled down to work the lodes, paying tribute to the chief and shipping the product down the Danube. And then, when Troy had fallen, these immigrants being deprived of their original market began producing metal wares for home consumption.



DIAGRAMMATIC SCHEME SHOWING THE EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN CULTURES

In page 900 is a map giving the spatial distribution of the movements that can be detected in Europe during the period under discussion. This chart gives their chronological sequence, and equates them with the emergence of broad culture-phases such as the Bronze Age, etc.; in a sense it is a continuation of the similar chart in page 220. The Second or La Tène Iron Age falls outside the scope of this chapter, but is dealt with in Chapter 50.



#### SOURCES AND AVENUES OF PREHISTORIC TRADE

The two main trade routes, an earlier and a later, between the Baltic and the Mediterranean are shown in page 619. This is a compendium of all the routes eventually exploited, together with the sites of the chief materials of trade. Iron, when discovered, chiefly followed the old copper routes.

Moreover, another product of northern Europe came about this time to be prized in the Mediterranean world. The amber from the Baltic had found its way, as we saw, to the Iberian peninsula, and was thus introduced to the Mediterranean. Moreover, the Aryan warriors had come to value the fossil resin as a charm. They had carried beads of it with them to Bohemia and even upper Italy, and when they settled in the latter region continued to desire the ornaments to which they had been accustomed. Thus, the conditions for regular commercial intercourse with the civilized world had been completed. On the one hand, the demand for the products of the Aegean had been awakened among the warlike chiefs of central and northern Europe; on the other, products had been found there which could be marketed in the eastern Mediterranean. It remained to find a suitable mechanism and route for the interchange.

Trade with Troy had resulted in the discovery of Bohemian tin and of the copper ores of Transylvania and Slovakia. It had meant the commencement of systematic exploitation of these deposits, in the first instance no doubt by foreign miners. And it had established a link between the two producing areas. But to maintain permanent intercourse with the nearest centres of civilization along the Danube and across the Black Sea

was difficult. And just about 1800 B.C. Troy, as we have seen, was sacked by a barbarian horde, so that this market was temporarily destroyed. In compensation a new and shorter route to the Mediterranean was opened up for the amber traffic by bands of merchants who came in the last resort from Spain.

This route, running from the upper Elbe to the head waters of the Adriatic, has been described in Chapter 20 and is shown on the map in page 619. As Bohemia was already in communication with the Danish amber deposits by way of the Elbe, a regular link between the Mediterranean and

Scandinavia had now been established. The old trade along the Danube was almost abandoned for a time save on the section that linked the Bohemian tin fields with the Hungarian copper mines. Along the new trade route in Thuringia, Bohemia and upper Italy centres of metallurgical



#### PRIMITIVE FORMS OF CURRENCY

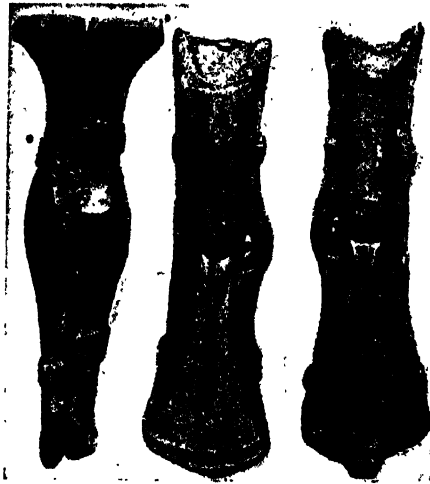
As units of value for trade purposes primitive Europeans used the ox-hide-shaped copper ingots of the Aegeans and, more generally, double-axe-shaped copper ingots and amber beads. Ingots about a fifth and beads half scale.

*British Museum and Numismatic Museum, Athens*

industry were established. The trade itself was in the hands of travelling smiths or tinkers. They went about with a stock of tools, weapons and ornaments of bronze to barter for the products of the countries they traversed, but especially for amber.

Such trading journeys were beset with perils. There were wooded mountains, harbouring bears and wolves, to traverse, high passes to be surmounted and rapid streams to ford. There was no international law nor even any large and stable political organization to protect the merchants. Often they were attacked by human or animal foes. Then at the approach of danger the trading stock was hastily buried in the earth in the hopes of recovering it when the peril was past. But all too often the merchants were unable to return, and their little hoard of commodities has remained hidden in the ground to be dug up by the modern archaeologist. In fact, such hoards are constantly turning up and enable us to plot the prehistoric trade routes.

It must further be remembered that there was as yet no regular system of currency. Among the A·yans cattle often



**BRONZE MOULD FOR WEAPONS**

Cast from a clay replica bound round a model with twine (reproduced in the metal), this bronze mould for casting palstaves (see page 288) was found in Wiltshire. The two halves are here shown separately, and (left) fitted together.

*British Museum*

served as a standard of value even in historical times. The Aegean peoples, more advanced, used a double axe of copper for the same purpose. Being a sacred symbol among the Minoans, it was especially suitable for commerce, since in early trade supernatural beings were invoked to confer upon a bargain the force now given to it by law. Some found their way to central Europe, but did not win general acceptance as currency.

The raw copper from Slovakia was transported in the form of rings that were also worn round the neck as ornaments. These doubtless served as units of value in transactions between the copper miners and the tin miners, but did not come into general circulation. So the majority of transactions at first must be done by means of simple barter. Despite all these difficulties a regular traffic between the Mediterranean and Scandinavia was maintained. As a result the products and the ideas of the Aegean were diffused throughout a wide area in central Europe.

The generalisation of the use of metal was naturally a slow process and did not alter the externals of life appreciably. In the valleys of the Danube and the Elbe men still lived in comparatively small villages of primitive round huts and

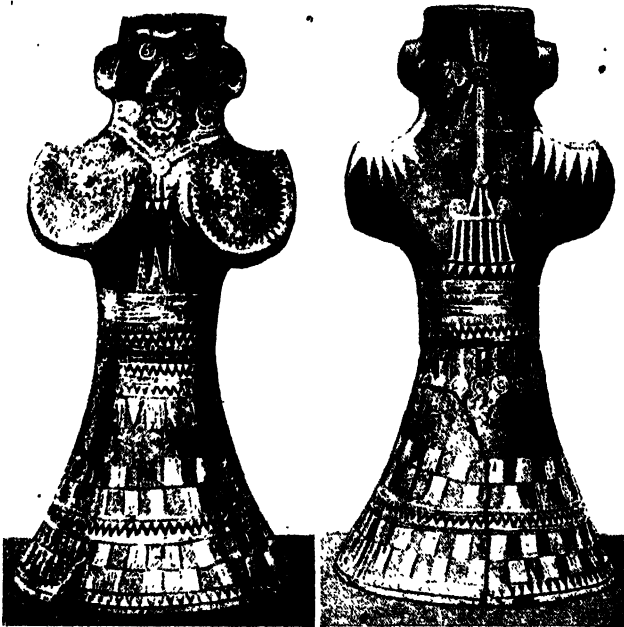


**CUNNING WORK OF OLD SMITHS**

High proficiency in bronze working is displayed in these objects from Neuenheiligen in Prussian Saxony. The bronze tube (centre) cased the shaft of a halberd like the four in the upper row. Above them is an ingot, or perhaps a pick.

*British Museum*





CLOTHED FIGURE OF THE GREAT MOTHER

Derived from the Great Mother of the Aegeans, this clay idol was found in a grave at Klicevac in Serbia. It dates from the Middle Bronze Age, and is of particular interest as showing the female costume of the period and the manner in which the metal ornaments found in contemporary deposits were worn.

*From Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft, Vienna*

cultivated the soil much as before, save that perhaps the ox had now been harnessed to the plough. On the hills and farther north dwelt nomadic pastoral tribes who only began to use metal freely at a later date. Nevertheless the introduction of metal had involved a complete economic revolution. The old self-sufficiency of the village community was gone for ever. The men of the Stone Age had never been obliged to rely on imports for anything. The lands of the village furnished everything that was absolutely essential for life. Metal on the other hand was only available in a few places, and its extraction was only possible to the initiated. The bronze axes and weapons which were becoming necessities must therefore always be imported.

Moreover, metal working involved industrial specialisation to a degree that had never been contemplated hitherto. The manufacture of stone and flint tools, spinning and pottery making could all be combined with the regular work in the fields. Such operations as the building of a

pile village or a megalithic tomb had been communal activities in which the labour of the whole community was employed. The extraction and working of metal, however, entail the mastery of a multitude of complicated processes. The recognition of ores presupposes the knowledge of secondary properties, and not those that can be discerned on the surface, as with flint. The working of bronze is an art.

The early European metal workers shaped all their products by casting, only using the hammer to finish off the article. They had therefore to manufacture moulds often consisting of two, three or even four parts. For casting certain objects they resorted to the 'cire perdue' process; they made a wax model of the desired shape, and encased it in a clay mould. When the mould was hard, the wax was melted out and molten

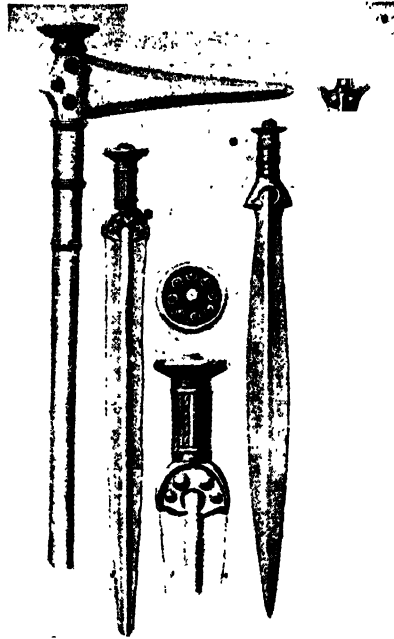
metal poured into the space so left. Of course, the mould had to be broken as soon as the metal had cooled, and so a new mould had to be manufactured every time a battle-axe or a bracelet was to be cast by this process. No layman could hope to perform these operations successfully as a side line to tillage or herding. Metal working was a profession. Smiths at first were few. On the Continent they seem originally to have been mostly perambulating artificers who combined the functions of metal worker and merchant, and travelled about along the amber trade route and between Bohemia, Slovakia and Hungary.

#### Craft of the Metal Workers

And so the first bronze-using peoples in continental Europe were those who lived along these trade routes. They were mainly peasants representing a mixture between the Aryans and the old Danubians. In the highlands more pastoral tribes still continued the life of the Stone Age. Even in Hungary and South Russia copper and stone were long used side by side.

But about 1600 B.C. the area of bronze-using districts was extended. The resurrection of Troy and the landward expansion of Minoan colonisation created fresh markets for Transylvanian gold. So the old trade route along the Danube was opened up again, bringing the products of civilization once more to the peoples of the middle Danube valley. The inhabitants of the villages situated on the banks of the great waterways—the Danube, the Tisza and the Maros—once again waxed rich in foreign goods. They were now able to import tin from Bohemia in exchange for Aegean products or local copies thereof and established or revived a metallurgical industry of their own.

The Hungarian bronze workers of this period, however, were not as a rule perambulating merchant artificers but rather sedentary craftsmen who lived permanently in the more important villages.



**WIDELY DIFFUSED CRAFT**

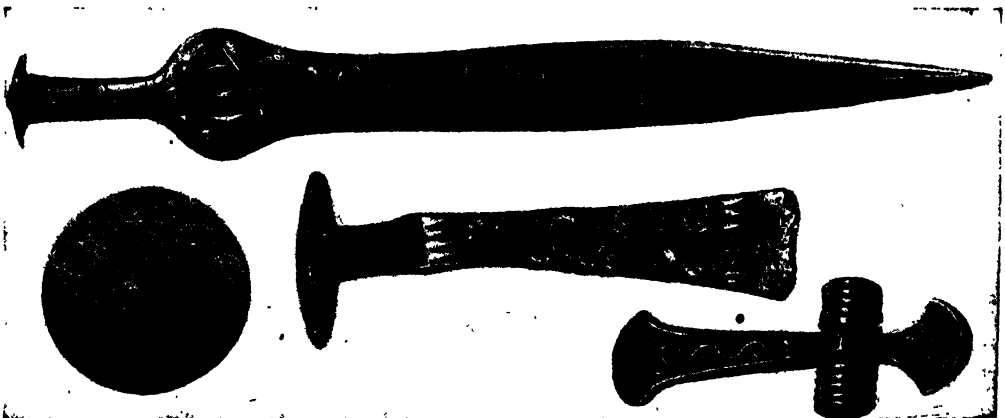
Early Bronze Age local manufactures are found all over Europe. The remarkable halberd (left) is German; Jutland produced the sword next it, with the hilt shown in detail; the next two are Hungarian and Mycenaean.

*British Museum*

They produced a variety of very shapely weapons and tasteful ornaments which they covered with exquisite engraved designs of spirals and scroll-patterns. This new Hungarian industry was based partly on traditions of the previous epoch, partly on Mycenaean models. Its products were exported across Poland to the Baltic and up the Danube as far as Bavaria.

About the same time, the populations of Scandinavia and North Germany secured, whether by force or persuasion, the services of competent smiths, and began to work locally the metal which their control of the amber deposits allowed them to import. The results were some of the most gorgeous of

prehistoric bronzes. These inhabitants of the North were composed for the most part of descendants of the Aryan invaders and represent the ancestors of the Teutons from whom the modern



**MASTERPIECES OF MIDDLE BRONZE AGE METAL WORK**

In Hungary the old Danubian tradition, fertilised by Mycenaean influences, gave birth to a noble art in the Middle Bronze Age. The typical spiraliform scroll ornament is brilliantly illustrated in the engravings on the sword blade (top), one of the earliest examples of the slashing type known, and on the axes that form part of a hoard unearthed at Hajdu Sámson in north-east Hungary.

*Debrecen Museum, courtesy of Dr. Zoltai*

Germans, Danes, Anglo-Saxons and others are sprung. Already at this early date they were bold mariners like the Vikings two thousand years later.

In south-west Germany and eastern France lived another group of peoples, composed of the descendants of the Aryan nomads mixed with other tribes. These people are generally supposed to be the ancestors of the Celts. They retained the pastoral habits of their Stone Age ancestors. And now the uplands had become largely deforested owing to the long spell of dry conditions, so that these nomads could roam freely from the Elbe and Rhine to the Cevennes. They, too, enlisted the services of efficient metal workers and, owing to the opening up of branches of the amber trade route running across their territory from the Saale to the upper Danube and later along the Rhine, they were enabled to secure raw metal. So the Celts, like the Teutons, established their own school of metallurgy.

They remained, however, more or less nomadic and seem to have lived in temporary huts without forming any permanent villages. But they gave their dead more substantial resting places. As pastoralists the Celts were unaccustomed to digging and so, instead of interring the defunct in a trench grave, they heaped a pile of stone over his remains. For their cemeteries, which formed the chief rallying point of tribal or family life, they always chose ridges commanding a wide and beautiful view, a trait they shared with their kinsmen in Britain. The barrows frequently stood on either side of hill tracks used by herdsmen and traders.

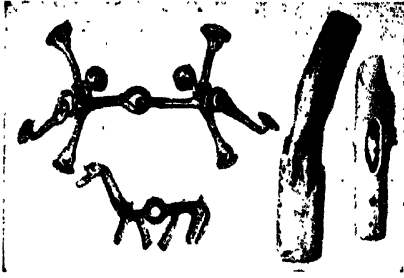
Thus by 1500 B.C. the greater part of central Europe was occupied by bronze-using peoples. Those living in the valleys remained predominantly agricultural and commercial; the populations of the hill countries and of the North were more given to pastoral pursuits. The latter were particularly warlike, but desultory fighting



#### SWEDISH LOCAL PRODUCTS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND BRONZE AGES

In Scandinavia the Bronze Age began later and lasted to a later date than elsewhere in Europe; during its course the local bronze industry was brought to high perfection. Left to right: a massive axe, poniard and celt, and above the poniard to the left the top of its pommel; all First Bronze age. The spiralled collar and hanging lamp (right) are of the Second Scandinavian Bronze Age, equivalent to the Early Iron Age of central Europe. Poniard slightly more reduced than rest.

From Montelius, 'Antiquités Suédoises'

**BRONZE AND HORN BRIDLE-BITS**

Bridle-bits of thong or metal with cheek-pieces of deer antler perforated for reins (right) were first devised in Bronze Age Hungary—earliest evidence for the domestication of the horse in Europe. In the Iron Age bronze bits (left) were first used.

*From Zurich and British Museums*

must have been going on continuously everywhere. On the outskirts of these barbaric provinces of metal workers lived tribes on a still lower plane. The forests of the far North were peopled with savage tribes of hunters and fishers; on the steppes of South Russia roamed pastoralists whose metallurgy was rudimentary.

Despite their barbarism and the state of incessant war, the peoples of central and northern Europe began now to show their originality and inventiveness. The Min-oans of the Aegean had for some time been using long stabbing swords or rapiers; the Bronze Age warriors of Hungary and of Germany, on the other hand, were wont to strike with battle-axes or halberds. When, therefore, trade brought into their hands the long Aegean rapiers and their smiths learned to manufacture local copies, they improved upon the originals and made them into slashing weapons with the weight in the blade.

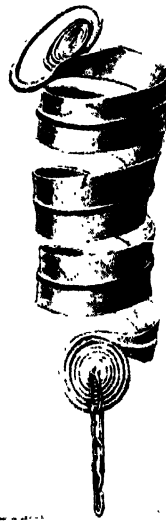
The same people devised a more efficient method of controlling the horse that was destined to make cavalry a practical arm in warfare. The domestic horse had probably been brought to Europe, as well as to Hither Asia, by the Aryan invaders in the third millennium B.C. But at first the steed was controlled simply by a halter or nose-strap. In Hungary it was found that the high-spirited animal could be governed more effectively by a bar or twisted thong passing behind its teeth and kept in place by horn cheek-pieces to which the reins were attached. This device was in use in

central Europe about 1700 B.C. and was introduced into Greece 500 years later.

The same epoch witnessed a veritable revolution in the ideas about the future life. All primitive peoples from the Old Stone Age onward have been much preoccupied with the fate of the soul after death. Whether from love or fear they bestow great care upon the mortal remains of the departed.

Among the megalith builders the cult of the dead had assumed extravagant proportions and all peoples had been careful to provide some sort of a house for the dead and to furnish the departed with his personal possessions and food and drink. The ghost was supposed to live on an imperfect life in a subterranean world. But it might be dangerous, and to avert its wrath as much as to secure its weal had been the object of the obsequies. The earth or stone covering was a barrier to sever it from the living. As an additional precaution the legs of the corpse were sometimes fettered during the Bronze Age.

Sometimes, even in the Stone Age, the body had been burned, most probably to prevent more effectively a return of the dangerous ghost, as in the Middle Ages the

**CORPSE BONDS**

To prevent the return of a spirit some Bronze Age folk joined the anklets worn by the dead man with fetters.

*From Racs Egresi, Hungary*

bodies of supposed vampires were consumed by fire or otherwise mutilated. But round about 1500 B.C. cremation suddenly became the general practice over the greater part of central and northern Europe, in Italy and Britain, without, however, ousting the older rite of inhumation entirely. This time the burning of the body seems to have been associated with a new conception of the soul as dwelling after death in a remote sky mansion whither it ascended with the smoke of the pyre. Here as always the

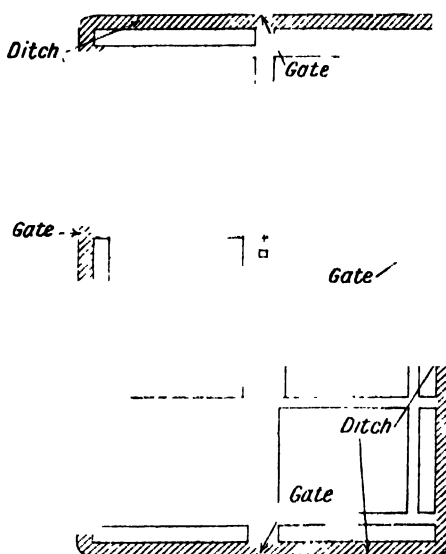
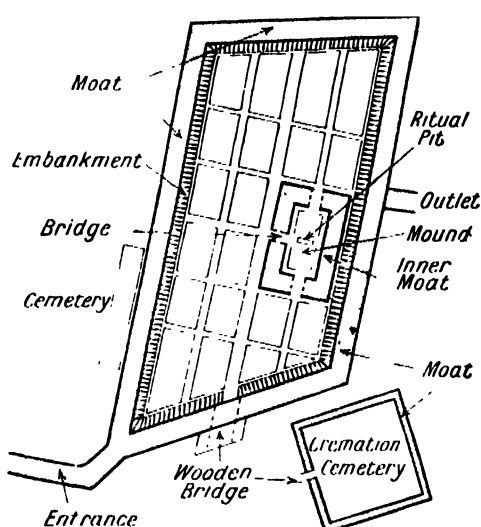
rite had preceded the philosophy that purported to explain it.

The new doctrine arose among some group, probably the Aryans of Hungary or Moravia, who had already occasionally cremated their dead. Its rapid spread all over Europe was due to the diffusion of a religion, if you like, through some sort of missionary propaganda, rather than any migration of peoples. The votaries of the new creed were to be found in almost every village or community, but lived on terms of perfect amity with the inhumanists and using the same cemetery.

affecting not only central Europe but the Mediterranean world and Asia Minor.

The immediate circumstances and actual process of these movements of peoples necessarily elude the archaeologist, but sometimes the resultant phenomena may be correlated fairly certainly with specific antecedents. Thus there is little doubt that a curious group of new settlers who appear in the Po valley during the Bronze Age were invaders from the Danube basin.

Italy was the first to suffer. Infiltrations from across the Alps had already been reaching the peninsula in the Stone Age.



#### BRONZE AGE ITALIAN TOWN PLANNING AND ITS ROMAN DEVELOPMENT

Italian 'terramara' villages were trapezoidal in form and surrounded by an embankment formed of the earth dug out to make a wide moat. A single bridge gave access to the enclosure in which the huts, built on pile foundations, stood in blocks along streets parallel with the main lines of orientation. In general design these terramare were an anticipation of the later Roman military camp, a plan of one of which, of about the third century A.D., is given here (right) for comparison.

*After T. E. Peet, 'Bronze Age in Italy,' and H. Stuart Jones, 'Companion to Roman History'*

The intellectual ferment reflected in these and other changes in the religious and industrial spheres was accompanied or succeeded by a general ethnic upheaval. The delicate balance between pastoral and agricultural tribes was dislocated as the result of the expansion of the respective populations accentuated by climatic changes; for the period of desiccation that began in the third millennium was steadily growing in intensity throughout the second. And so, towards the end of that epoch, ethnic convulsions broke out

About 1500 B.C. these stray bands of continental intruders were reinforced by a regular colonising swarm. The invaders consisted of Alpine stocks under Aryan leadership; starting southward from Hungary or Lower Austria they bifurcated on their way, some settling on the Save and the Drave, others crossing the Alps and debouching upon the Po valley.

The latter party settled there, constructing curious villages, called terramare, raised on piles although they stood on more or less dry ground. The settlements

were protected by a moat and a palisade and were divided into four quarters by regular streets intersecting at right angles. Just east of the centre of the village a mound of earth was heaped up to form a citadel and a sanctuary. Outside the moat lay the cemetery where the ashes of the departed, carefully collected in cinerary urns, were laid to rest on a wooden platform. The plan of these remarkable villages corresponds to that of the later Roman camp, so that it is clear that their builders were among the ancestors of the earliest Romans. They are usually designated by the name *Italici*.

Parallel movements in the direction of Anatolia and the Aegean may be inferred but cannot be traced with the same certainty. The process of economic exploitation that initiated the Bronze Age had apparently provoked a reaction. Barbarian raiders eventually pursued towards their homeland the merchants who were tapping continental supplies of metal—and perhaps, too, of slaves. The sack of Troy II about 1800 B.C. may itself have been a consequence of such reflex action. In any case, some three centuries later we find in both Macedonia and Asia



**DISTINCTIVE POTTERY OF THE TERREMARE**

Handles of horned and crescent types are the distinctive feature of the pottery of the Italian terramara dwellers during the Middle Bronze Age. The vases to which these handles were attached were grey or black and well polished. A favourite form was a shallow cup with high handle.

*After Montelius, 'Civilisation Primitve en Italie'*

Minor traces of immigrants from Hungary, presumably the Phrygians, who, none the less, seem not to represent the first layer of invaders from north of the Balkans.

The centrifugal force generated in the central plains must further have been responsible for pushing the Hellenic tribes already resident in the Balkan peninsula southward into Greece proper; their places were taken by Illyrian stocks coming from the upper Danube basin beyond the Little Carpathians and the Austrian Alps. These events on the periphery are



**CINERARY URNS FROM GERMAN AND SERBIAN SEPULCHRAL MOUNDS**

Cremation was widely practised throughout Europe in the Bronze Age, and the urns in which the ashes were buried are rich and varied. In the Lausitz, or Lusatian, type (left and right) the paste is smooth and yellow, and the decoration consists mainly of shallow grooves and conical bosses. The rite was probably carried across the Alps into Italy by the terramara villagers, and the cinerary urn from Serbia (centre) seems to be a prototype of the urns that they introduced.

*British Museum and (centre) Szombathely Museum (Hungary)*

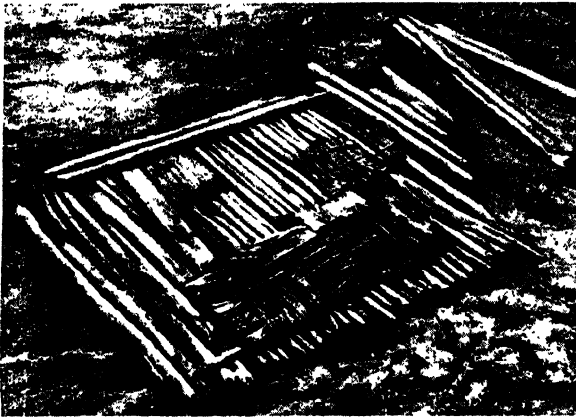
symptomatic of a general commotion in central Europe itself. The agricultural tribes of the lowlands, now united under powerful chiefs, were seeking an outlet for their growing numbers, fresh lands to supplement their sun-parched fields and surer supplies of minerals to enable them to accomplish these aims at the point of the sword. An immigrant flood starting between the upper Elbe and the Oder in Saxony and Silesia re-colonised the whole of the Moravian plain and extended its domain to the copper lodes of Slovakia. The path of the conquest is marked by great cemeteries of cinerary urns, usually termed urn-fields. Stray bands of the same nation made longer excursions. They

left a path of destruction across the Danube-Tisza plain and actually crossed the Balkans by the Morava-Vardar route. In Macedonia they wrecked the late 'Mycenaean' villages about 1050 B.C. and remained as a conquering minority among the historical Macedonians.

This passage through Hungary of intruders from the north-west naturally provoked other movements. Some of the people thrust aside seem to have drifted as far as the Caucasus; these are perhaps the Cimmerians of Herodotus. Westward, fresh bands of Italici were projected across the Alps to appear as the Umbrians of history. These movements were only completed two centuries

later when an abrupt return of rainy conditions made the low-lying regions precarious. Then a party of Thracians from the Banat descended the Danube and ravaged western Asia Minor under the name of Treres.

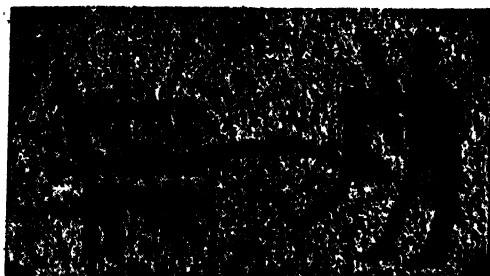
The migratory movement that had spread urn-fields all over Moravia and Slovakia also extended westward. A similar folk recolonised the valleys of the upper Danube and the Rhine (where population had been declining since 1600 B.C.), pushed their way into the Alps



**FORTIFIED TIMBER-BUILT ISLAND VILLAGE THREE THOUSAND YEARS OLD**

Upper Swabia has furnished a magnificent example of the fortified settlements that came into being at the end of the Bronze Age. It stood on an island, completely surrounded by a palisade (left) formed of more than 50,000 pine trunks driven into the bed of the lake and projecting above the water. Heavy timbers built on the block system (right) were used for the outer walls of all the buildings. Inside, plaited wicker walls were used, of which a collapsed portion is shown above.

*Courtesy of Urgeschichtliche Forschungsinstitut, Tübingen*



#### PREHISTORIC SWEDISH PLOUGH

As shown in this rock carving from Bohuslan, Sweden, the earliest ploughs had no ploughshare, consisting only of a hooked piece of wood, one branch of which was attached to the yoke, while the other turned up the soil. Note the two oxen.

*From Sophus Müller, 'Urgeschichte Europas'*

till they controlled the copper mines of Tyrol and Salzburg and the salt of the Salzkammergut and eventually overflowed into western Switzerland and France. In the west the agricultural invaders, burying their dead in urn-fields, came in contact with the older pastoralist hill-folk whose sepulchres were under barrows. Neither community lost its identity altogether nor yet remained unaffected by its neighbours, so that ethnic relations in the Alpine region at this date are hard to disentangle.

Of course, the migratory movements just described were spread over a long space of time. The expansion from the north-east must have begun before the end of the fourteenth century; a temporary equilibrium was only reached in the Alps about 900 B.C. And to give names to the migrants is still very hazardous. The majority of scholars to-day incline to call the agricultural and industrial folk who have left the urn-fields 'Illyrians.' It is, on the other hand, possible that no single ethnic appellation is applicable to them: those east of the Elbe and on the March may have been Slavs; those who colonised the Rhine valley and the Alps, Celts; in that case the term Illyrian would be restricted to the barrow-builders of Bosnia, Carniola and Styria and the spread of Illyrian names farther north would have to be explained by a subsequent migration of these tribes. Nevertheless, with this proviso we shall group the urn-field people under the common name of Illyrians.

One thing about them is certain: they were the first people in continental Europe

to use iron and so their culture deserves careful study.

The Illyrians were organized in small but compact social groups under powerful chiefs. They lived in regular villages which were sometimes protected by a moat and rampart. The houses within these works were substantial structures built of horizontal courses of logs surmounted by a gabled roof just like the log cabin of an American pioneer.

In Switzerland, where the Illyrians must have been a conquering minority, the old pile villages survived. But in the Late Bronze Age the settlements were much bigger than formerly. In the Stone Age little hamlets had been strung out all along the shore of each lake. The Illyrian conquerors, who arrived about 1000 B.C., concentrated the population of each lake basin into one or two large villages, still erected on piles in the old way. And the Swiss lakes, which throughout the Bronze Age had been backwaters of culture, now became centres of industry and trade.

The Illyrians were primarily cultivators. They had harnessed the ox to the plough

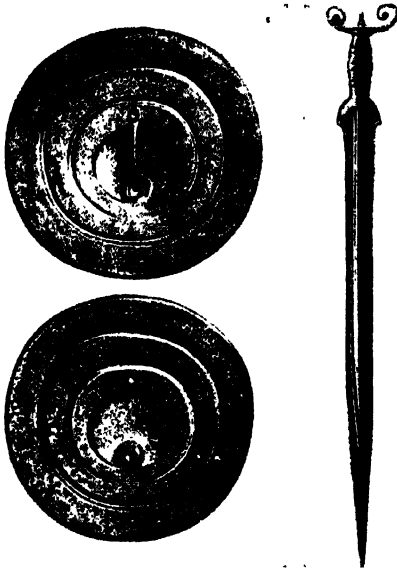


#### IMPLEMENTS IN WORLD-WIDE USE

Hand milling stones used as shown in this Third Dynasty Egyptian statuette (left) are found the wide world over. Of the bronze sickles above, that with handle shaped to the grip came from a Swiss lake village, the others from the Caucasus, Ireland and Corcelettes.

*From J. de Morgan, 'Prehistoric Man'*





#### ILLYRIAN MARTIAL EQUIPMENT

The Illyrians bore round shields of bronze-studded hide, or, as the example shown here back and front, of bronze throughout; and in their hands were great bronze slashing swords. This has a pommel of the typical 'antennae' form.

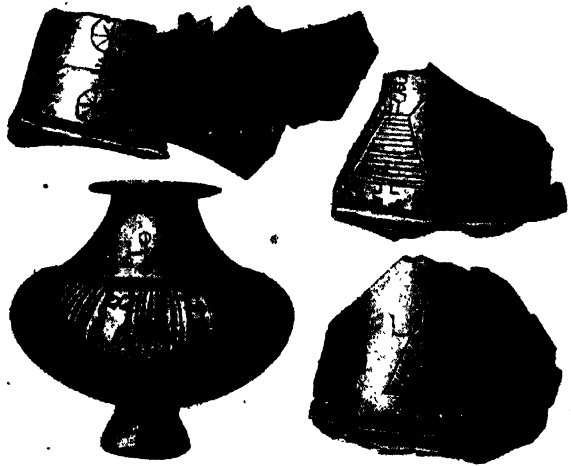
*Shornik (Plezer) and British Museum*

and were equipped with bronze sickles for reaping the grain, though they subsequently ground it in the old primitive way by rubbing it down on a saddle-shaped stone with another stone. Still, despite their flourishing agriculture and their solid houses, they had not become thoroughly rooted in the soil. Their wasteful methods of cultivation with no rotation of crops required the opening up of fresh fields periodically, and the young folk were always ready to break away to found a fresh village. So the people readily followed their chiefs on expeditions for the conquest of new territory.

The chiefs and leading warriors were armed with heavy slashing swords. For defence they employed round shields of bronze or of hide studded with bronze bosses, but beyond leather caps and

jackets possessed no body armour. They rode into battle on horse back or more rarely in a four-wheeled car. The main garment was a cloak of wool or linen rather like a blanket in form, that was draped round the body and fastened with a bronze brooch at the throat. The left arm was loaded with massive bracelets, and even the legs were decked with anklets formed of cylindrical coils of bronze ribbon. A leather girdle studded with bronze knobs kept in the robe at the waist. Women were even more heavily burdened with bronze trinkets. Besides anklets and bracelets, they wore metal torques or necklaces of amber or glass beads round the neck and various pectorals and hair ornaments.

A very favourite pendant took the form of a little wheel. It was worn as a charm; for the wheel was a symbol of the sun, who was perhaps the chief deity of the period, just as he had been prominent in the original Aryan pantheon and among the megalith builders. The horse was sacred to the same deity. In Scandinavia votive images of a bronze horse attached to a gold disk were used in certain ceremonies and afterwards broken and cast into a sacred marsh as an offering



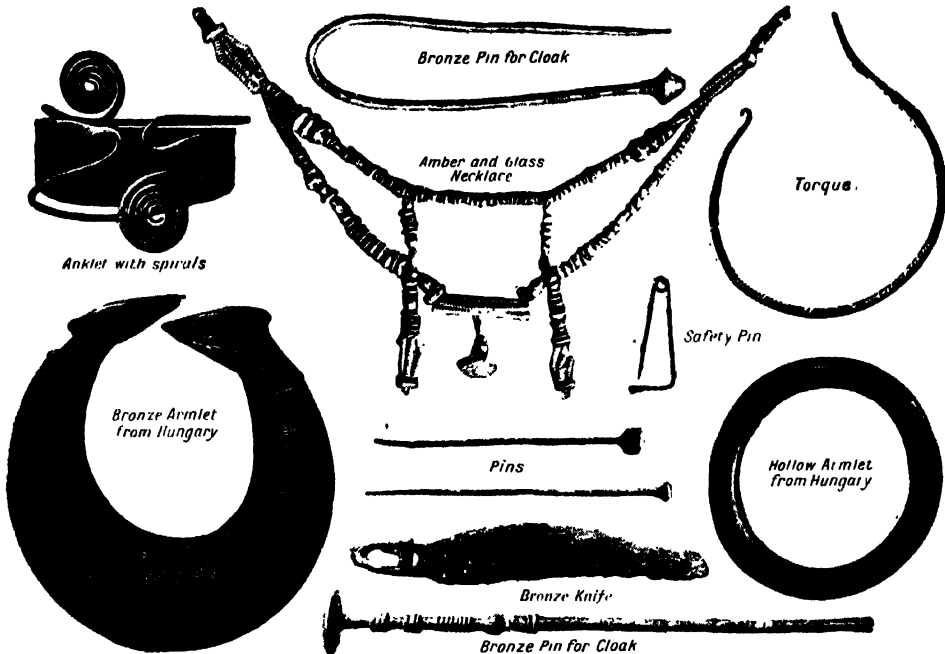
#### SELF-MADE RECORDS OF ILLYRIAN APPEARANCE

Fragments of vases with incised decoration from a tumulus at Oedenburg in Hungary give a rough idea of costumes and customs during the first days of the Iron Age. We see four-wheeled chariots drawn by two horses (probably funerary cars), and women in long, flaring skirts.

*From Déchelette, 'Archéologie Celtique,' and Hoernes-Menghin, 'Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa.'*

to the god. The bull served as a cult symbol among many Aryan races and in the Aegean and Asia Minor. In the Mediterranean world the sanctity of the whole beast might be transferred to a part, the horns, which became a cult symbol among the Minoans and the Hebrews—the Horns of Consecration.

sickles in his trading stock. The village smith was an important personage. His workshop was now equipped with a substantial furnace which could be ventilated with the aid of bellows through specially constructed clay tubes (see page 924). But the finer types of weapon, especially the great slashing swords, for the manu-



#### CARE FOR PERSONAL APPEARANCE IN THE URN-FIELD PERIOD

Bodily adornment among the Illyrians was profuse. There were bronze pins both straight and curved, which may readily be distinguished above, safety-pins, armlets both circular and horseshoe-shaped, torques for the neck, anklets terminating in elaborate spirals, and necklaces like that in the centre, of amber and glass—amber was especially prized as an ornament and a charm.

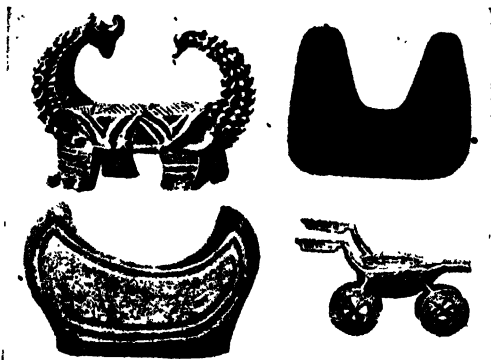
*British Museum and courtesy of Dr. K. Hörmann, Nuremberg, and Dr. von Merhardt, Innsbruck*

Among the Illyrians at the end of the Bronze Age the same symbol was in use. Clay models of horns were manufactured and placed on either side of the hearth, which itself had always been a particularly sacred spot.

In the meantime, despite the constant state of war, trade and industry were flourishing. The character of industry was rapidly changing. The old perambulating smith was becoming more and more a dealer in scrap metal. He and his household went round among the peasants repairing worn-out implements and old ornaments or collecting them for melting down and re-casting. It is significant that he always carried a good supply of

facture of which very great skill was demanded, favoured specialisation in certain villages. And so an approach to an industrial village might grow up.

Specially skilled or favourably situated families or groups of craftsmen carried on a regular export business, producing deliberately for a foreign market. So, for instance, the metal workers of the prehistoric village of Velem St. Vid in Hungary (close to the present Austrian border), had in their workshop moulds for axes of a type which was never used in their own locality, but had to be transported to the Banat or Transylvania to find a market. Such manufacture to meet the special tastes of relatively remote customers



#### TYPES OF SACRED SYMBOL

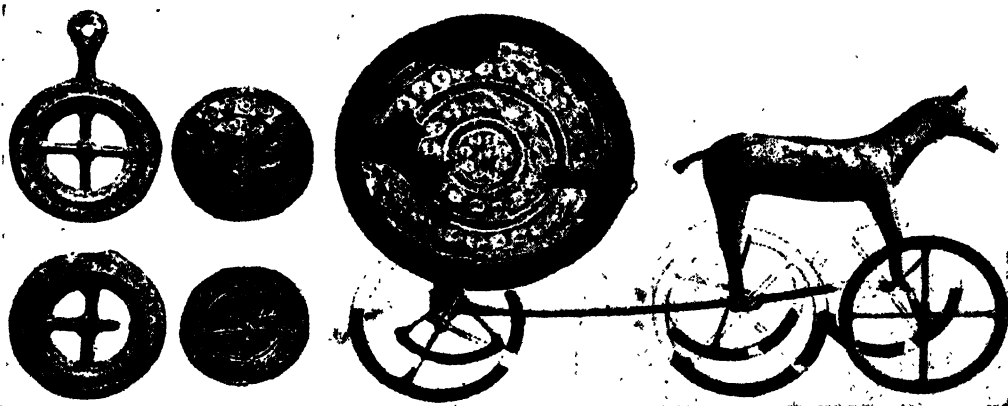
In the Mediterranean horns became a symbol of virility (top right, from Crete). The idea spread to Europe (bottom left, Lake of Bienné), where horned heads were often added to the extremities of the horns (top left, Oedenburg). Swans in chariot form were another symbol (Italy).

*From British Museum and Déchelette, 'Archéologie Celtique'*

seems to have been something quite new. At the same time the tendency towards specialisation was ever increasing. The smiths of one village or community would earn a peculiarly high reputation for the manufacture of articles of one particular kind. So a type of knife produced among the Swiss lake villages was exported to Silesia and beyond. But, as before, the finest and most valued products of European metallurgy were those fabricated in upper Italy.

Besides villages where metal working came to rank nearly on a par with the primary production of food, mining settlements were now being multiplied. The Illyrians were already exploiting the copper ores and the salt deposits of the Eastern Alps before 1000 B.C. The prehistoric miners were now thorough masters of their craft. They could sink deep shafts and drive galleries along the lodes. They knew how to secure ventilation by lighting a fire in one of two connecting shafts, and used fire also in driving the gallery to make the rock split. The shafts and galleries were timbered when necessary quite in the modern manner, and ladders were provided to enable the miners to climb to and from their work. The miners worked in leather shirts by the light of torches.

It must have been a terrible task tunnelling away like moles through the hard rock with only very imperfect picks and chisels. And a good deal of the work preparatory to smelting was carried out underground, too. To save unnecessary haulage of heavy loads up the shaft the crude ore was broken up and subjected to a rough purification by washing in wooden troughs before being carted up to the surface in leather sacks or wooden buckets. Then at the top it was subjected to a further purificatory process and eventually smelted in deep ovens in the hillside.



#### WIDESPREAD SYMBOLS OF THE SUN IN BRONZE AGE EUROPE

Not all the trinkets worn at this period had mere motives of adornment behind them. Many were charms, especially popular being a little golden wheel, which was a symbol of the sun; the solid examples here are from Ireland, the pierced from Oradea Mare in Rumania. The horse, too, was sacred to the sun, and in Scandinavia the two symbols were combined in the form of a bronze horse drawing a chariot on which was a golden disk (right, from Zealand).

*From British Museum and Sophus Müller, 'Urgeschichte Europas'*

It seems as if each shaft was owned and worked by a single family aided perhaps by slaves. In the great salt-mining settlement of Hallstatt in the Salzkammergut no village has been found. But the community made use of a common cemetery. This settlement of salt miners was apparently one of the most flourishing communities north of the Alps by about 900 B.C. But even then, judging by the number of graves, its free population can scarcely have exceeded 200 persons!

Naturally the existence of specialised centres of industry and mining presupposes a regular and elaborate system of trade. And as a matter of fact we find that Europe was traversed by a veritable network of trade routes. In addition to the traffic in metals and rock salt, amber was still a staple commodity. Indeed the settlement in the Mediterranean basin of peoples accustomed to the use of the gum had intensified the demand. The supply had also been augmented; soon after 1000 B.C. the supplies in East Prussia were laid under regular contribution. The amber from these deposits came by the later of the two routes described and mapped in Chapter 20. At the same time new routes for the Danish amber were being opened up along the Rhine and across Switzerland.

Originally the amber trade had been very much in the hands of travelling merchants, who conveyed the products of the consuming country—upper Italy and Bohemia—to the source of supply. But this sort of through traffic was on the wane. By the end of the Bronze Age the tribes of the intervening territories had interposed themselves as necessary intermediaries between the producers and the consumers. They kept for their own use the greater part of the Italian products or sent

them on to Hungary to be exchanged for gold. They paid the original suppliers in the north mostly with this gold and their own raw metal. That is to say, trade was now becoming more and more a matter of barter between neighbouring groups instead of being left mainly in the hands of travelling merchants.

Of course such intensive trading presupposes the existence of a recognized system of weights and measures. And so at the period in question we actually find weights; they correspond to multiples of the Phoenician, the Egyptian or the Aeginetan 'mina.'

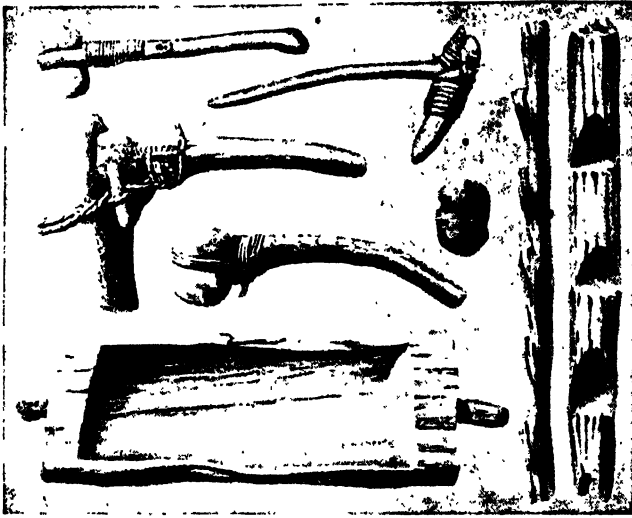
The amber trade had at all times been the principal channel through which new



SECTIONAL VIEW OF A BRONZE AGE MINE

There is material evidence for all the activities of these Bronze Age miners. We know that they could sink deep shafts, that they broke up the ore and washed it in wooden troughs before hauling it to the surface, and that ventilation was secured by a fire (primarily to break up the rock) in a special gallery.

After J. Andree, *Bergbau auf Feuerstein, Kupfer, Zinn und Salz in Europa*.



#### APPARATUS OF THE PRIMITIVE COPPER MINERS

At the bottom is an ore-washing trough such as is seen in the preceding reconstruction, and on the right two views of a ladder by which the miners ascended. Above are the types of pick and hammer that they employed, with modern native Australian (top) and Alaskan examples for comparison.

*From Andree, 'Bergbau in der Vorzeit'*

ideas and inventions reached the countries north of the Alps. And now through this trade a new industrial metal became known to the European barbarians.

Iron had been known in the Ancient East from remote ages; beads of the metal have been encountered in predynastic Egyptian graves, and from tombs at Ur of the Chaldees comes an iron implement. But it had never been regularly employed for industrial purposes before 1400 B.C. Iron ores are indeed comparatively common and are usually much easier to mine than those of copper, which occur in thin lodes. But the process of reduction is very difficult because the metal oxidises so readily.

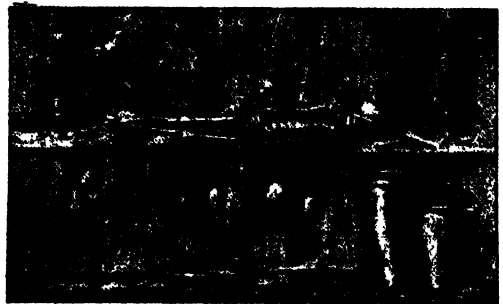
For iron to compete effectively with bronze a method must be devised for smelting considerable quantities in a sort of rudimentary blast furnace. The requisite apparatus was perfected in the land of Kizzuwadna, somewhere in the Hittite kingdom. By 1300 B.C. iron was being exported thence in bulk; Pharaoh of Egypt writes to the Hittite king to beg for a shipment of the new metal. Priam of Troy is described by Homer as possessing stores of the same metal while it was still a rarity among the Greeks.

The secret of its manufacture spread quickly to Assyria, Phoenicia and Greece. The barbarian tribes who were invading Asia Minor about this time quickly assimilated the new art, or rather captured skilled iron smelters; for the new metal would be a valuable asset in their free-booting expeditions against Egypt and other civilized states. And some may have served their apprenticeship in iron working as slaves or mercenaries of the Hittite king. The introduction of iron working to Europe was partly a result of the activities of these barbarians.

Among the tribes who appear alternately as raiders and mercenaries on the frontiers of the Egyptian Empire were some named Shirdanu,

Shakalash and Tursha. These were plainly enough Sardinians, Sicilians and Etruscans (Tyrrhenians). It is still uncertain whether they actually came from these districts in the Western Mediterranean. In any case, after they had been beaten back from the shores of Egypt they retreated to the western isles and Italy. And they brought back with them the iron weapons that they had used as allies of the Hittite king or of Pharaoh.

Moreover, just at this time the Phoenicians were setting out in the tracks of the



#### FOUR BURIALS AT HALLSTATT

First cremation and then inhumation were practised among the salt-miners of Hallstatt, who totalled no more than 200 at a time to judge from the numbers of graves. Three of the four in this sectional view are cremation graves.

*From Mahr, 'Das Vorgeschichtliche Hallstatt'*

Minoans to explore the western Mediterranean. They were seeking in Sardinia and Spain the silver and other products that the Assyrian Empire and the barbarian invasions were making hard of access in Asia. They came as colonists, merchants and slave-traders, and they brought with them among other goods cargoes of 'swarthy iron,' as Homer puts it. Through these agencies the new metal became known in the Apennine Peninsula.

Now, as we have seen, the northern part of Italy had been over-run by Aryan tribes hailing from beyond the Alps. These invasions had only tightened up the traditional bonds of commerce that linked Italy with the interior of the continent. About 1000 B.C. the dominant people in northern and central Italy were the Umbrians. These were, indeed, still barbarians. They lived in small villages of round huts about a fortified hill. Spasmodic internecine warfare dissipated their energies.



#### SALT MINER'S PACK

Salt was carried up from the workings at Hallstatt in a leather pack attached to the miner's shoulders by a sort of harness.

*Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna*

Behind the Umbrians were the Veneti, an Illyrian people who crossed the Alps from the east and secured a frontage on the Adriatic round Venice, which takes its name from them. They, too, were barbarians on the same cultural level as the Umbrians. But both peoples had brought with them the technique of the Danubian bronze industry and inherited in Italy itself a grand tradition of metal working and commercial connexions with Greece and the East. Established in the peninsula they elaborated a truly great metallurgical industry. By trade and piracy they became possessed of good Oriental models; probably they captured some Phoenician

smiths, too. Their larger villages became great centres of metal working, where admirable bronze vases, buckets, helmets, shields and girdles were manufactured on a large scale. And gradually they secured iron. At first they used the new metal principally as an ornament for inlaying



#### HOW THE SALT MINERS OF HALLSTATT OBTAINED THEIR LIVELIHOOD

At Hallstatt in Upper Austria a Bronze Age settlement flourished through exploiting a deposit of salt. This section shows the workings that the miners drove into the flank of the mountain (the horizontal tunnels are modern). The iron ores of Noricum near by enabled them to take advantage of the new metal when its uses were recognized, so that Hallstatt gives its name to the First Iron Age in Europe. Later the mines were flooded, but the miners learnt to evaporate the saline springs.

*From Mahr, 'Das Vorgeschichtliche Hallstatt'*



#### WEIGHTS OF LEAD AND STONE

With the development of trade, measures became necessary. These Illyrian weights from Switzerland are of lead with bronze handles, except that in the bottom left corner, which has a tin handle, and that in the centre which is of stone.

*After Forrer, Musée Préhistorique de Strasbourg*

sword hilts and girdle plates. But by 800 B.C. they were making knives, swords and spears of iron.

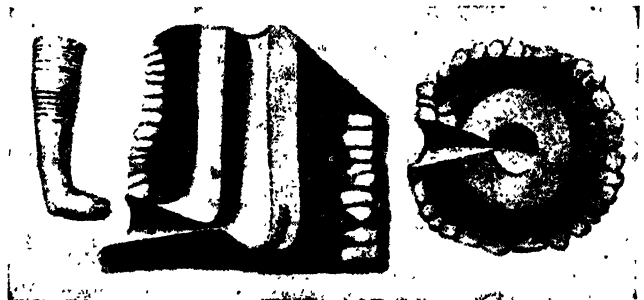
Now, as we have seen, upper Italy was intimately connected with the interior of the continent by traditions and by trade. Amber from the Baltic, tin from Bohemia, copper from Slovakia and Upper Austria and gold from Hungary were traded down to Italy to feed the Venetian and Umbrian workshops, to deck their chiefs and princesses or to be bartered for Phoenician commodities. In return Italy sent inland not only brazen table dishes and buckets, but ingots or finished products of the new metal. But in Styria and Carinthia, the Roman Noricum, there were veritable mountains of ironstone waiting to be smelted. And soon the day came when the Illyrians of the hinterland, with or without the aid of their kinsmen on the coast, began to exploit these vast resources. They already possessed the technique of mining; the furnace used for smelting their copper would serve them well for iron ore likewise; all that was needed was to discover what that ore was. That done, iron production could begin. Thus dawned the Iron Age in Europe.

But though the continental iron industry was in this manner rooted in Upper Italy, another factor came to contribute to its development. The ninth and eighth cen-

turies before our era were years of unrest among the nomads of upper Asia; the increasing cold which affected Europe about the same time was driving the hunters of the north southwards. These convulsions on the wide steppe urged westward towards Europe a remarkable people known to history as the Scyths. By the time they reached our continent they were a motley horde: Mongoloid elements and Iranians, akin to the Persians, can be recognized amongst them.

Their art is strongly reminiscent of that in vogue among the savage hunting tribes who had roamed the Arctic regions from neolithic times and, throughout the Stone and Bronze Ages of more southern zones, had preserved the manner of life and the naturalistic art of the Old Stone Age reindeer hunters. In their progress westward the Scyths had absorbed through the Iranians and then through the Caucasian peoples many elements of Assyrian and Babylonian civilization, including the use of iron. Moreover on the Black Sea coasts they established trade relations with the newly planted Greek colonies.

These Scythian hordes who poured into Russia from the north-east found various backward tribes in possession of the country. Some were driven out; to escape the Scyths the Cimmerians, who in Homer's time lived on the north coasts of the Black Sea, crossed the Caucasus and fell upon the civilized nations south of the range. Other tribes in South Russia were fain to accept the Scyths as overlords, or were degraded to a condition of



#### HOW METAL ORES WERE SMELTED

The metal-using peoples of central Europe already possessed a blast furnace for smelting copper like the African one here shown in section and plan; it was on the lines of a lime-kiln, with curved clay pipes (left) to produce the blast. Thus when iron ore was discovered they had the means for dealing with it.

*From J. de Morgan, 'Prehistoric Man'*

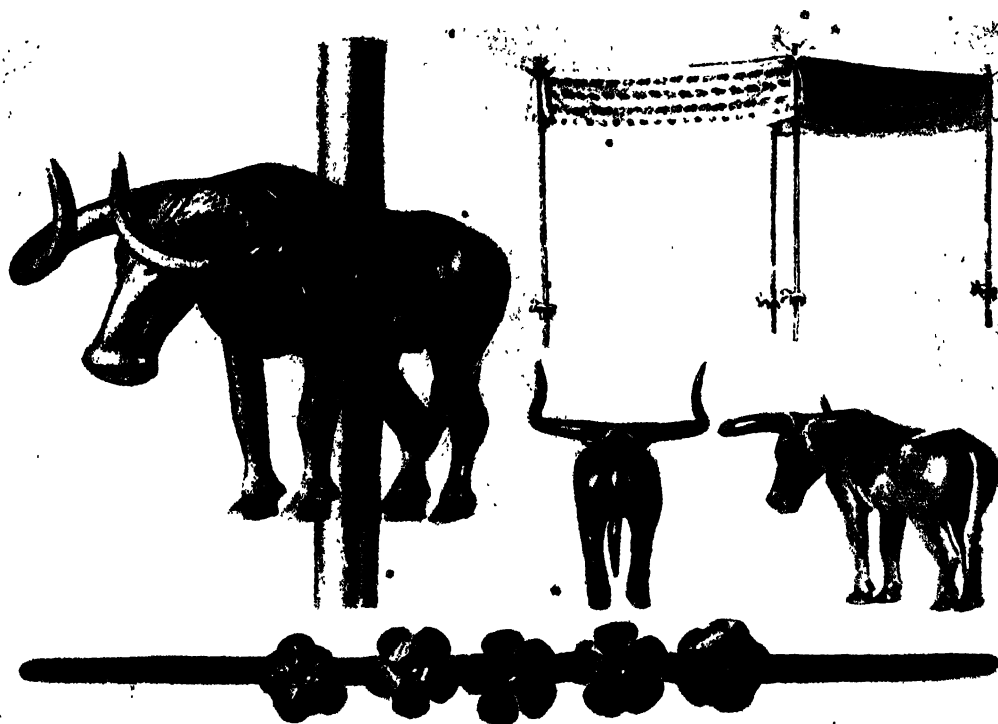


#### EUROPEANS OF THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IN THEIR HABIT AS THEY LIVED

Material evidence exists to warrant every detail in this representation of a man and woman of the second millennium B.C. The jar carried by the woman was found under a barrow in Württemberg together with a female skeleton. Necklace, belt and pins came from the same grave. The man's sword is of the type illustrated in page 911, and the blanket-like cloaks, the jerkin and the half boots, of which fragments survive, are of the same period.

*Details from Kraft, 'Bronzezeit in Süddeutschland' and Nave 'Bronzezeit in Oberbayern'*





#### METAL CULTURE AMONG THE ARYANS OF THE SOUTH RUSSIAN STEPPES, c. 2500 B.C.

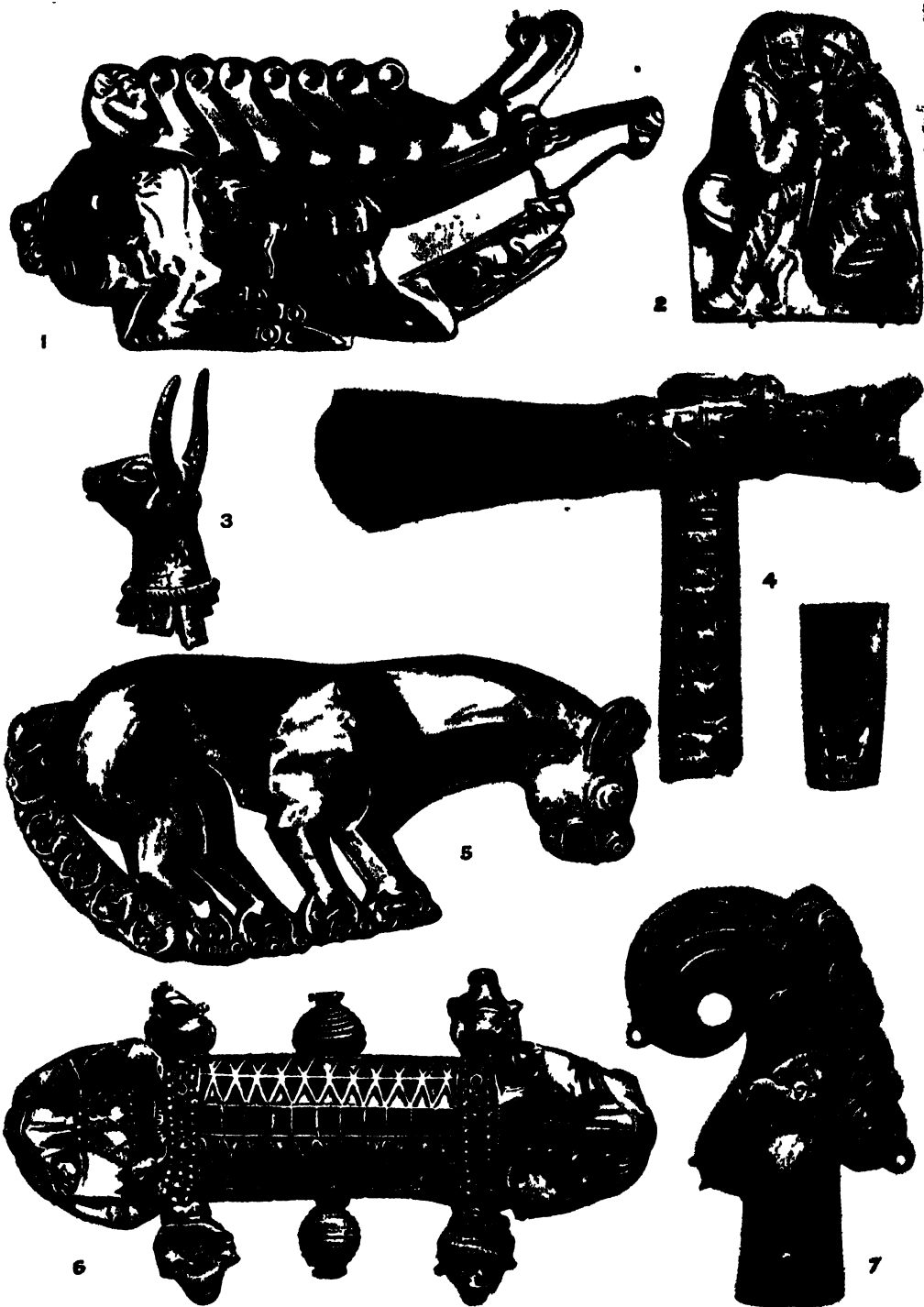
These admirable specimens of metal work found at Maikop in the Kuban valley date from the third millennium B.C. The gold and silver oxen were pierced by rods, probably to support a canopy over the corpse, as shown in the reconstruction (top right). Two gold diadems set with rosettes lay near



#### SCYTHIANS PORTRAYED BY FOREIGN GOLDSMITH'S ART: FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

In the fourth and third centuries B.C. there was active trade between Greece and Scythia, craftsmen both native and foreign producing gold and silver vessels of high artistic merit. Human figures predominate in these with representations of Scythian religious, social and military life. On this vase from Kul-Oba are realistic camp scenes—a man having his leg bandaged (left) and another stringing a short 'Tartar' bow. The kneeling figure half seen on the extreme right is pulling a comrade's tooth.

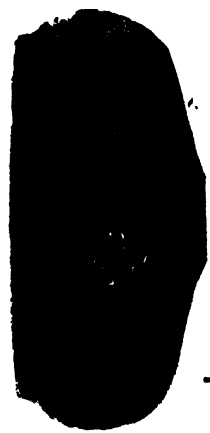
*From Rostovtzeff, 'Materials for Russian Archaeology'*



# **NATIVE SCYTHIAN ART IN THE ANIMAL STYLE SIXTH-THIRD CENTURIES B.C.**

Distinctive of native Scythian art is the animal style of decoration, in which the animal is subordinated to the ornamental purpose and is often treated quite fancifully. Good examples are the 'dying deer' plaque (1) the lion from a corslet breast piece (5) and the life belt clasp (6), of gold with amber incrustations and the gold-plated iron pole (4). Numbers 3 and 7 are ornamental pole tops. The gold clasp (2) quaintly shows two Scythians drinking from the same cup.

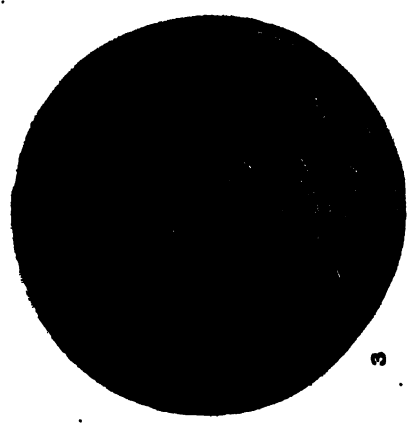
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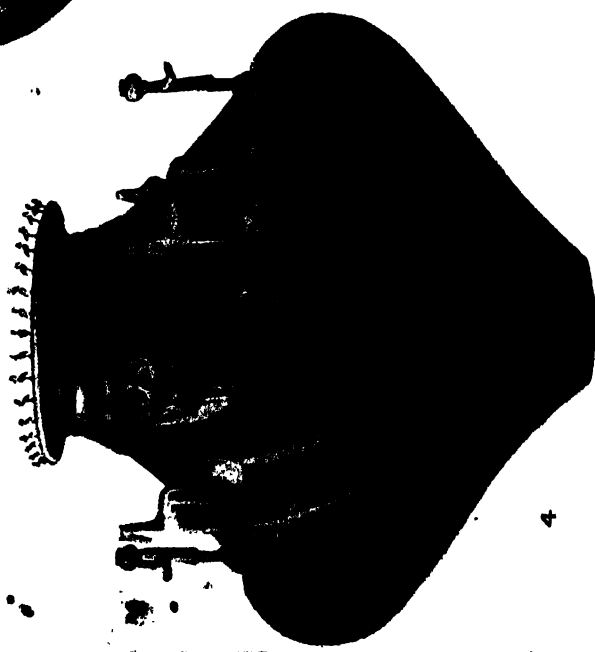
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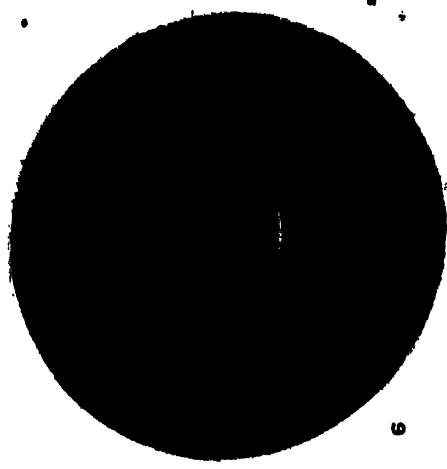
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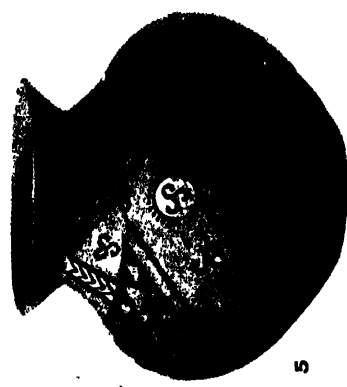
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6

# ART OF THE POTTER IN THE HALLSTATT AGE : BEAUTIFUL SPECIMENS OF PAINTED WARE

In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. the Hallstatt or First Iron Age pottery reached high excellence. The two platters (3 and 6) are admirable specimens of a ware in combined colours with incised geometric patterns. The bowl (1) of like workmanship came from the same barrow at Degenfeld, Württemberg. A common decoration is the circle surrounded by spots, as on the piece (5) from an urn-field in Silesia; it perhaps represents the sun god. Representations of natural objects, as on the cinerary urn with horned animal handles (2) and the vase (4) with men and women, horses and waterfowl, from tumuli at Gemeinlebarn, Lower Austria, appear only farther south as a result of influences from Italy.

From *British Museum* (Nos. 1, 3 and 6). *Prähistorische Commission* (Vienna) (Nos. 1, 3 and 6). *Prähistorische Commission* (Vienna) (No. 4).

serfdom. But in the end the Scyths managed to found a stable and centralised state in which diverse peoples were combined under a single head in a sort of feudal system.

The Scyths proper remained pure nomads. They dwelt in wagons and lived so much on horseback that when out of the saddle they walked haltingly and clumsily. The horse was not only a beast of burden and an ally in war, but the very centre of their whole economy. The mares provided the milk that in various forms constituted the staple diet of their nomad masters.

Unlike the native barbarians of western Europe the Scyths were polygamists. Their wives lived virtually confined to the wagons in a sort of harem. Domestic and other slaves were also numerous. The Greek historian Herodotus alleges that these were generally blinded in order, he



**TUTANKHAMEN'S IRON DAGGER**

The earliest definite instance of iron displacing bronze for weapons of offence is one of the famous daggers of Tutankhamen (c. 1358-1353 B.C.). The haft is of jewel-encrusted gold with a crystal knob; but the blade is iron, of such an excellent temper that we are justified in calling it steel.

*From Howard Carter, 'Tomb of Tutankhamen'*

says, that those engaged in churning might not discover the superiority of the curds to the whey which they were given as food.

But if the pure Scyths were pastoralists, living on milk and game, some of the subject nations were successful cultivators. The black-earth of South Russia is extraordinarily fertile and the harvests were large. A goodly share must doubtless be surrendered to the pastoral overlords, and as the latter despised a vegetarian diet, this portion of the grain was sold



**EVIDENCE OF TRADE IN METAL BETWEEN ITALY AND INNER EUROPE**

Apparently the metal workers of Italy first acquired the knowledge of iron from the East, after the dispersal of the 'Peoples of the Sea,' and thereafter transmitted it to central Europe. We know that they were expert smiths, and that trade relations were maintained with the European hinterland. The two bronze pails and cup from Hungary, and the urn (top left) from Scandinavia, are thought to be Italian work. The bird-shaped object from Slovakia is the terminal of a chariot pole.

*From British Museum and Montelius, 'Les Temps Préhistoriques en Suède'*

to the Greek merchants in the coastal towns. Grain export, indeed, became such a profitable business that some of the Scythians themselves turned farmers. They did not, however, grow grain for their own consumption, but simply for export.

The Scythian nobles, being relieved of all industrial labours by their slaves and dependants, devoted their time to the chase and war. Fighting was indeed the main preoccupation of this savage people. Every Scyth was trained from his youth in warlike exercises and the use of the national weapon, the bow. None was accounted fully a man till he had slain an enemy. The heads of the foes were collected as trophies. The skin was stripped off and carefully dressed, and really prominent warriors actually wore tunics made from such ghastly pelts. Skins stripped from the hands of slaughtered foemen were also used as coverings for quivers.

The religion of the Scythians was likewise tainted with savagery, and some of their deities demanded human sacrifices. At the funeral of a chief his wives, concubines and servitors were slain at the tomb to attend their master in the future life. Hecatombs of horses were also slaughtered and the bodies impaled on stakes all round the burial chamber. The tomb itself was a huge chamber of wood imitating the nomad's tent. Here the body of the chief was deposited with the remains of his women and attendants, his arms and his possessions, and the whole covered with a huge barrow. In their savage practices the

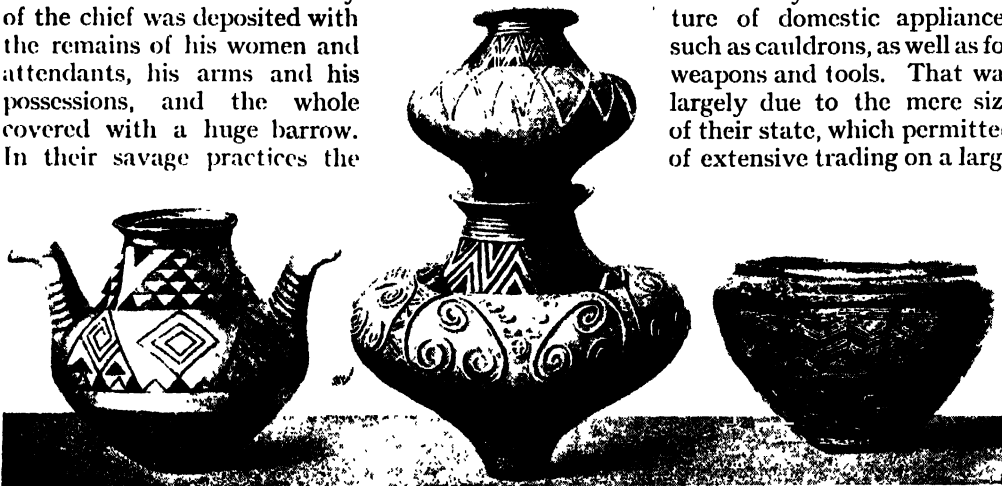


#### SCYTHIAN DRESS AND FEATURES

The Scythians were upper Asiatic nomads who had absorbed certain elements from the Aryans. Thus the gold plate (left) found by the Oxus admirably shows Scythian dress, but the man himself is an Iranian type. Fifth century heads from Egypt give the normal Scythian features.

*British Museum and courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie*

Scythians compare unfavourably with the remaining peoples of Europe. Yet their material civilization was on the whole higher than that of their neighbours farther west. They possessed iron and other metals in plenty, and could afford to use them freely for the manufacture of domestic appliances such as cauldrons, as well as for weapons and tools. That was largely due to the mere size of their state, which permitted of extensive trading on a large



#### POTTERY MADE BY THE EARLY IRON SMELTERS OF EUROPE

It was when the men of the Hallstatt culture started to smelt iron for themselves, instead of acquiring it from their Italian customers in exchange for their salt and the metals and amber transmitted from more distant regions, that the First or Hallstattian Iron Age really began. These cinerary urns, from tumuli in Hungary and Lower Austria, show contemporary pottery (see also colour plate, p. 928).

*F. Heger, J. Szombathely and British Museum*



#### WAGON-HOMES OF THE NOMADS

The essentially nomad quality of the Scythians is shown by their wagons, of which we possess toy models from graves at Kertch. They appear to be genuine homes on wheels with windows in the body and the superstructure.

*After Minns, 'Scythians and Greeks'*

scale, while the concentration of power made possible an accumulation of wealth.

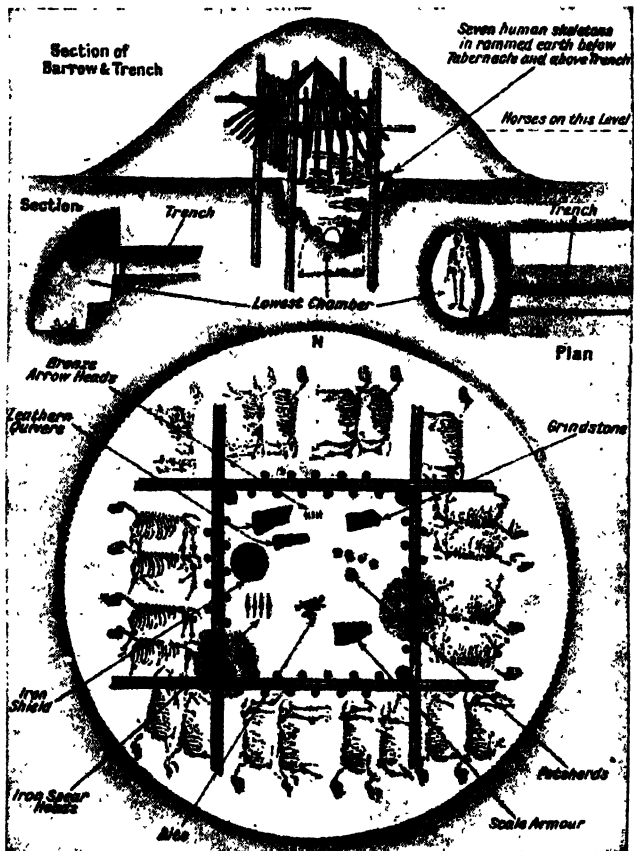
The riches of the Scyths are illustrated by the lavish use they made of the precious metals. Among the nobility robes were spangled with gold; collars, bracelets and table-ware were of solid gold; sword-hilts, scabbards, quivers, mirror-handles, horse-trappings and the meanest articles of furniture were heavily plated. No such wealth had ever before been known in Europe—not even during the great days of Cnossus or Mycenae. Gold must have flowed to Scythia by caravan loads as tribute from the far Altai.

Moreover the Scyths appreciated the manufactures, inventions and arts of the Greeks who had settled on their coasts. To obtain Greek commodities the surplus grain, the furs of the hinterland and the oriental products brought by caravan from central Asia were bartered in the coastal towns. The Greek jewellers and manufacturers in fact specialised in commodities designed to please the Scythian taste.

The accumulation of wealth gave opportunities to art that were unknown among the barbarians of the west. Scythian art was essentially 'zoomorphic,' whereas, save in

Greece and Italy, decoration was almost exclusively geometric in the rest of Europe. The Scythian craftsman could reproduce animal forms with marvellous verisimilitude, but at the same time displayed an uncanny skill in using stylised versions of such figures for purely decorative purposes. Outside Greece nothing to compare with their bronzes and carvings was to be produced for many centuries.

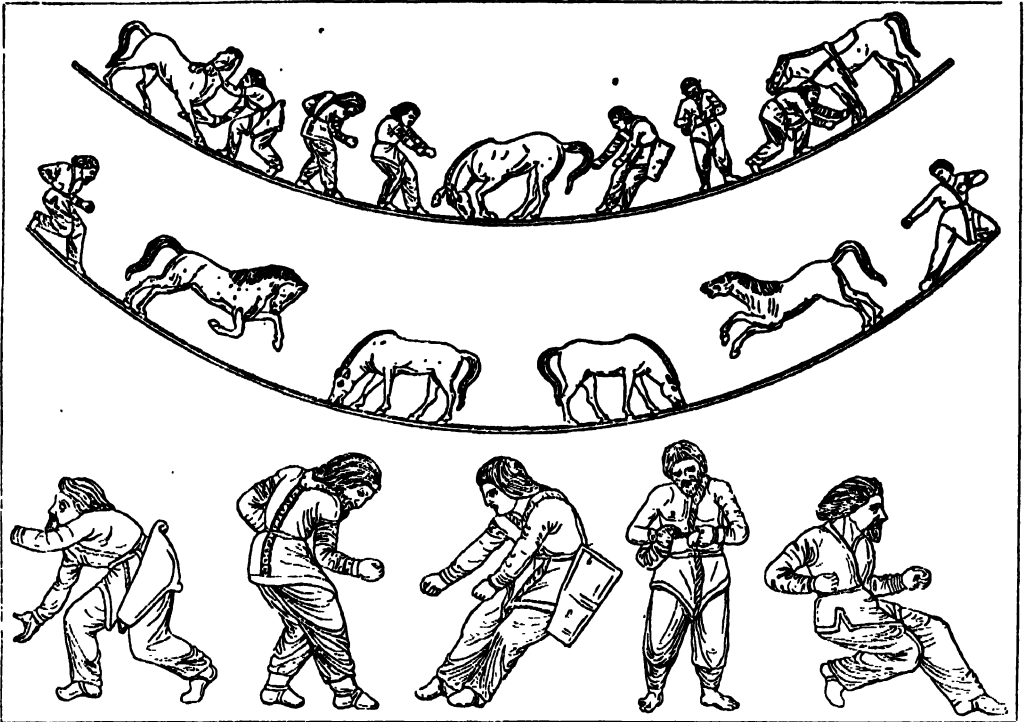
The brilliant civilization of South Russia had, however, little influence beyond the Carpathians. It was essentially Oriental and foreign to the European spirit. The days when the European barbarians were in the leading strings of Asia had definitely passed. The forest, too, was now springing up densely north and west of the steppes.



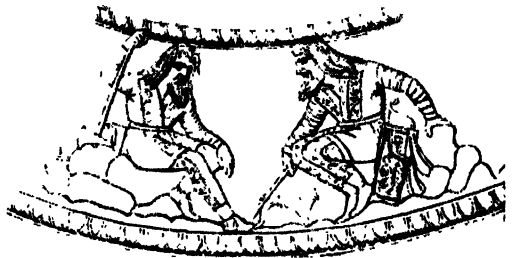
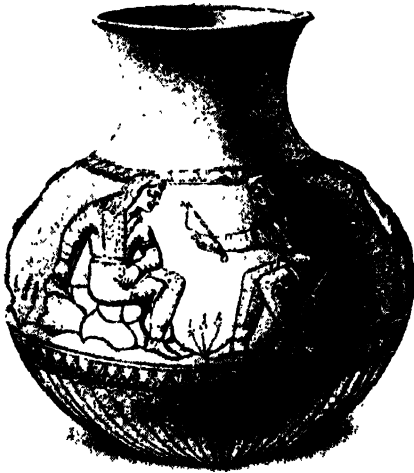
#### SCENE OF SLAUGHTER ROUND A SCYTHIAN TOMB

The Scythians buried their dead chieftains in excavated chambers with a wooden tabernacle above. In the earth above the chamber were laid the chief's slaughtered household, and on the floor of the tabernacle his personal goods. The whole was then ringed with sacrificed horses and covered with a tumulus.

*After E. H. Minns, 'Scythians and Greeks'*



A frieze running round the Chertomlyk vase gives animated scenes of men and horses, reminding us that the Scythians almost lived on horseback. Five of the figures have been chosen and enlarged to show details of their clothing, such as the loose trousers later adopted by the Celtic tribes.



The figures from the Chertomlyk (top) and Voronezh vases are not given to illustrate contemporary art, for they date from the fourth and third centuries B.C., when the Scythians had been much influenced by the Greeks; indeed, they may have been made by Greek workmen to please Scythian taste. But they show splendidly the facial type and peculiar garb of the Scythians. Note specially the bow in its elaborately worked case. The material of both vases is silver gilt.

#### SCYTHIAN HABITS AND GARMENTS AS MODELLED ON TWO FAMOUS VASES

*From Minns, 'Greeks and Scythians,' and 'Materials for the Archaeology of Russia'*

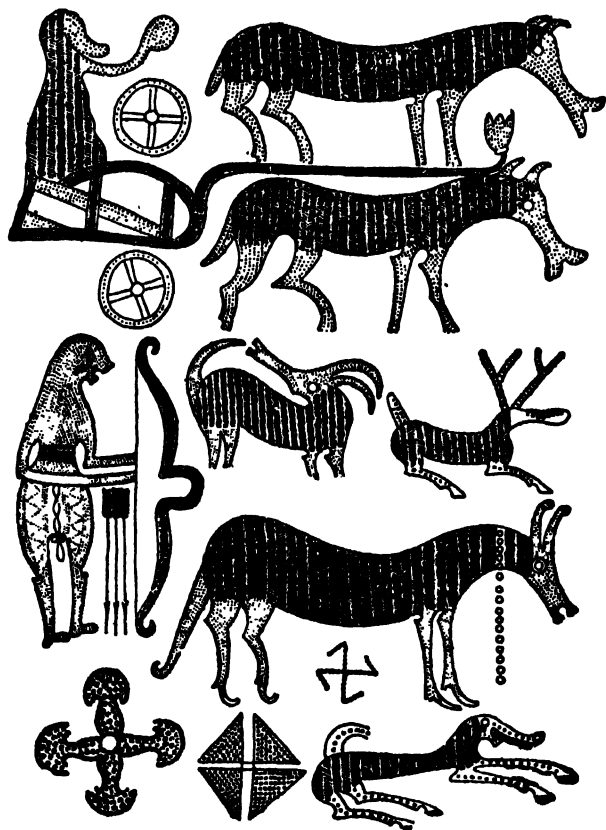
Scythian power was never established over this region. The Agathyrsi, a Thracian people in Transylvania, indeed became the allies and perhaps the tributaries of the Scyths and learnt from them the use of iron, but were otherwise singularly free from Scythian influence. A few Scythian raiders may have found their way into Hungary and Silesia, but effected no permanent occupation. However, some Scythian ideas percolated far to the west, and the Celts of France adopted from the Scyths the use of breeches.

To return from Scythia to the Danube and the Rhine is to pass into a region of barbarism where there were no large and stable states, no unitary and permanent authority and no accumulation of wealth, but where the struggle for bare existence and constant war still left scarcely any leisure for higher culture. The use of iron gradually gained ground, spreading first among the Illyrians of the Danube valley and Switzerland, then to the Celts of France and South Germany. At first iron objects appear side by side with bronze in cemeteries and settlements.

But shortly before 700 B.C., as the use of iron was gaining in popularity, especially in the valleys, the climate of central and northern Europe underwent a relatively abrupt change for the worse. The continental era with its warm dry summers gave place to an epoch of cold and damp. Europe became even wetter and colder than it is to-day. Of course the increased rainfall fostered the growth of heavy timber and the forest rapidly invaded the parklands and heaths once more, and snow covered the pastures in winter. The heavy precipitation swelled the volume of the rivers draining into the Alpine lakes, the lake waters rose to unprecedented levels and submerged the pile villages on their shores. It was no longer possible to

work the Alpine copper and salt by means of open shafts as had been the custom; for the rain and melting snow poured in and flooded the workings. Hence many had to be abandoned.

There were compensations for the salt miners at Hallstatt; springs broke out afresh in the mountain sides and the water percolating through the rock there was so impregnated with dissolved salt that the latter could easily be extracted by evaporation. So the settlement continued to flourish as a community of salt boilers instead of miners. The saline water was evaporated in open earthenware troughs and allowed to spill over an ingeniously contrived stack of heated clay cylinders on which the salt crystallised out. But now Hallstatt had no pretensions to a mono-



#### FREE DRAUGHTSMANSHIP OF THE CIMMERIANS

In contrast with the art of the west at this period, which was mainly geometric, the peoples of South Russia, the Cimmerians and after them the Scyths, attempted to reproduce things as they saw them. Thus these horses, etc., engraved in bronze belts from Russian Armenia, though quaint are essentially naturalistic.

*From J. de Morgan, 'Prehistoric Man'*



poly ; saline springs gushed out in Bavaria, Württemberg, central Germany, Lorraine and elsewhere. Some of these had long been supplying the needs of neighbouring tribes, and the products of Hallstatt no longer enjoyed any special superiority.

The most serious result of the increased cold and moisture was, however, the movements of population which it provoked. The more

**Combating the Climatic change** pastoral tribes, who had hitherto roamed the heaths and hilly parklands, saw the forest springing up ever denser, a shelter for bears and wolves. They were not accustomed to the labour of making artificial clearings with their still rude axes ; instead they cast greedy eyes upon the open loess lands that lay so close. Moreover the snow now covered their pastures in winter ; the valleys offered some protection from the icy blasts. And so the hill folk descended upon the villages of the peasants in the dales. The settlements upon the shores of the Swiss lakes had already been sacked and burned before the rising floods compelled their final abandonment. In many parts of Austria and South Germany the flourishing lowland hamlets abruptly vanished.

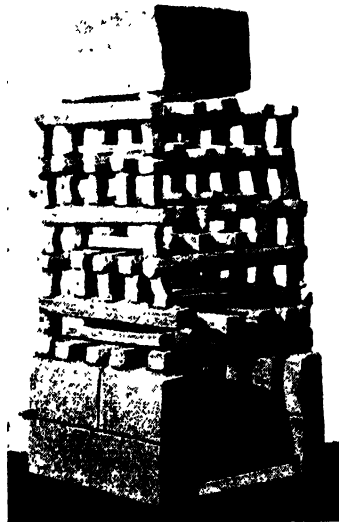
Of course the valley populations were not annihilated. Some took refuge in flight, and it may be thus that they first reached Britain from the mouth of the Rhine and spread to Spain from central France. Elsewhere the cultivators lived on in subjection to the pastoralist invaders. The latter, indeed, at times became thoroughly mixed with the older inhabitants and adopted their mode of life entirely. But everywhere the pastoralist tended to be super-imposed upon the older agricultural element, as a sort of aristocracy, even when both were incorporated in the same tribe.

This 'general post' of peoples was not a single or

momentary episode, it was a long process protracted throughout the whole of the first Iron Age and in many areas lasting long into historical times. Down to 400 B.C. no single group attained to anything like national unity ; nothing like a state emerged. Europe was peopled by a chaos of shifting and hostile tribes which possessed only a limited degree of coherence and flit across the stage like the shadows of a dream. We may indeed guess at historical names for certain groups. The Celts occupied eastern France, south-west Germany, and perhaps parts of Bohemia and Austria. The highlands farther south were clearly in Illyrian hands. Along the March, the upper Oder and the upper Elbe lived the ancestors of the modern Slavs or other Illyrians. Scandinavia and North Germany certainly remained the domain of the Teutons, who were steadily pressing southward. Hungary was probably still Thracian. But neither the Thracians nor the Teutons used iron regularly before 500 B.C.

All these peoples were split up into a multitude of hostile tribes. And even the tribes lacked stability. During their frequent migrations the tribes moved in a body, but after they came to rest, the tribe tended to break up into a series of villages. No doubt representatives from every village in the tribe assembled periodically for religious festivals, and this provided a nucleus for political federation. But for long no regular organ of government existed to keep the tribe together and maintain internal peace.

The village was the only really stable unit, and the village itself was always small. Hallstatt even at this epoch must have been an exceptionally important community. Yet its free population scarcely exceeded 250 souls. Among the Celts on the middle Rhine some villages numbered as many as forty households.



#### FOR CRYSTALLISING SALT

By allowing partly evaporated saline water to spill over a stack of heated clay cylinders, the Hallstattians crystallised the salt that they could no longer mine.

*Reconstruction after A. Schlie*

But three hundred seems to have been the limit of persons ever congregated in a single centre. The old tendencies to disruption were constantly at work and at a certain point many of the younger generation would break away.

The villages themselves were mere aggregates of poor huts. Men often took refuge against the inclemencies of the weather in miserable round huts half-excavated in the soil, just as in the Stone Age. Even the earliest settlers on the Seven Hills that became Rome, and their Latin kinsmen on the Alban Hills, lived in such hovels. But farther north the log cabin had not altogether been abandoned. The new pastoral chiefs had their subjects build such for them. And the structure was modified to meet the exigencies of the times. The live-stock could not safely be left out all the winter nights; even the threshing must often be done under cover. And so a more elaborate type of farmhouse was sometimes constructed :

three log cabins round three sides of a fenced courtyard. The two buildings that formed the wings were used as stores, while the animals could take refuge in the court.

The villages were at times protected by a system of moats and palisades. More often a convenient hill in the neighbourhood was thus defended to serve as a place of refuge whither the villagers would repair with their flocks and herds at the approach of danger. The Celts in France were learning to defend these hill camps with walls of dry masonry, and the southern Illyrians in Bosnia and Dalmatia had long been building such fortifications.

#### Growth of fortifications

Owing to the weakness of the tribal authority villages were constantly at war with one another. Blood feuds, disputes about pastures, trackways or springs, were sources of incessant quarrels. Every village would vindicate its supposed rights against its neighbours by force of arms. Every summer there would be some sort of raid, cattle would be lifted, crops burnt, and some opponents enslaved or

massacred. Thus life was precarious. No large accumulation of wealth was possible when the produce of a year's labour was so constantly threatened. And with the destruction of its crops or the loss of its herds the community would be faced with sheer starvation. The safety of the village and the lives and liberties of its inhabitants could only be preserved by dint of continual vigilance.



WHERE ROME'S BUILDERS DWELT

Clay funerary urns from prehistoric cemeteries on the Alban hills show us the actual shapes of Latin houses at the date of Rome's foundation. They were little better than mud hovels, partly excavated in the soil. Goat-herds of the Roman Campagna live in very similar circular thatched huts to-day.

*Courtesy of Professor Halbherr*

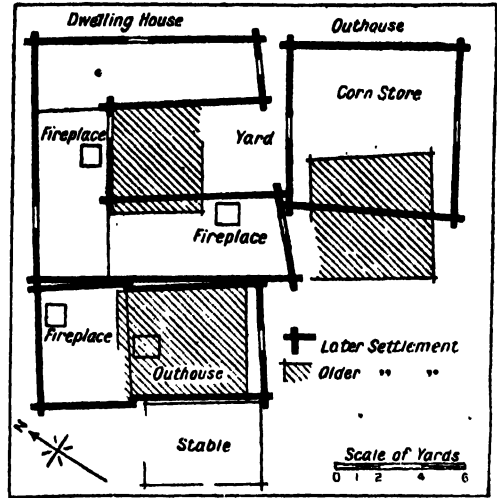
Yet this condition of continuous warfare and of chronic isolation was itself favourable to a certain concentration of power, and hence to the transcendence of the state. Costly weapons, serviceable only in warfare, were becoming a decisive factor in military success, and so in the very life of the group. The huge broad sword of iron was now the chief weapon, but it must have been beyond the reach of the ordinary villages. The local smith lacked the skill to forge and temper a blade three feet long. The centre of manufacture lay in Noricum, and all the best weapons must be imported thence. Only a chief could afford one; the common folk were as a rule, at least among the Celts, armed only with bows, spears, knife-daggers or axes that could also be used in hunting or industry.

Again, the possession of a war-horse was the prerogative of the few. It was a symbol of rank, and the knight recognized this in decking his steed with elaborate trappings. The use of the war-chariot was at first restricted in Europe owing to the broken nature of most of the country. Only a very light vehicle could possess the

speed and mobility needed for a fighting engine. Four-wheeled cars were occasionally used for hunting and fighting, but it was not until 500 B.C. that a practicable two-wheeled chariot came into use among the Celts. The model had been elaborated in upper Italy, and the Celts borrowed the idea from their Illyrian neighbours. With the adoption of the chariot, the long sword gave place to a short weapon adapted for in-fighting.

Body armour was not largely worn north of the Alps. The Illyrians occasionally wore bronze casques imported from Italy, and in Bosnia greaves and breast-plates imported from Greece or imitating Greek models protected fortunate chiefs. Shields of solid bronze were coming into use.

The Early Iron Age among the Celts or Illyrians might therefore be termed an era of chivalry, for the well-armed horseman was essential to the very existence of the community. A standing army was a luxury no group could yet afford. There simply was not enough surplus wealth (i.e. food) to support a number of persons engaged in unproductive occupations. Every citizen was indeed a soldier, but his armament was for the most part the implements of the huntsman and the farmer. And so the chief who could specialise in military pursuits and did possess horses and swords became more and more essential to the group's life. He must bear the brunt of the defence and take the lead in attack. A battle tended to be a series of single combats, preceded by a discharge



PLAN OF THE ISLAND VILLAGE

There were two different settlements at Wasserburg Buchau. The lower settlement, dating from about 1100 B.C., comprised small single-room huts. In the later settlement the spacious homesteads pressed close against each other.

of missiles from the rank and file. The authority of the chief grew accordingly.

However, at this date concentration of power had made but little progress. Nowhere among the Celts, Illyrians or Teutons do we find anything approaching the oriental luxury that testifies to the despotic power of the Scythians' kings. There was little or no qualitative difference between the costume of the chief and that of his subjects—if that term is applicable. The ordinary garb was a tunic over which was worn a cloak, fastened at the throat with a brooch of bronze. All the stuffs

were, of course, homespun. A chief would show his wealth by greater profusion of ornaments; but even these were almost entirely of bronze or iron; gold was very sparingly worn. The general effect must have been thoroughly barbaric—metal collars or strings of glass and amber beads round the throat, the arms and legs weighted with massive bangles and anklets, various pendants hanging from chains over the breasts. Women took great pride in girdles of leather overlaid with elaborately embossed bronze plates.



HOMESTEAD OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE

From the remains preserved in the reclaimed moorland at Wasserburg Buchau in Upper Swabia (see page 916) it is possible to reconstruct a model of the homestead built in Europe about 850 B.C. Three log cabins were grouped round a rectangular yard, and in front of this dwelling-house were the barns.

Courtesy of Urgeschichtliche Forschungsinstitut, Tübingen

The furniture of the table was equally modest everywhere. Most vessels were of wood or earthenware. Only very exceptionally favoured people like the lords of Hallstatt could afford bronze dishes. These had for the most part to be imported from Italy, but passable imitations were

**Furniture of the table** sometimes by casting according to the 'cire perdue' process, instead of by hammering, as was done in Italy. Vessels of gold were reserved to the service of the gods. What a contrast is all this to Scythia!

The dispersal of political power was the reflection of the economic isolation of the several units. Each village still tended to be self-sufficing. Naturally, the food was raised or captured locally. Wool and skins, supplemented by flax or linen grown in the village fields, provided the material for dress. Spinning and weaving and the preparation of hides were still performed within the family circle. Probably, too, the women made the pots, though some villages may have boasted a resident potter. All vessels were built up by hand, as the use of the potter's wheel had not penetrated beyond the Alps. However, at this period the art of vase-painting was revived, probably under the influence of South Italy. North of the Alps no painted vases had been made since about 2500 B.C.

All appliances were of a primitive kind. The plough was of wood as of old; metal shears and tongs were unknown; grain continued to be ground by rubbing backwards and forwards between two stones, as the rotary quern had not been invented. Ordinary vehicles were still built almost entirely of wood. The war-chariots of a chief and the processional cars for the sacred images alone had metal tires, fellys and cases for the spokes.

The only craftsman required therefore by every self-respecting village was the smith. He would make or

repair the iron axes, knives, hoes and sickles used in everyday avocations. But metal was really very sparingly used.

Still, its use destroyed the absolute economic isolation of the village, which was forced to import at least iron and bronze. As a matter of fact trade was brisker than before. The travelling pedlars had become respected merchants. Their utility was generally recognized and their persons were protected by universal consent, or perhaps because of the fact that they travelled in strongly armed bands, despite the incessant hostilities between villages and tribes. So the merchants were no longer forced periodically to bury their wares and take the defensive; their tracks are no longer marked by hoards of merchandise consigned to the ground and never recovered. At the same time barter between neighbouring communities was always going on. We must imagine regular fairs and markets being held at convenient points in every district. Periodically all feuds would be laid aside for a while and the peasants would repair to the adjacent market with their grain and other wares to barter for tools and ornaments. Even pottery was traded over a wide area, so that Silesian vases reached Bavaria.



**EFFECTIVE CELTIC FORTIFICATION**

Simplicity and strength were the main requirements of the mortarless stone walls which the Celts raised round their villages—a principle of building familiar to-day for field-boundary purposes. The bonding courses are clearly shown in the exposed section of the wall unearthed at Ste. Odile, France.

*From Forter, Musée Préhistorique, Strasbourg*

The number of trade routes was now very considerable and formed a veritable network over the whole of Europe. Both centres of production and foreign markets had been multiplied. Iron was now being mined not only in Noricum, but in Lorraine and eastern France; the areas in which salt and other minerals were obtained had also increased in number. On the other hand there were new consuming centres for the staple exports of the interior and an enlarged demand for continental products.

In Italy, the interior's most constant customer, the Etruscans had built up a rich and flourishing urban civilization capable of paying generously for amber, tin, lead and iron. In Greece the great industrial cities like Corinth and Athens could no longer pretend to be self-sufficing. Their very existence depended upon their trade with foreign lands and their commercial policy was orientated northwards

as that of no civilized land had been before. And the Greek colonies planted to relieve the overflowing population of such city states at the mouth of the Adriatic, in Italy and Sicily and on the Gulf of the Lion, reproduced on these barbarian shores the commercial and industrial life of the motherland. The Greek colonies became collecting stations not only for amber and minerals, but for other products of the interior—furs, timber, slaves and perhaps agricultural produce.

Accordingly, in addition to the long-established roads leading to Italy and the head of the Adriatic, new paths of trade now linked the interior of Europe to the Greeks of the coast and so to civilization. A certain amount of trade between Corcyra (the modern Corfu) and the Illyrians of Bosnia was conducted along the Adriatic coasts and then up the difficult and tortuous valley of the Narenta. The city of Massalia, the modern

Marseilles, was founded by the Phocaeans about 600 B.C. at one end of an ancient trade route leading to the metal-liferous region of the Cevennes and to the Atlantic coasts. Naturally the new Greek colony became a focus for the commerce of the whole of France. From these new contacts with Greece and the intensification of old commercial relations with Italy, the products of civilization and new ideas made their way more widely than ever through Europe, but spread with special rapidity in France. There the Celts became good purchasers of Greek commodities in exchange for their iron and other native products. What is more, they showed themselves apt pupils and readily assimilated Greek inventions; they were the first people north of the Alps to adopt the potter's wheel and similar devices of civilization.

The progress of western Europe was furthered by trade from east to west, the termini



#### LATE HALLSTATTIAN ARMOUR AND SWORDS

This iron helmet and cuirass, which may be assigned to Noricum, c. 500 B.C., were outside the skill of the village smith and resources of the common folk, and probably belonged to a chief who imported bronze casques from Italy. The broad swords on the right were likewise lordly possessions.

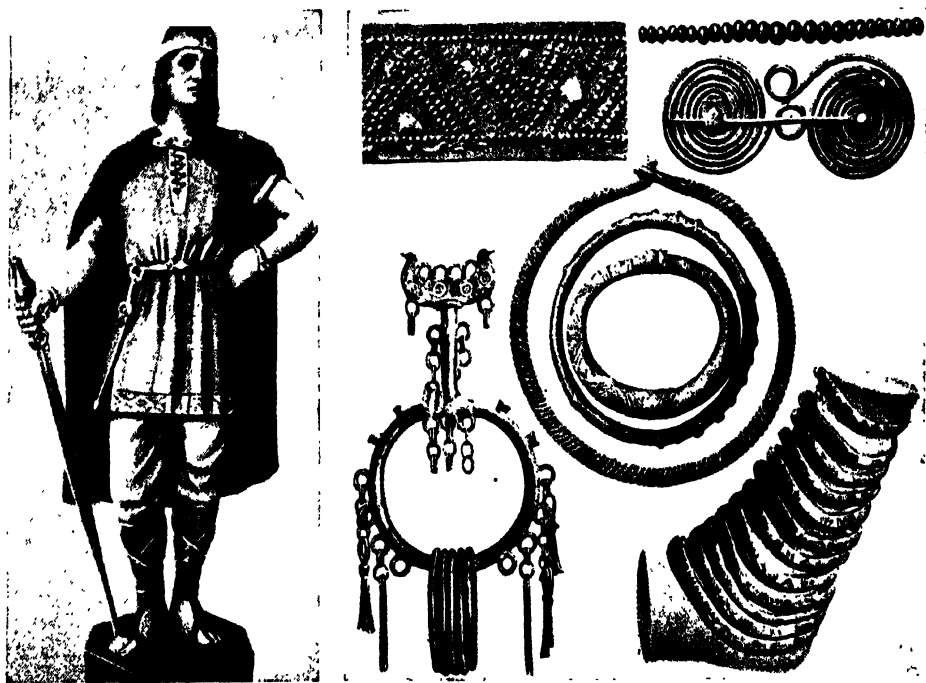
*From Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin), and Déchelette*

being presumably the tin areas of Brittany and Cornwall and the gold centres of Ireland. Along this route objects of British or Breton manufacture found their way as far east as Poland. It must be remembered that the old sea way along the western coasts still served as a link, if only an indirect one, between Britain and Scandinavia on the one hand and the Mediterranean world on the other.

At the same time the hazards and difficulties of commerce in these early times must be borne in mind. Though the trade-routes, from being mere cattle tracks along the ridges or footpaths through the forest, must by now have become beaten ways marked out by long use, there were no made roads. It is improbable that bridges had been erected across any streams, though in some marshy districts corduroy tracks had been laid down, a sort of paving which was used even in neolithic times for the streets of moor villages built on the peat bogs.

In these circumstances the merchants must often have been unable to employ vehicles and been driven to rely upon human portage. Nevertheless wheeled vehicles or sleighs must have been extensively used. In Scandinavia sea-going boats were transported on sleighs some way inland to serve as the last resting place of a mariner chief. In crossing the continent the rivers naturally provided convenient channels for traffic; dug-out canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, were still largely employed. For sea traffic there were doubtless Mediterranean ships available. But the natives of Scandinavia, although still in the Bronze Age, had quite substantial ships of their own accommodating a crew of fifty or so. There is nothing really surprising in this when it is remembered that a Maori war-canoe could carry a hundred warriors.

Finally, it is to be noted that no coined money was yet in use beyond the Alps. By the Second Iron Age a regular currency



**MILITARY GARB AND TYPES OF ORNAMENTS OF HALLSTATT PERIOD**

Coarse homespun tunic and cloak formed the dress of all ranks. Ornaments were worn by men as well as women, the former to display wealth, the latter probably for purely personal adornment. In the reconstruction of a soldier, with sword and dagger, a woollen cap is worn. Ornaments illustrated include: Part of belt with metal head design, spiral spectacle-shaped brooch and amber beads (top); bracelets and neck ring (centre); massive chain-hung pendant with bird-motive and ring-fringed hoop (bottom left); bangles and anklets (bottom right).

*Mainz and Nuremberg Museums and Naturhistorische Gesellschaft, Nuremberg*

of iron bars was in use in the Celtic regions, but in the earlier period with which we are dealing, when any standard unit of value other than the ox was used, rings of gold or copper seem to have been chosen.

Despite all these obstacles, trade, as we have seen, was maintained and this commerce formed a second factor leading towards a degree of unification that might result in the formation of the state. The centres where markets or fairs were held were already on their way to becoming towns. Regular commerce promoted a uniformity of culture and an economic interdependence that might easily find expression also in the political sphere.

A third factor tending in the same way was religion. The members of the same tribe were undoubtedly bound together by a common cult. They did not indeed yet know how to build solid and enduring temples or shrines, but springs and groves must already have been centres of worship. Wooden idols were also occasionally carved to represent the deity. A bronze vessel of Etruscan workmanship found in Styria, the 'Strettweg Wagon,' shows us a cult scene in which such a representation figures. The sacred image representing the mother goddess in superhuman size is guarded by armed warriors on either hand; sexless attendants are leading the victim, a stag, which a naked priest is preparing to slay with an axe. Probably the statue was preserved in a sacred grove and taken out once a year to be carried round the country on a car.

Besides such anthropomorphic idols, the old cult symbols of the disk, the wheel, the boat, the horse and the swan representing the sun, Horns of Consecration and so forth were still venerated.

The cult or tendence of the dead has left many monuments. As at all times the departed were at once feared and respected, and elaborate precautions were taken to



**HALLSTATT BRONZE BUCKET**

Of an Italian type (eighth century B.C.) found in various parts of Europe, this bucket from Hallstatt bears, at top and bottom, symbols of the sun.

*British Museum*

avert their ill will and secure their well-being beyond the grave. The older doctrines of a subterranean future life were now reasserting themselves against the belief in a sky home expressed in the rite of cremation. In Britain and among the Teutons of the North the body was still almost invariably burnt so that the soul might wing its way heavenward in the smoke. Elsewhere there was a gradual but universal tendency to revert to the older practice of inhumation. Curiously enough, among the

Illyrians of Bosnia and in Thrace the process was reversed: the older graves contain unburnt bones, the later cremated remains. But nearly everywhere now the tomb was surmounted by a barrow.

The funeral of a chief was a great occasion. Notables came in from all the surrounding groups to show their respect. The body was borne to the grave-side or to the pyre on a horse-drawn chariot accompanied by wailing mourners. The dead man was buried or burned in full panoply. Sometimes even his chariot or car was consigned to the grave with him and his steeds immolated that their ghosts might accompany him. In Scandinavia a chief was sometimes interred in his ship. But of a massacre of slaves or concubines such as was the regular accompaniment of a noble's funeral in Scythia there is no trace in the rest of Europe. It is, however, possible that the wife sometimes followed her lord to the grave. Jars of food were placed in the tomb, which was then covered with a mighty barrow.

A funeral was, however, the occasion for a great feast. It would provide the opportunity for those competitions that the barbarians loved. Boxing contests and races were held in honour of the dead man, and his heirs would earn renown for him and themselves by the richness of the prize they offered the victor. Pieces of armour

such as a helmet or brazen vessels seem to have been regarded as suitable trophies on such an occasion.

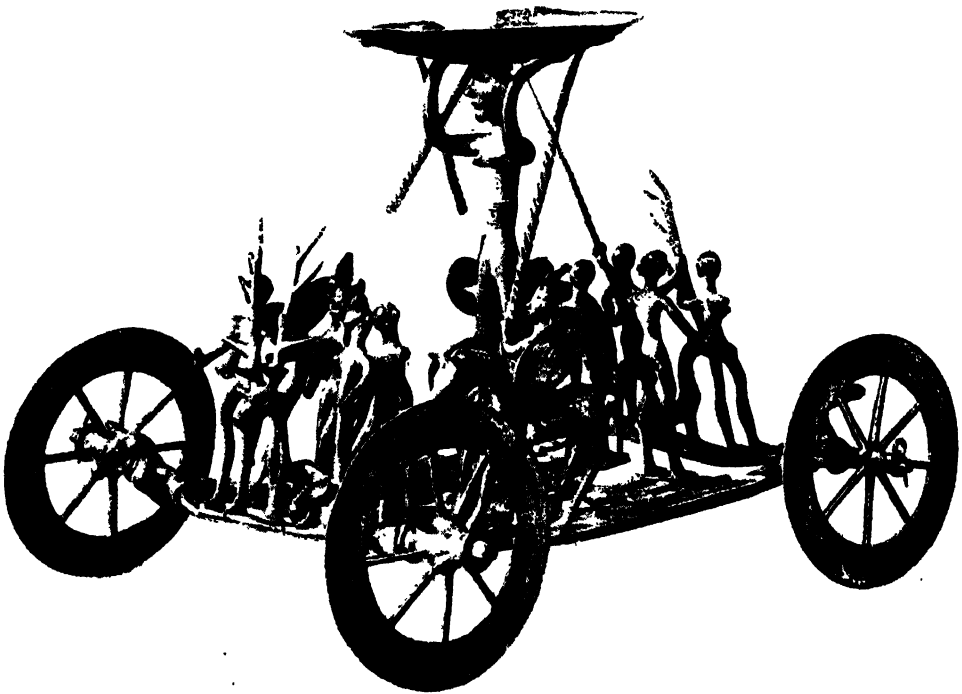
Such games and feasts were very popular among the ancient barbarians of Europe as among more recent people on the same cultural level, but naturally, in view of the perpetual condition of war, they were only possible when some religious solemnity intervened to impose a temporary truce which could not be broken without rousing the ire of the ghost or the deity. Social gatherings of this sort had, however, a political significance. The host by his munificence might increase his prestige and authority beyond the circle of his own immediate following so that when the time came for action on a tribal scale he already had a foot on the ladder that might lead to kingship.

Art in the First Iron Age was poor and, like everything else, barbaric. Naturalistic motives were rarely employed. When

representations of the human or animal forms were attempted the execution was crude and the results wooden and lifeless. There is not a trace of the feeling for nature displayed by the Scythian craftsmen. Nor were the geometric designs embossed on bronze plaques or incised on clay vases as tasteful or effective as those produced at earlier epochs. The Hungarian and Scandinavian bronzes of the fifteenth century B.C., for example, are much finer and more delicate. However, the use of polychromy had given the potter a wider scope, and he succeeded in getting some rich effects.

Personal ornaments of this period again are on the whole too heavy and lack the grace of the best products of the pure Bronze Age.

Music was presumably more alarming than soothing. Various sorts of wind instruments of bronze were in use and served well to stimulate wild frenzy at



#### HOW AN IDOL WAS TAKEN IN SACRIFICIAL PROCESSION

Iron Age religion in Europe involved the worship of a mother goddess whose idol was taken once a year, it seems, from its sacred grove on a ceremonial procession. The famous Stettweg Wagon, a bronze object of Italian work found in Styria, shows such a scene. Horses' heads adorn the corners of the car, in the centre of which stands the image guarded by helmeted warriors with their horses.

At each end is a sacrificial stag surrounded by a group of naked priests.

*From an electrolyte copy in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*



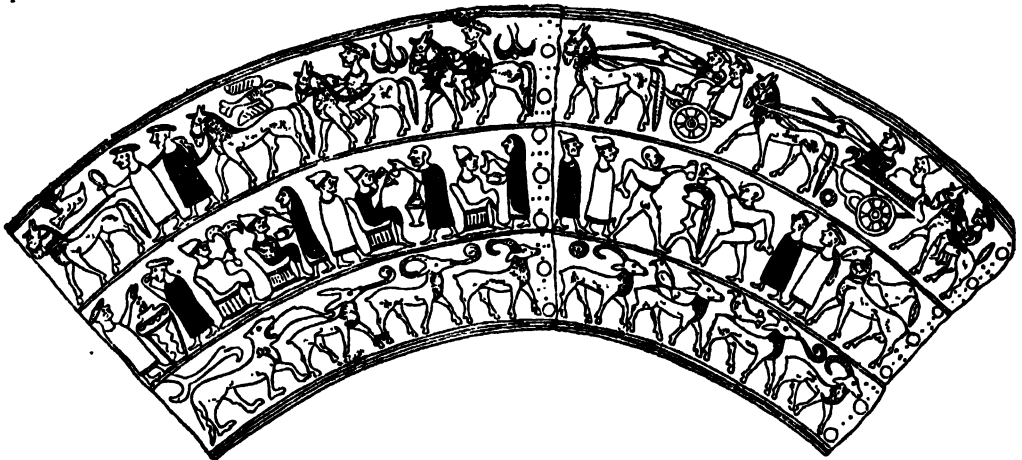
barbaric orgies in the gloomy oak groves and to instil terror into foes. The Celts marched into battle to the blare of many trumpets, and when, at a later date, they invaded Italy, the horrid din proved very disconcerting to the Roman soldiery. The workmanship of the brazen horns and trumpets bears witness to an astonishing skill in the casting and working of metal, but not to any particular musical taste in their users.

The First Iron Age, therefore, saw a certain regression in some departments of culture. That was simply due to the fact that the epoch was a period of transition and readjustment. For the first time an actual pressure of population had made itself felt—not that the potentialities of the soil were yet exploited up to the limit. In the Bronze Age there had still been plenty of vacant land to colonise, and this circumstance had induced, or rather perpetuated, a certain extravagance. Now the encroachment of the forest and the more frequent snows had restricted

the territory available for occupation. During the First Iron Age the attempt was being made to apply the old extravagant methods of cultivation to the new worsened conditions.

Progress towards a better adjustment was slow. The Celts were destined to make the greatest advances. The constant wars would lead to the absorption of one village by another and the emergence of dominating chiefs. Commerce would break down the separatist spirit of the clans and promote a concentration of population and industry in favourably situated centres. Religion would cement the tribes. And so by the Second Iron Age the Celtic tribes were on their way to establishing diminutive states with a regular government and nuclei of urban life and capable even of uniting in larger federations. But no national state was ever to be evolved, and the Celtic homeland would become a Roman province.

Yet even in the fifth century the Celts had progressed far enough to be able to spread as



#### SCENES OF FESTAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE ON A BRONZE PAIL

Towards the end of the Hallstatt period there was a remarkable advance in art; it seems to have developed among Celtic or Illyrian tribes in contact with Ionian Greek traders and the higher cultures of Italy. A bronze pail (the 'Watsch Stula') found at Watsch in Carniola shows the art spreading north of the Alps. Of the three bands the upper displays a religious procession; the middle a ceremonial feast (left) and a boxing match; and the lower a decorative row of animals.

*From Déchelette, 'Archéologie Celtique'*

conquerors all over central Europe. They remained barbarians indeed, and their descent upon Italy was merely destructive. But to central Europe they brought a higher culture. Thanks to their contact with the Greeks and the peoples of Italy they had assimilated many new arts. They carried with them to central Europe the use of the potter's wheel, iron tongs and shears, and many other devices commonplace enough to-day but really startling innovations north of the Alps before 400 B.C. This civilization spread by the Celts in the fifth and subsequent centuries represents the highest achievement of barbarian Europe.

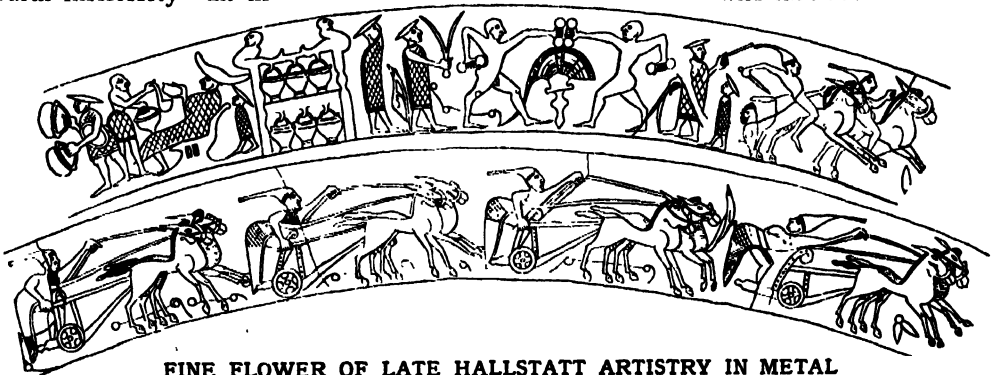
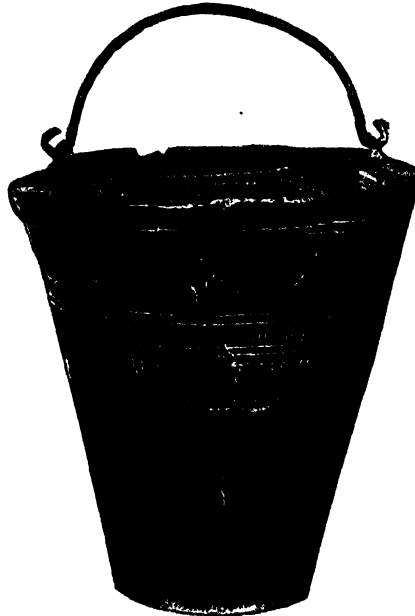
We have emphasised the barbarism ruling in the interior of Europe at a time when urban life, writing, codified law and the other marks of civilization were already blossoming in Greece and Italy. And in truth we need waste no tears over these barbarians when we come to see them subdued after heroic struggles beneath the iron heel of Rome. Their incurable disunity was the prime cause of their fate, and it was but a symptom of a real cultural inferiority—an in-

feriority not necessarily in capacity, but certainly in achievement.

But if we cannot exalt the ancient Celts and Teutons into pioneers of culture and protagonists of progress, we have no reason to be ashamed of our barbarian ancestors. Though barbarians, they were remarkably unlike most barbarous races. They were astonishingly quick to assimilate such inventions as were transmitted to them from peoples who, through geographical and climatic circumstances, had a start of several thousand years in the race of progress. The advance from the

Stone Age to a condition when the working of bronze and iron had been thoroughly mastered was accomplished in 2000 years; in Mesopotamia and Egypt the same advance had taken something like twice that time.

Nor had the European barbarians been mere slavish imitators. Already in the Bronze Age we saw how they made important contributions to the cultural capital of mankind. Moreover, in estimating their capabilities it is only fair to take into account those continental tribes who had overflowed into



FINE FLOWER OF LATE HALLSTATT ARTISTRY IN METAL

Slightly later than the Watsch Situla, this sixth-century pail found at Kuffarn in Lower Austria shows the same type of scene but a more advanced technique—note the quite spirited gallop of the race-horses and the better articulation of the boxers. • Boxing with dumb-bell shaped 'knuckle-dusters,' for a helmet as prize, must have been a popular feature of religious sports. Nor has the artist filled an empty space with a 'spare' animal and a bird, as in the boxing scene opposite. •

*From Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft, Vienna, and British Museum (electrotype)*

the older lands of culture. Those waves of invasion had indeed as a rule created temporary scars in the fabric of civilization. Yet in no case was the ultimate result of such an invasion merely negative.

The intruders had absorbed with surprising rapidity the culture of the vanquished without being merely conquered by it. It is scarcely an accident that in Asia Minor the epoch of invasion by European barbarians between 1400 and 1000 B.C. witnessed a sudden spurt in metal working and art. The Hellenic civilization of Classical Greece was in truth richer and deeper than the Minoan-Mycenaean which the intrusive Hellenic tribes had destroyed. The influx of European stocks had in these cases been

really a vivifying flood in spite of all its destructive force. It would be hard, on the other hand, to argue that the inroads of Mongol tribes on China and later on Europe herself had any such beneficial after-effects.

The weakness of the barbarians was, as the Greeks saw, their chronic disunity and incapacity for common action. Yet that condition had certain

advantages over the unity imposed despotically from above

**Weakness & Strength  
of the Barbarians**

under which Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilization had grown up, and which we met in Europe itself among the Scyths. If isolation kept life on a mean scale, it prevented stagnation. Where there was

a superabundance of material wealth, and unlimited servile labour-power was available, there was no incentive to the invention of mechanical devices designed to save labour and economise in material. Viewed from this standpoint, we see that European metal working, for instance, compares very favourably with that of any Oriental country from 1500 B.C. onwards.

Conversely, Europe escaped on the whole from the opposite danger that threatens savage societies—the dead weight of conservatism and hostility to all innovation, reinforced by superstitious fears, that is such a fatal bar to initiative in many primitive communities. This superiority of the barbarians of Europe is to be explained partly by geographical circumstances, as indicated at the beginning of the chapter, and partly by the peculiar merits of the Aryan speech, dialects of which they all employed; for words are the principal vehicles of abstract thought. At any rate, it was fortunate that the bulk of the barbarian races who lived in the hinterland of the Mediterranean displayed such qualities.



#### TRUMPETS OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Bronze and Iron Age warriors were roused to fervour by the blare of bronze trumpets. Several varieties are extant. The lowermost here (from Denmark), with the two above it, has an end mouthpiece; its series of loops is cast for pendants. The topmost, on the other hand, has a side mouthpiece.

*British Museum*

# THE LIFE OF IMPERIAL NINEVEH AND BABYLON

Including a Summing-up of the Debt in Science and  
Art which the World owes to Mesopotamian Civilization

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

Fellow of Merton College, Oxford ; Author of *Semitic Magic*, etc.

AFTER the end of the Kassite rule over Babylonia in 1169 B.C., there was again a brief flicker of vigour in Babylon, which was to pale before the glow of the rising kingdom of Assyria in the north. The Assyrians were of the same stock as the Babylonians, but some close connexion with the more northerly peoples had made their mentality a trifle lighter, their language less guttural and their natures more cruel, and it would be more correct to say that their development was parallel to that of Babylon, rather than consecutive. Their character may be summed up in the one word efficiency ; they were in earnest in everything they did, and what they did they did with minute attention to laborious detail. It was this capacity for taking unlimited pains, amounting to genius, that led to their success as an imperial power, but it was in the creation of this very empire that they ultimately exhausted themselves by dispersing their own people abroad, and so coming to an abrupt end, leaving nothing of its glory behind.

The northern kingdom of Assyria was in debt for so much of its civilization to the southern Babylon that it is difficult to stress any broad distinction between the customs of the two. The great bulk of the Babylonian literature (of which so much was owed in the first place to the Sumerians) was absorbed into the libraries of the Assyrians as though it had been their birthright, and thus the whole of the religious outlook of Nineveh, Calah and Ashur was coloured by the rituals, the epics and the hymns of the south. The Assyrian looked to the Babylonian for his conceptions of the cosmogony, merely replacing the Babylonian god

Marduk, who played the chief rôle, by his own native god Ashur ; he based his science on the discoveries of Babylonia ; and so for all practical purposes we may consider the Assyrian civilization as bound up inextricably with the Babylonian. There is therefore nothing strained or bizarre in drawing on Babylonian sources to illustrate Assyrian life.

During the first half of the seventh century B.C., Assyria was at the zenith of her power. Her armies had climbed the steep eastwards across the Persian border into Media, and carried off booty of lapis lazuli and other precious stones ; had pushed westwards to Cilicia and Phoenicia and clad themselves in the purple-dyed garments of the Tyrian merchants, and thence had taken ship across the sea to Cyprus ; and, as a climax of triumph, had spread their conquests to the Sphinx.

But even then the giant was tottering to his fall, and by 612 the end had come. The last remnant of the great empire was driven out of Nineveh and across the Tigris to

Harran by the Medes and Babylonians, who  
**Nineveh succeeded by Babylon**

were now to replace the Assyrians for three-quarters of a century as world powers. Babylon in its turn was to experience the pride of empire for a space under the two kings, Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar, but the renaissance was to be of short duration, owing to the machinations of the priests, who sought to further their own ends by putting nonentities on the throne, crowning the folly of their policy with the accession of the easy-going archaeologist-king Nabonidus. Babylon fell before the vigour of Persia in 539 B.C.,

when it ceased to have an independent existence, albeit for the next five hundred years there would still be families who clung faithfully to the old traditions of race, religion and literature, with that loyal conservatism so typical of the people and so explanatory of its great but sluggish civilization.

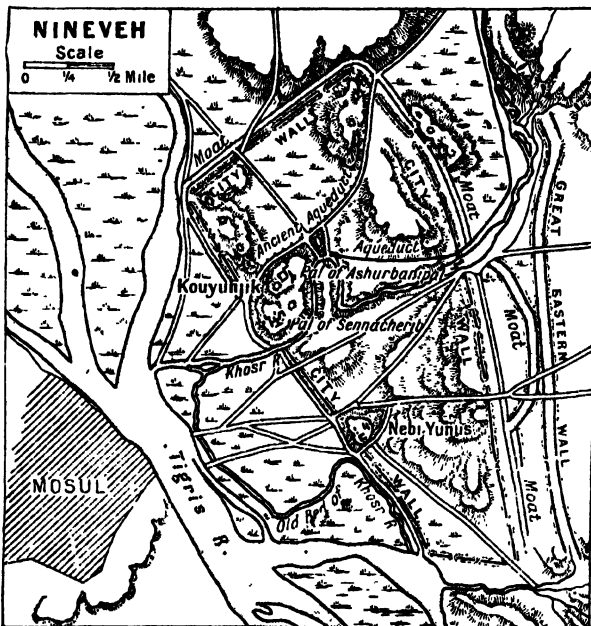
By the end of the eighth century Nineveh, the city of great kings, the stronghold of brazen, resistless might, had become the capital of the Assyrian empire. She was the daughter of a line of capitals: Ashur, a distance of two days' ride to the south, had held the government long before her, and then had come Calah, one day distant, only to yield in turn, as the nation thrust itself irresistibly northwards. Within the eight-mile circuit of the walls of Nineveh lay the two large mounds topped with the splendour of palace and temple, and from his roof-top here the great king could survey the crowded streets of the city.

Visible afar on the eastern and northern bounds of earth were the mountain fringes of the great chains, capped in winter with

snow, for even Nineveh itself, ten degrees cooler than Babylon, might be buried beneath a white mantle if the weather were hard, despite its tropic heat in summer. Westwards the flattened corn-fields pursued the sky in long, dull undulations on the far side of the great Tigris river which washed the city's flank, shallow in times of drought but a tawny flood when in spate. In the spring the city lay as an island set in an emerald sea of wheat stretching this way and that across the endless levels, picked out with the scarlet of poppies and anemones and the gold of charlock, and all fragrant with clover.

Her most magnificent buildings towered high on the northern mound, where lay in the northern angle the palace of Ashurbanipal, cheek by jowl with the Temple of Nabu, while in the southern corner was Sennacherib's palace, close to the buildings of the ancient shrine of Ishtar. On the eastern side of the mound, topping the steep slope above the Khosr river, rose, at a bare two hundred yards distance from this temple, a little royal building of Sennacherib. From this mound, now called Kouyunjik, it is about a mile to the smaller mound (to day called Nebi Yunus) which bore a palace of Esarhaddon.

Great virtuosi were these Assyrian kings, of the broad-minded stamp which collects and preserves the artistic efforts of man, and beautifies with nature's own handiwork what nature has omitted. It was Sennacherib, at the beginning of the seventh century, who set himself to make his palace into a pleasure, a delight to the eye, and what he did he wrote down on clay cylinders that all might read. The task was ready to his hand: the old palace in the southern half of the mound was insignificant in his eyes, and the desire of creation pressed hard upon him.



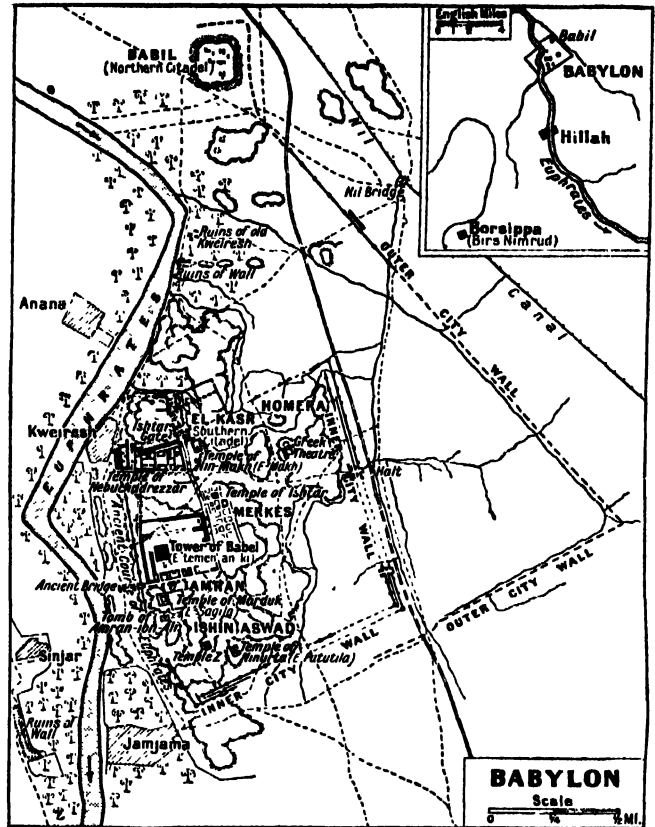
SKETCH PLAN OF THE CITY OF NINEVEH

Nineveh was built on the left bank of the Tigris opposite the site occupied by the modern Mosul. A wall eight miles in circuit contained the city, the focal points of whose splendour were the mounds now called Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus by the west wall whereon were erected the superb royal palaces.

First must be rebuilt the foundations, for they had already been sapped by a brawling little stream which had forced its way into them. Summon the masters of forced labour, bring crowds of tribes in thrall, Chaldaeans, Aramaeans, Cilicians, to carry clay on their sweating backs, and mould the bricks necessary; pull down the old palace, divert the rebellious little stream, fill up its bed, heap up earth far above the former level. Enlist the craft of the artificers to plane and carve the wood of maple, box, mulberry, cedar, cypress, pine and pistachio, and fashion the ivory; hew marble from the quarries near, add sculptures to the walls, and lions of stone sheathed in copper to the gates, and all the peculiar treasure of kings; plant a great park of trees to make the appearance of the mound like the Amanus Mountains (above Alexandretta), whence came such good cedar.

To feed the plain with a regular water supply, increase the Khosr river with tributaries far up in the hills, and regulate its flow; dig a lake into which it may spill, and leave the reeds to grow in this lagoon so that herds of wild swine and flocks of storks may congregate there. Finally, plant the wonderful cotton-trees, the 'wool-bearing trees,' which have to be sheared like sheep, and the produce made into cloth. Then the great wall of the city must be improved, and fifteen gates built or restored therein. Nineveh must lack nothing, and the sculptors shall record all these great doings, so that when Nineveh is a waste these shall still remain to bear witness to the greatness of Assyrian architects.

The quarries of marble, whence the Assyrian kings could obtain an almost inexhaustible supply of stone for decorating their palaces, must have been the coveted cynosure of the Babylonians who

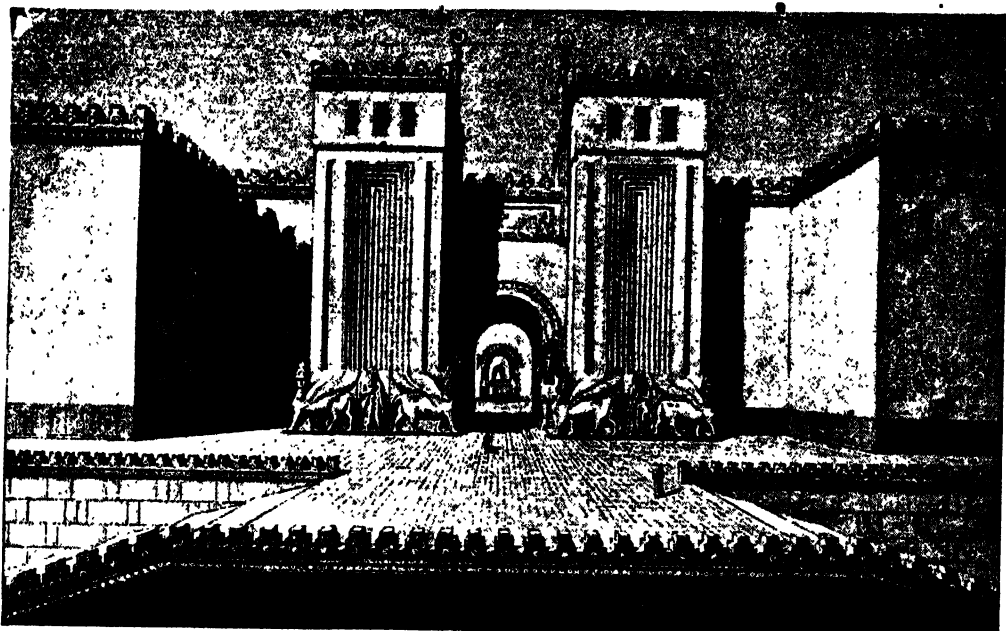


## PLAN OF THE RUINS OF BABYLON

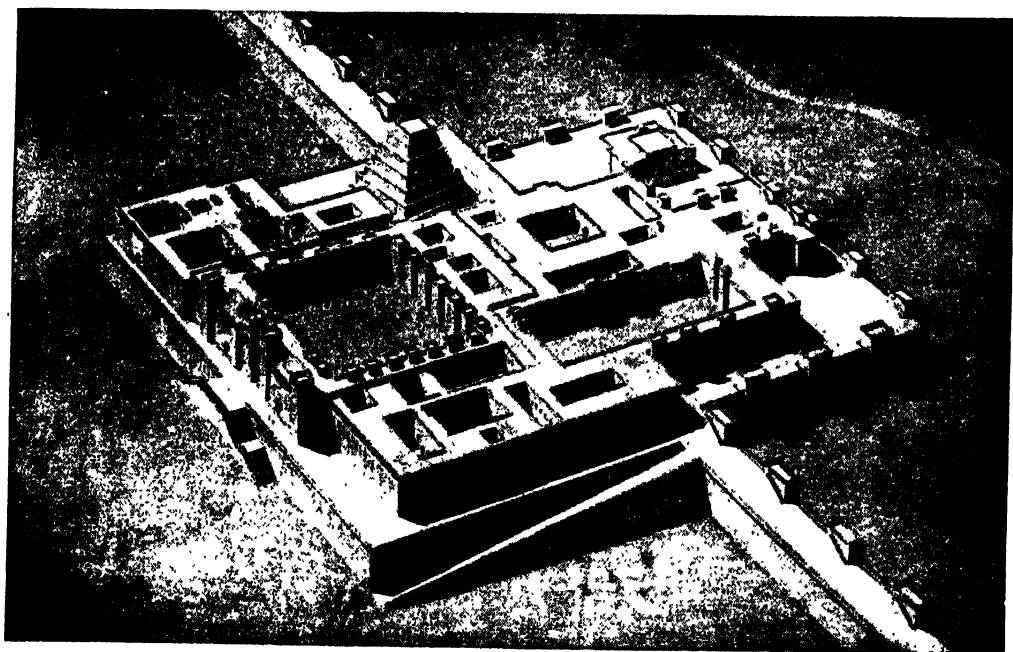
Situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, Babylon was encompassed by a massive double wall eleven and a half miles in perimeter. The Kasr mound near the centre of the enclosure represents the palace and citadel, and to the south uprose the temple tower called E-temen-an-ki, the real tower of Babel.

From Koldewey 'Das Ishtar-Tor in Babylon,' J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig

had no such store at hand. Yet, after the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., when the Assyrians ceased to exist as a nation and Babylon was reaching the zenith of her glory, when Nebuchadrezzar was doing his utmost to make his capital worthy of the old Assyrian saying, 'Babylon is a date of Dilmun, whereof the fruit above all is sweet,' the great city could boast no triumphs of sculptured stone such as had delighted the Assyrian kings. Whether it was that the Ninevite quarries fell into disuse, or whether the transport of heavy blocks over the Tigris rapids, and thence across to Babylon, was impracticable, is not clear; but all the excavations show that the Southerners succeeded in obtaining only the limestones and breccias of the Upper Euphrates.



From this restoration by Félix Thomas one is able to appreciate the appearance and function of the colossal winged and human-headed bulls or lions, with their mythological supporters of similar proportions, that usually adorned Assyrian monumental gateways. These, placed by the main doorway of the imposing south-eastern façade of the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad (Dûr-Sharrukin), are winged bulls. They symbolised divine protection, and their duty was that of warding off evil spirits.



An excellent idea of the architecture and extent of the palace of Sargon II is afforded by the restoration by Félix Thomas. Solidity and grace distinguish the whole plan. Pilasters, battlements and buttresses alike contribute to the homogeneity of this warrior-king's conception of regal splendour befitting a palace-fortress during a great period of foreign conquest. The great gate with its flights of steps shown in the upper restoration may here be distinguished on the left.

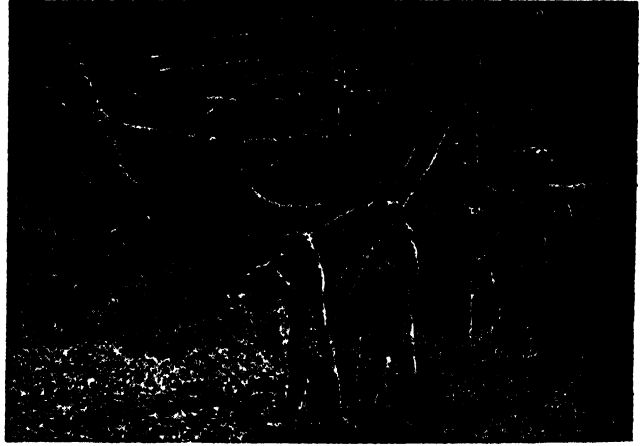
#### GLORIES OF ASSYRIAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE REIGN OF SARGON II

*From Perrot and Chipiez, 'Histoire de l'Art.'*

Herein, then, lay the great material difference between the two cities, Nineveh and Babylon. The artists of Nineveh learnt to be adepts at carving the heavy marble slabs which were the ashlar'd glory of the palace walls: the Babylonian architects, hampered in the development of their craft by lack of stone, could make only jealous imitations in modelled clay, covering their walls with representations of bulls or gryphons in relief, both unadorned and glazed, on the ponderous brick façades.

Thus limited, the Babylonian king turned himself to make his beloved city a vision of simplicity, to rise as a triumph of brick, yellow, saffron, amber, in challenge to the more fortunate possessors of stone—an unashamed nakedness of plain brick mass. To this day his desire has endured, and his ruined buildings still proclaim their impressive revelation of heroic construction out of humble clay.

Babylon, guarded like Nineveh by a great river on the west and by vast walls on the other flanks, lay girt by a perimeter of over eleven miles. To the north lay the mound now called Babil, bearing what seems to have been a palace of Nebuchadrezzar: in the middle was a great cluster of magnificent buildings, temples, and the great palace of the king, and above all the famous double Gates of Ishtar, even now nearly forty feet high, adorned with reliefs in nine rows of protecting dragons and bulls: and then to the south, high over everything, the great mass of



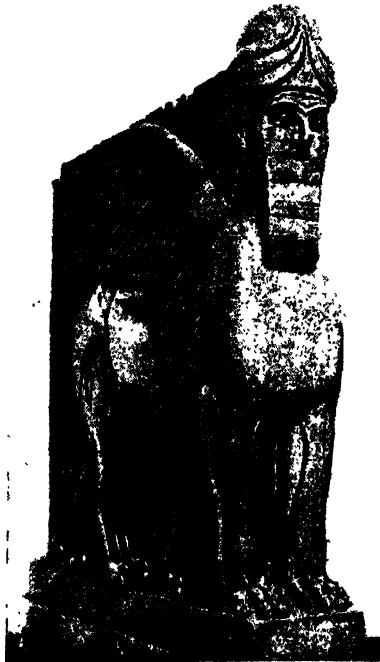
**HUMAN LABOUR UNDER SENNACHERIB**

After his return from his expedition to Egypt Sennacherib set about the building of Nineveh, employing forced labour drawn from the various peoples whom he had subjugated. This bas-relief from Kouyunjik shows labourers, yoked like cattle to the draw-carts, hauling timber and bringing ropes.

*British Museum; photo, Mansell*

the temple tower called E-temen-an-ki, the real Tower of Babel round which have grown age-long traditions, almost square in ground plan, with its eastern side 1,342 feet long (for a reconstruction see page 568).

Nebuchadrezzar at Babylon and Sennacherib at Nineveh sought thus to delight the eye, each in his own way. But neither of these kings had the genius of Ashurbanipal, that greatest of Assyrian kings, who wrought both to delight the eye and satisfy the mind. Magnificent though Ashurbanipal's palace in the northern half of the mound was, it was of little worth compared with his greatest work, the collection of a cuneiform library from all sources. Two copies of a letter which he wrote to one of his officers are still extant, which give authority to seek out every possible kind of cuneiform tablet in any library in his neighbourhood. 'No one



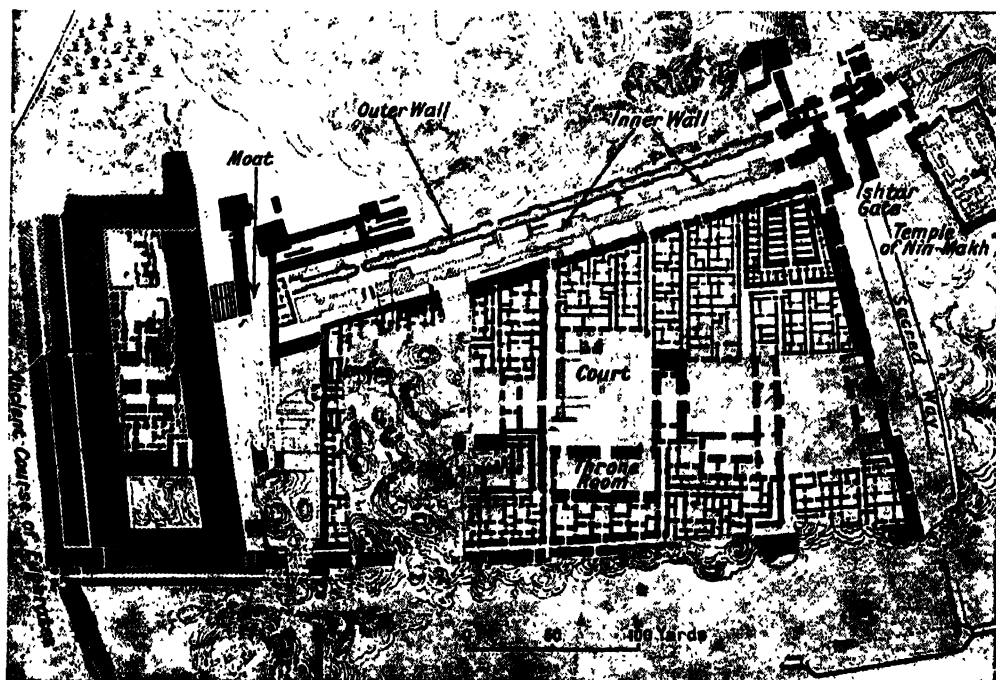
**MONSTROUS GUARDIAN OF A GATE**  
Colossal winged and human-headed lions flanked the gates of Ashurnasirpal's palace. The third foreleg was a device to give the appearance of two, whether viewed from the side or front.

*British Museum; photo Fleming*





The 'Kasr' or Southern Citadel—which consisted mainly of the royal palace—is assignable to no particular date but to successive periods, of which Nebuchadnezzar's work is the most prominent feature. Although excavation is unfinished, a useful indication of the elevation and disposition may be gained from this drawing. The Temple of Nin-Mahk and Ishtar Gate are on the extreme left. The building in the centre with three arched doorways is the throne room of Nebuchadnezzar.



Three large courts occupy the centre of the palace site on the Kasr, and are surrounded by houses in which official business may have been transacted. Nowhere is there any evidence of windows, and the occupants probably spent their nights in the hot weather on the flat roofs. Beyond the palace proper is the 'moat wall of Imgur-Bel' and a partially excavated western building not shown in the reconstruction (top), which is looking in the reverse direction from this plan.

#### ELEVATION AND GROUND PLAN OF THE SOUTHERN CITADEL OF BABYLON

After Koldewey, 'Das wieder erstehende Babylon,' J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig

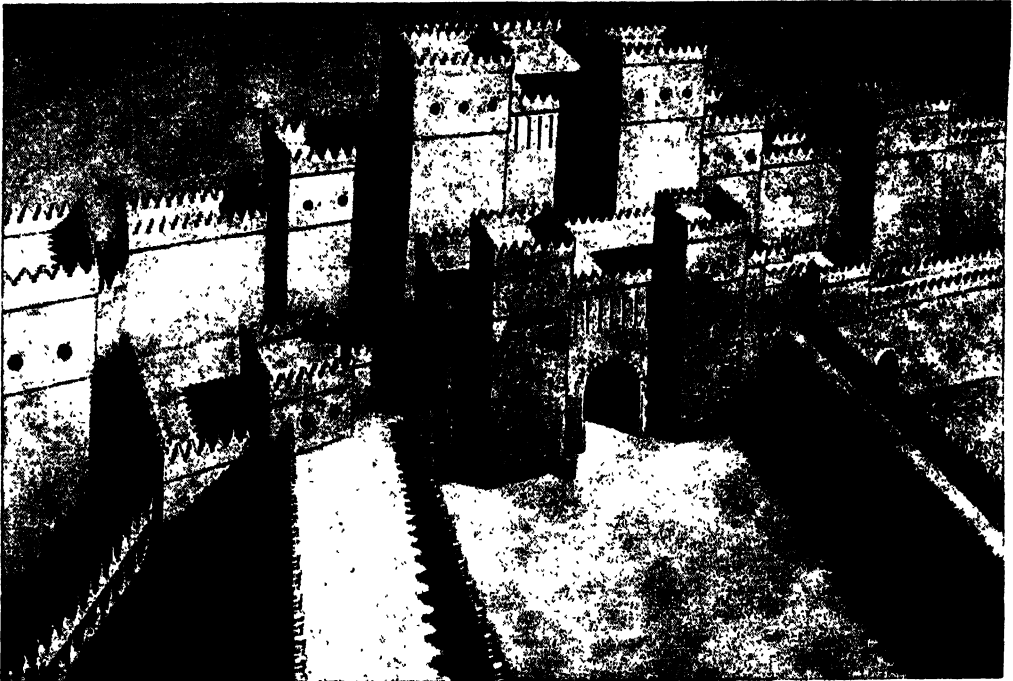
shall withhold tablets from thee ; and if there be any tablet or spell which I have not mentioned to thee, and thou shalt find (it), and it is good for my palace, search (for it) and take (it) and send (it) to me.'

This was his great pleasure, to collect books, and so successful was he that excavators have found the remains of some ten or twelve thousand pieces of these tablets scattered over the larger mound, and they are almost all now in the British Museum. Every possible subject is represented in the literature of this library, except, perhaps, love-songs (the titles of some of which are known from elsewhere) and plays (unless the legends were acted).

There are dictionaries of all kinds ; hymns, incantations against devils, ritual tablets giving in detail exactly what the priest is to do in the temple ; epic poems of great length, telling of the creation of the world ; of the wanderings of the great hero Gilgamesh ; of the flight of Etana to

heaven on the eagle's back ; of Adapa, and how he was haled before the heavenly judge for breaking the wings of the South Wind ; chemical texts, telling the alchemist how to make and colour glass ; medical prescriptions ; omens and forecasts ; astrological texts ; census records, history on large cylinders, contracts and letters by the hundred. From this library so much of our knowledge of Assyria is derived that we can make its tablets the base of our present description.

But the education of the king had taken long, and he was very proud of it. Apart from the ordinary athletic training of manhood—'I learnt,' says he, 'to shoot with the bow, to ride a horse, and drive a chariot, to hold the reins'—he claims to have learnt the hidden treasures of literature, nay, to have solved mathematical problems hitherto unexplained. Whether this be empty boast or not, his love for books led him to collect this library, which must be accounted one



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ISHTAR GATE AS IT WAS IN ITS PRIME

Largest and most impressive of the ruins of Babylon, the Ishtar Gate was erected by Nebuchadnezzar at the north-east corner of his southern citadel to provide a noble approach to the Processional Road that ran southward to the temple of Marduk. It was a double gateway set between wing-like additions to the walls of the citadel, and consisted of two doorways, one behind the other, commanded by projecting towers and formed into one block by short connecting walls.

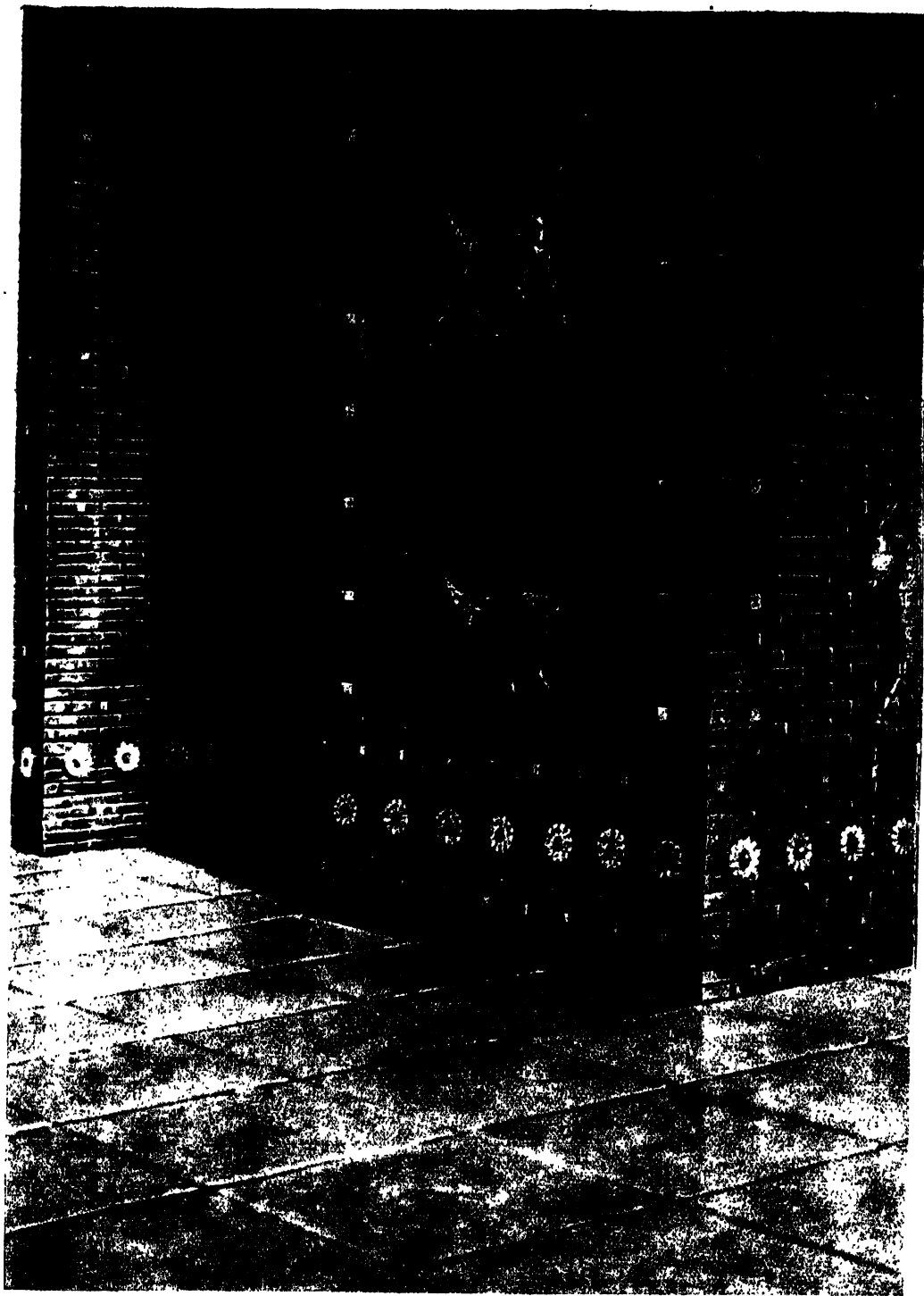
From Koldewey, 'Das Ishtar-Tor,' (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig)



#### GENERAL VIEW FROM THE WEST OF THE ISHTAR GATE

This photograph enables one to realize the formidable nature of the defences of Nebuchadnezzar's fortress palace, of which the Ishtar Gate was part, showing how the approach to the gate itself was guarded by advanced outworks to the north. The round column on the left is one of the postaments for the bronze colossi of bulls and serpent figures that Nebuchadnezzar placed in the entrance of the gate. The column is of burnt brick and rests in a sub-structure of crude brick, shaped like a well and filled up with earth in which it could shift about at the base without meaning over.

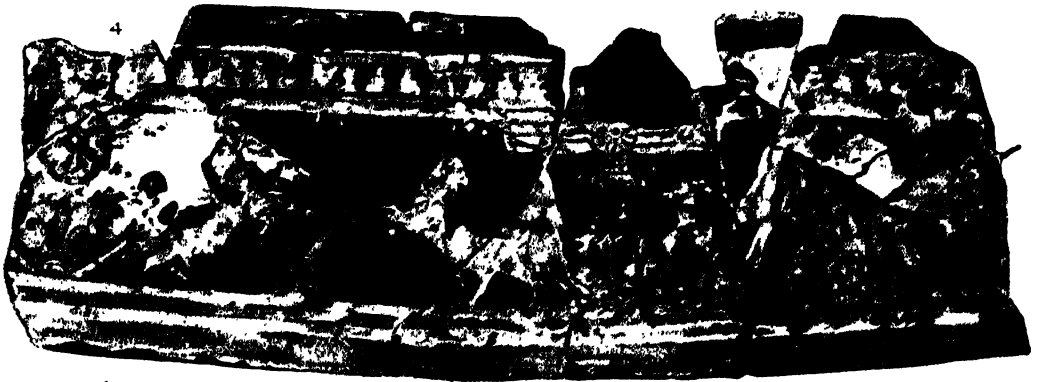
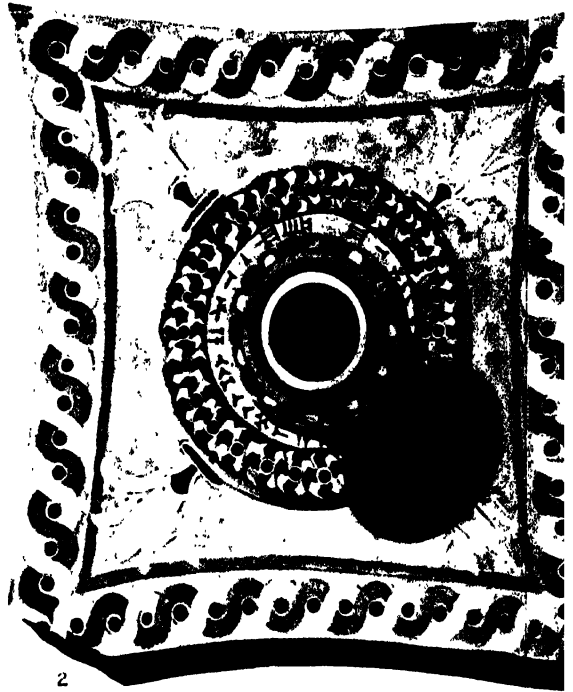
*From Koldewey, 'Das Ishtar-Tor,' in 'Veroff, der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.'*



# **ENAMELLED TILES WITH WHICH NEBUCHADREZZAR REMODELLED THE ISHTAR GATE**

This plate recaptures the vivid effect of the enamelled bricks that faced the Ishtar Gate at Babylon. The portion seen corresponds to the photograph in page 957, but not exactly, for the following reason. The gate at first was not enamelled; and when Nebuchadrezzar raised the level of Aibur-shabu, or the 'Sacred Way,' forty feet of the original structure with its plain reliefs were buried. That is what has been excavated; only the lower courses of this later, raised, enamelled gate survive.

*From Koldewey, 'Das Ishtar-Thor in Babylon,' J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig*



#### RICH TRIBUTE TO THE ART AND SKILL OF MESOPOTAMIAN CRAFTSMEN—

Excavations in Mesopotamia leave the idea of a rather drab civilization. This is a false impression, due to the nature of the soil which is salty and damp compared with that of Egypt, and inimical to the preservation of the rich glazes of the country. •On exposure to light the colour of many of these pieces found at Ashur in Assyria changed before the very eyes of the excavators, but wash drawings done immediately make possible such restorations as Nos 3 and 8. Compare the actual objects, 4 and 9

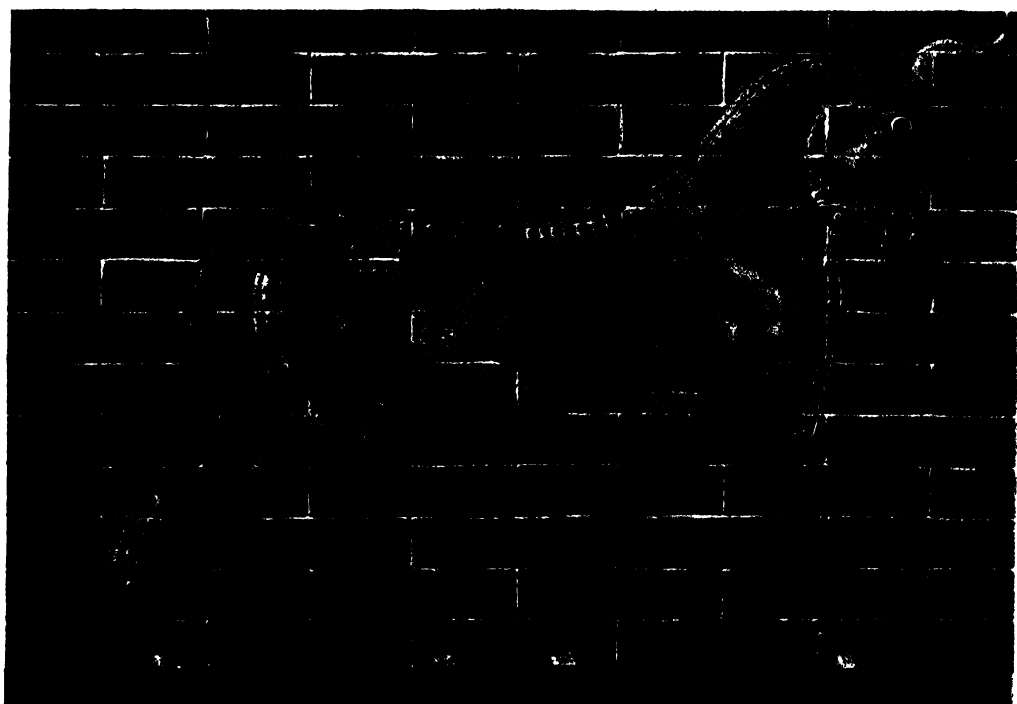
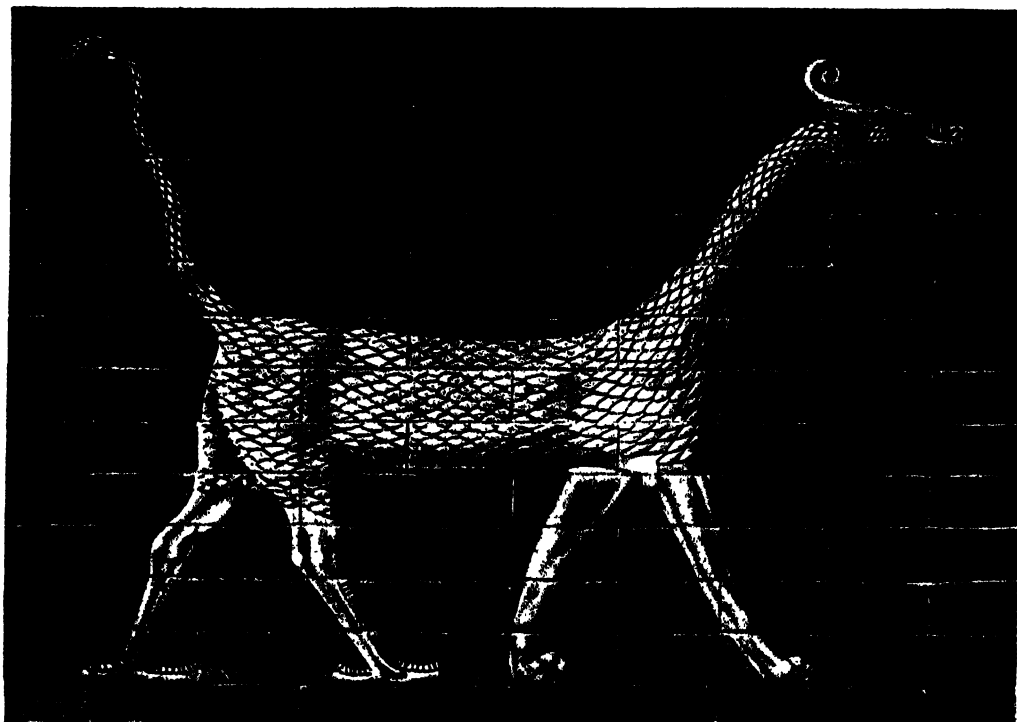
*From Walter Andrae, 'Farbige Keramik aus Assyrien,'—*



—FOUND IN THE RUINS OF ASHUR THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF ASSYRIA

The date of the pieces is often uncertain, but we know that No. 5 is early from its inscription, and No. 9 late from the Egyptian lotus motif. 1. Slab showing a worshipper thanking the god Ashur for deliverance from a plague of locusts. 2. Knobbed plate—a form of wall decoration. 3. Army crossing mountains, on bricks taken from a structure of Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1110) and rearranged incorrectly in the basis of the temple of Ashur. 4. Torso of a woman; and 7. head of a horse (two views).

—by permission of *Scarabeus Verlag, Berlin*



#### HERALDIC BEASTS ON BABYLON'S CEREMONIAL APPROACH

Babylonian soil is better suited for the preservation of glaze than Assyrian, but even so the blue background of the Ishtar Gate reliefs has mostly weathered to a dull green; only patches survive to show the original colour here restored. The sacred bulls, if the reliefs represent actual animals and not creatures of the artist's fancy, appear to have been cropped symmetrically like poodles; the *Sirrushes* (top; see also opposite page) partake of the nature of dragon, eagle, lion and unicorn

*From Koldewey, 'Das Ishtar-Tor in Babylon,' J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig*

of the most wonderful in the world; and yet this collection of ancient books was merely his hobby, a side interest that lightened the serious duties of his position.

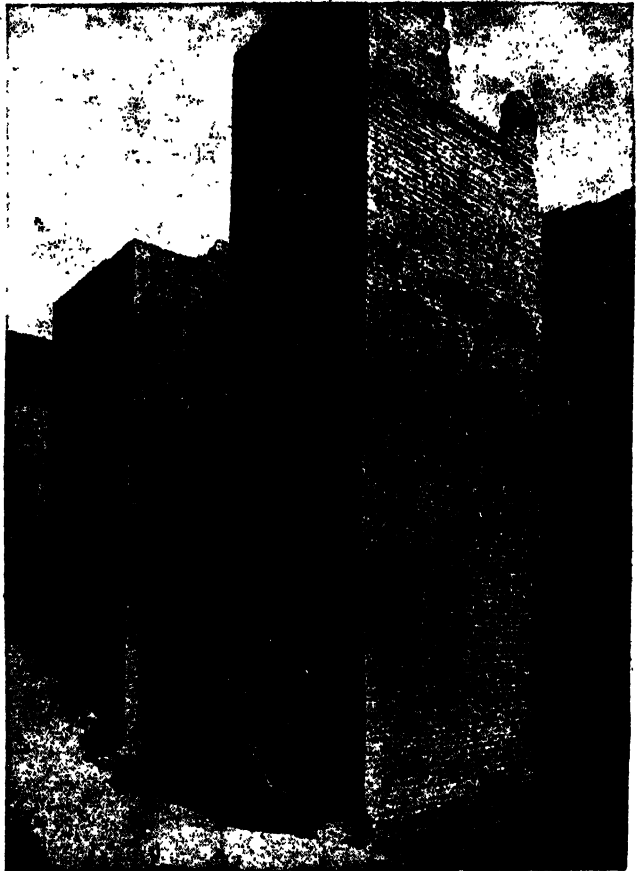
As head of the state, he was a typical despot, but not without some limitation to his tyrannic powers. This limitation had its origin in the religious beliefs which have at all times influenced the Semite, for, in the very real expectation that the gods would vouchsafe advice on serious military undertakings, it was the royal habit to appeal to them for an oracular response. Consequently, just as the prophets of Israel were able to exercise restraint on the injudicious essays of the king into the realm of foreign politics, so were the Assyrian priests, as interpreters of the voice of the gods, able to sway diplomatically the king's intentions.

The administration of his empire was carried on throughout the provinces by local governors, on whom devolved many duties and responsibilities. There must, indeed, have been a great similarity between the office of these local rulers and that of a Turkish 'kaimmakam' in Iraq before the Great War. The populace was divided into three classes—the aristocracy, from whom were appointed the upper grades of the army and the civil service; then the guilds of craftsmen, scribes, potters, coppersmiths, each guild living in its own quarter in the different towns; and the 'khubshi,' the proletariat, who appear to have had sufficient rights to alleviate their poverty.

When, however, it is remembered that at this time not only must a very large proportion of the populace have been of foreign origin, but that many of the outlying provinces were merely conquered districts kept under control by force of arms, the responsibilities of a governor were manifold. Like the Turk-

ish kaimmakam he would, doubtless, sit in his office during duty hours, listening to interminable gossip from chiefs, out of which he would extract his quota of intelligence, for his report to the central government in the name of the king.

Then a rating assessment might be required of him, just as happened in the district round Harran, when a complete return was made of the gardens, orchards and plantations containing the 'sarbatu,' probably the styrax-gum trees, or storbus, of which Pliny speaks in his Natural History (first century A.D.), and the immense tracts of hill-country covered with dwarf-oak, producing those gall-nuts so much used in the local tanneries. He might, again, have to levy horses for some small



EASTERN TOWERS OF THE ISHTAR GATE

Figures of bulls and dragons in enamelled relief, flat enamel and brick relief adorned the walls of the Ishtar Gate. They were set in horizontal rows, a line of bulls alternating with one of dragons. This 'Dragon of Babylon' ('Sirrush' seems to have been its name) was the sacred animal of Marduk.

Koldewey, *Das Ishtar-Tor*. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.





Brick paving covered with asphalt provided the substratum for the flagged pavement of the processional way called Aiburshabu laid down by Nebuchadrezzar 'for the procession of the great god Marduk.' The central part was laid with large square limestone flags, the sides with smaller squares of red breccia. The road led through the Ishtar Gate to the temple of Marduk.



From seemingly chaotic masses of brickwork patient archaeologists are gradually distinguishing and rendering possible in imagination the reconstruction of the buildings that were the glory of Babylon when it was the greatest city of the world. The ruins shown in this lower photograph are of the portion called the Kasr, the fortress palace with its marvellous hanging gardens which Nebuchadrezzar built on the great mound beside the ancient course of the Euphrates.

#### **BROKEN RELICS OF THE GREATEST CITY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD**

*Imperial War Museum*

war conducted far away from his own district.

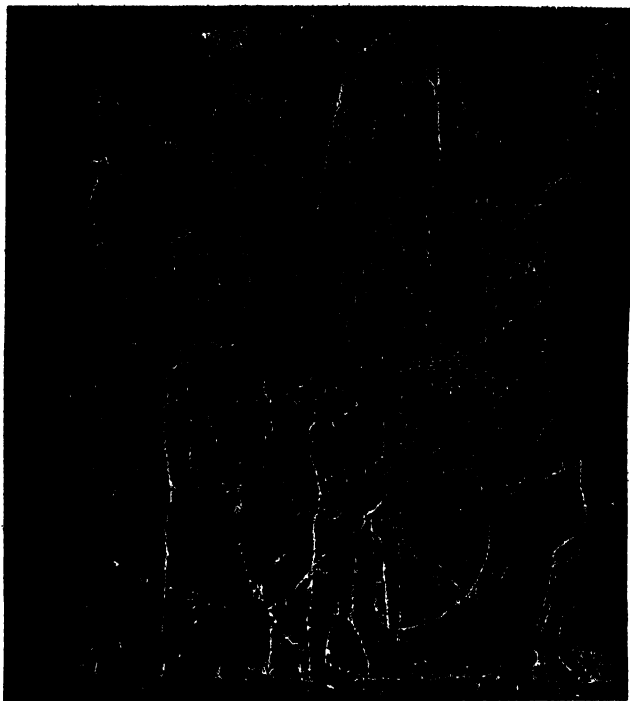
The king was in nominal control of the army, and frequently took the field in person. If not, the command was delegated to his son, the crown prince, or to the commander-in-chief, called the Turtānu or Tartan. Letters are still extant which were written to Sargon by his son Sennacherib while still a young prince in command on active service near the northern frontier. They give a very succinct précis of the information he has been able to gather from his subordinates and the local tribesmen. It is clear that the Assyrians were adepts at the collection of such information, and that their intelligence bureau was very capable in one of the most difficult tasks in warfare.

The army itself at this time consisted of two classes, the regular troops and the national militia, and was divided into chariotry, light horse, infantry, engineers and siege troops.

The regular infantry, in a uniform of tunic with crossbelts, helmet plumed in Greek style, kilt and high boots, were much like the Sultan's Janissaries of a later period, and were the King's Guard. They were used in time of peace for overseeing the captives at work on the royal buildings and policing the ground when their royal master hunted the captured lions in the arena near the city.

In time of war the militia would be mobilised as well, and you may see them in the pictures on the sculptures marked perhaps by their conical helmets. A company of infantry consisted of

**Mobilisation of the Army** twenty-five files, subdivided into sections of five files, including a sergeant, and their marching formation would appear to have been in fives. Each file consisted of an archer and a spearman with a shield, and no matter how much the shock of battle had split up the company, the spearman



ASHURBANIPAL IN HIS CHARIOT

Although immediately identifiable here by his tiara and post of honour beneath the state umbrella, a king is commonly distinguished from meaner mortals in Assyrian sculpture only by his greater stature and more magnificent beard. The beard was a sign of the military caste, and the beardless figures here perhaps represent eunuchs in the royal service.

*The Louvre*

would rarely be separated from his archer comrade.

The larger formations are uncertain, but they certainly existed, although we may well doubt whether there was any drill for large bodies.

A campaign was a serious undertaking even for an Assyrian king with his well disciplined army. First would come the muttering of disaffection, of rumours of restlessness on the frontier, first heard from the gossip in the market brought in by caravans and muleteers, about recalcitrant tribes who would not pay their tribute, or worse, about the hostility of neighbouring nations. So would the slow rumour spread, expanding to an infinity of exaggeration, until the government would send a demand for information from the commander nearest the danger zone, and he in his turn would send his spies into the capital of the malcontents. Then his report, gleaned



#### ASSYRIAN FILES ON PARADE

Each file of an Assyrian infantry regiment consisted of an archer and a spearman with shield, who always fought beside his comrade. Both wore tunics and a broad belt round the waist with a fringed end hanging down.

*British Museum : photo, Mansell*

from different sources, on the probabilities of war, of hostile alliances of the enemy with its neighbours, of the number of bowmen and spearmen they could put into the field, all written on a small tablet of clay, would be addressed to his lord

the king and entrusted to express riders, who must have been in relays at different posts, like the Persian 'angaroi,' a word taken directly from the Babylonian 'agiru,' hireling.

With the outbreak of war the anxiety of the king stares us in the face out of his tablets which pray the god for an oracular response: 'Will the king return alive from this campaign, will he walk again in his palace at Nineveh?' The priests return a favourable reply from the oracle. Indeed, the omens are truly propitious, for a famous priest has heard a wonderful portent, and has sent it into the palace: a sow littered with one of its piglets double, having eight legs and two tails, and so great a wonder was it that he preserved it in salt, for it portends that the prince of the kingdom will rise to power.

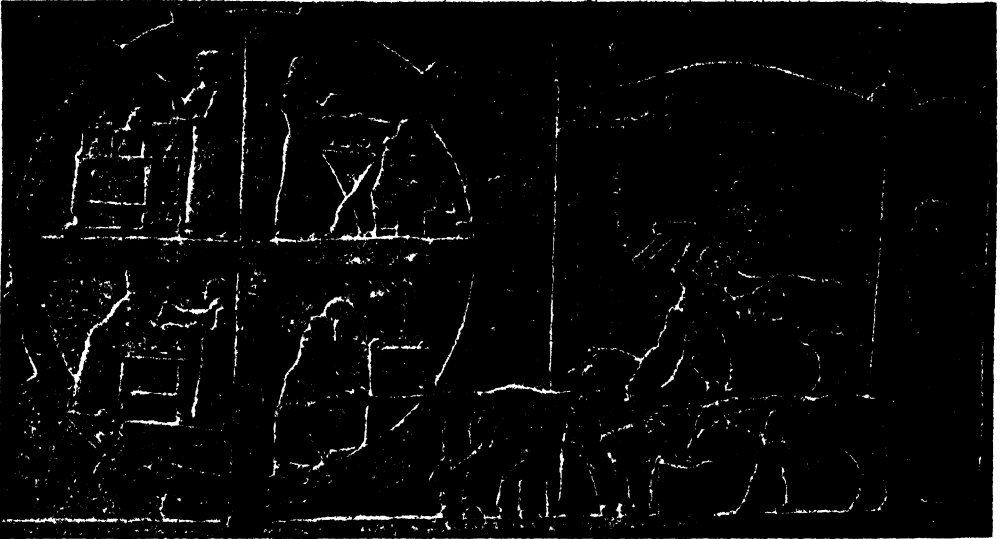
With this encouragement is the moral of the troops heightened: the regular troops are ready, a contingent of the militia has been mobilised with horses and carts for transport, and the streets of Nineveh echo with the sound of women wailing and beating breast and face in an abandon of despair at the departure of the troops. The king's chariot with all its paraphernalia for the comfort of its royal master rumbles over the cobbles at a walk, well away from the dust of the sweating troops; and presently the sycophant who fills the office of royal secretary will have an opportunity of extolling his



#### TYPES OF UNIFORM AND HEAD-DRESS WORN BY ASSYRIAN SPEARMEN

While Assyrian spearmen all carried spears of the same type, and, in Sennacherib's time at any rate, shields of the same circular or convex pattern, their head-dress varied, perhaps according to the regiment into which they were drafted. Thus some wore conical helmets, others close-fitting round caps (upper illustration) and others again helmets with curled plumes (left).

*British Museum*



These slabs vividly portray the activities of camp life in one of the campaigns of Ashur-nasir-pal. On the left, army cooks are preparing food in an exceedingly well equipped field kitchen, which illustrates the minute attention paid to detail in the organization of the Assyrian army; on the right horses—admirable studies of anatomy and movement—are being groomed and watered.



Here again are graphic touches demonstrating the interest taken by the kings' sculptors in the scenes and incidents of their masters' progresses, which they must have accompanied in the capacity of historiographers royal. An officer returns to his quarters, where one servant brings him water to quench his thirst, and another makes up the camp-bed in the already pitched tent. Outside, two gaunt camels seem to quarrel over their ration heaped up before them, as to-day, on a cloth.

#### SCENES FROM CAMP LIFE WHEN ASHUR-NASIR-PAL WENT TO WAR

*British and Berlin Museums*

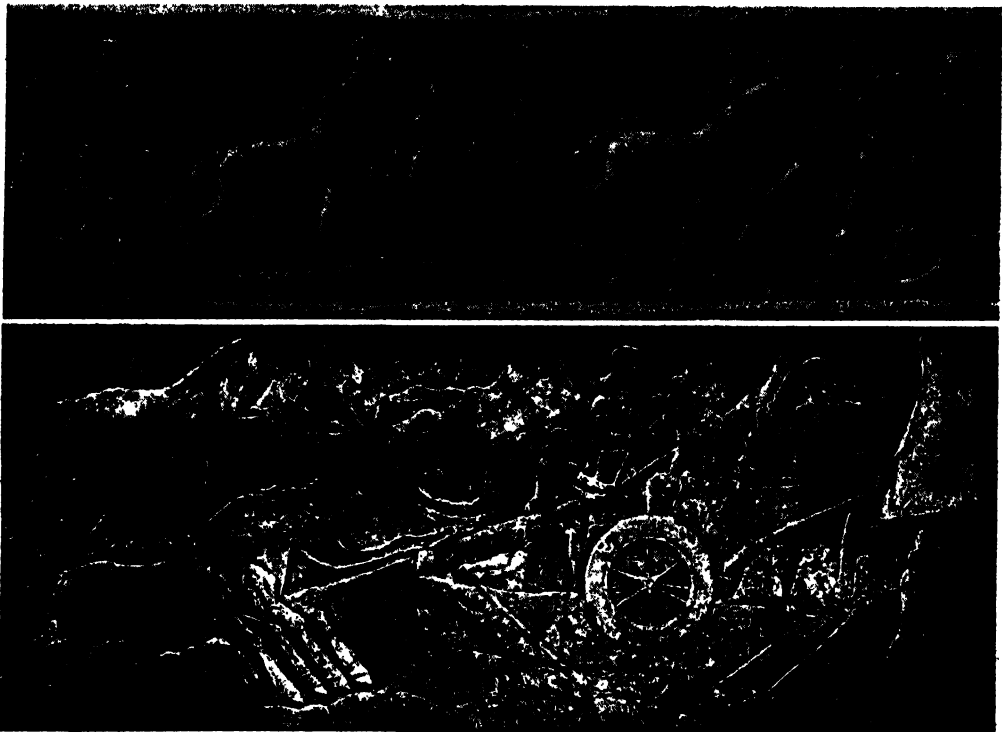
lord's hardihood in the historic annals of the campaign, showing how he dismounted from his chariot and was carried up the rugged steepes of the mountains in a palanquin, and then, when passage even to this was denied by the steepes, how he actually climbed them on foot, and quenched his thirst like a common soldier from a 'leather bottel.' Hadji Baba and his immortal stories are for all time in the East.

Must a river be crossed by the troops? Then see first that the river god be propitiated with due gifts cast to his wave, that he take not toll of the gallant men who make the traverse. Then the sappers can build a pontoon bridge of skin floats, and the sturdy privates can swim across on bladders, plashing the water away behind them with their legs. Whence will be supplied the deficiencies in the commissariat? Why, has ever Oriental army gone warring without despoiling

the peasants of the country through which it passes? Detach a section of men to yonder village, let them tap the floors, search the earth round about for hidden store of corn in holes.

Are the enemy yet within striking distance? Then throw up a camp fortified with towers, and pitch tents against the sun, wind and rain, move the troops inside with all their stores, and in the safest part set up the king's quarters, with even his gods and their altars. The enemy will concentrate in their best fortified cities, and jeer from behind the safety of their walls. Ring the walls about with archers behind stout shields, to shut them in, and pick off the caitiffs on the battlements, and then let your slingers behind the archers, with longer range for their stones than arrows have, pour down on the defenders a hail of missiles.

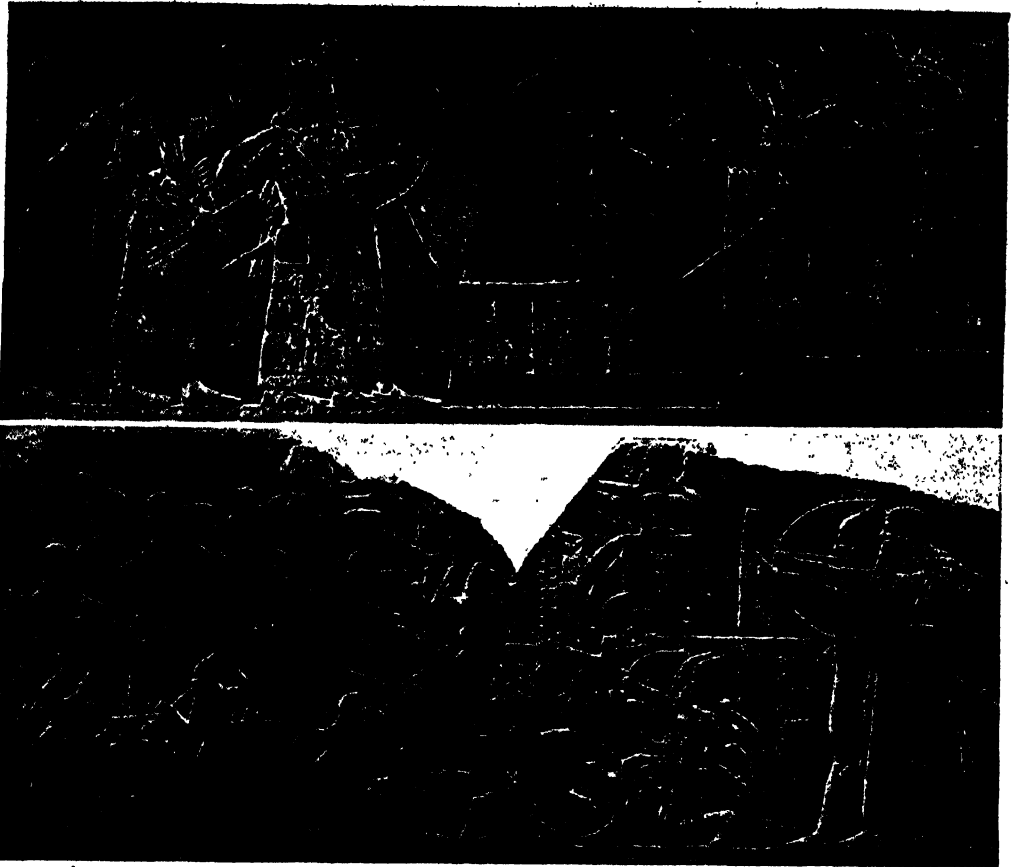
Push up penthouses and siege-engines under cover of their fire to batter in the



#### CROSSING RIVERS THAT BARRED THE LINE OF MARCH

How Assyrian troops crossed rivers is illustrated with much detail on numerous bas-reliefs. The upper strip, from Shalmaneser's bronze gates, shows chariots crossing on a pontoon; notice the drivers' firm handling of the reins and the caution of the men at the horses' heads. The lower relief shows Ashur-nasir-pal seated in his chariot on a ferry boat behind which his swimming horses are led by a rein, while a soldier swims, supported by an inflated bladder.

*British Museum; lower photo, Mansell*



### LIVELY REPRESENTATION OF ASSYRIAN SIEGE OPERATIONS

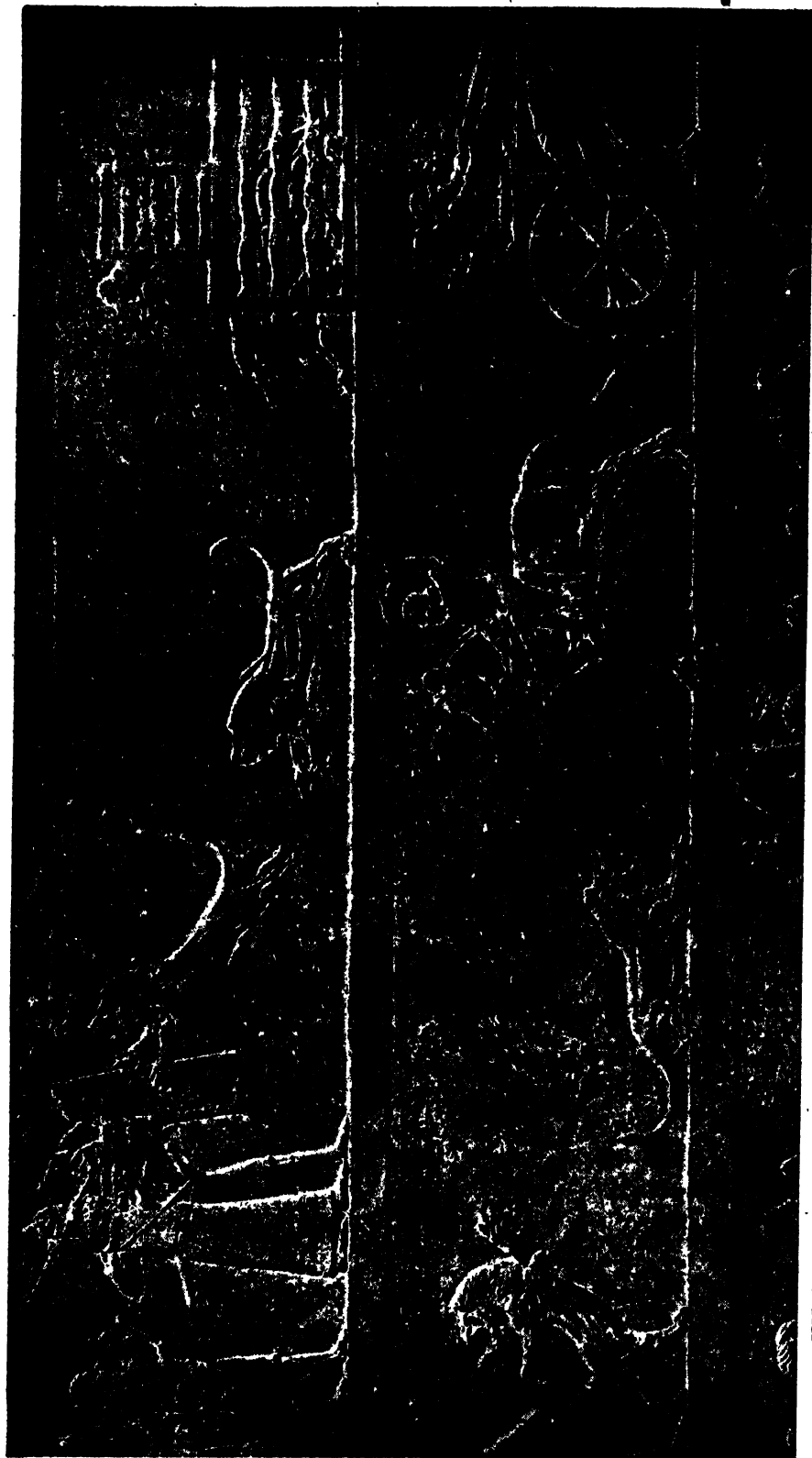
Noticeable in the upper relief are the six-wheeled, tank-like battering ram and the movable turret to raise the besieging archers to the level of the parapet. These appear again in the lower slab, where other points of interest are the chains used by the garrison to counter the action of the ram, the hoses for extinguishing fire started on the siege engines, and the energetic efforts of Assyrian sappers to undermine the walls. Ashur-nasir-pal himself is taking part in the operations.

*British Museum; photos, Mansell*

gates, no matter how the wretches strive to hamper and clog the rams with chains from above; set your sappers to dig out bricks from the walls, to breach an opening for the courageous to try their fortune in being the first in to loot and ravish. 'Set his cities on fire, set his cities on fire, bring woe on 'city and field.' Vae victis! Torture the chiefs, kill all rebels, carry off the pretty women, deport the remnant to some far province, where they will give no more trouble; loot and burn, and return home with the spoils so hardly gathered by the poor wretches in their prosperity. It is ill to tempt the wrath of Ashur and Ishtar, the great gods.

Doubtless, with the toil of campaigning over, like King Francis, the Assyrian monarch would be caught .thinking war

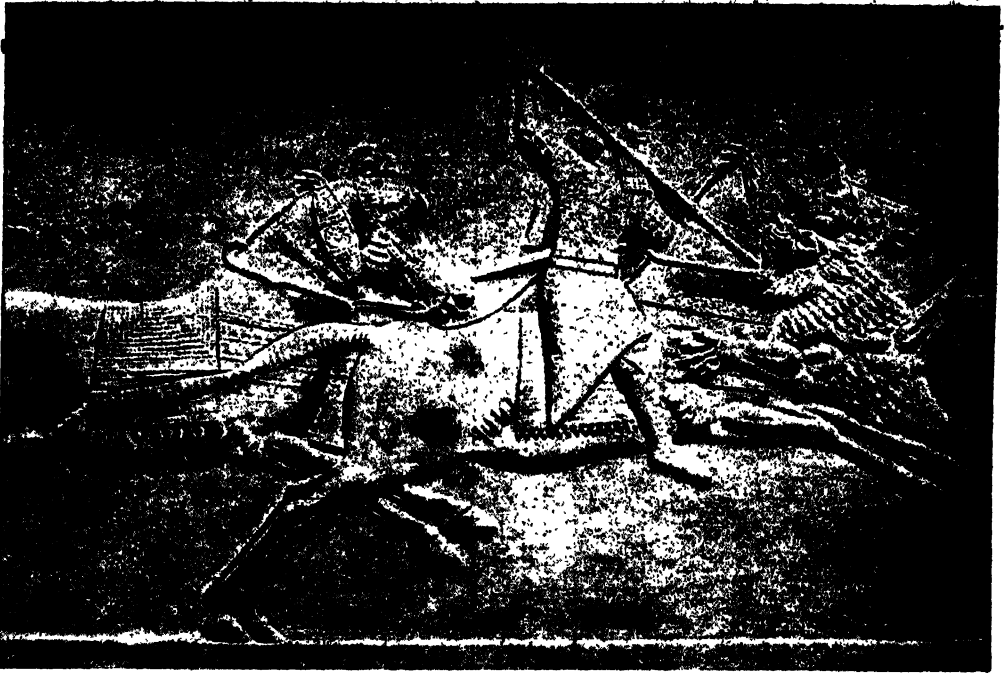
the true pastime, and its only alternative 'let's go look at our lions.' For lion hunting in an arena near the palace gardens was one of the greatest delights of Assyrian kings in time of peace; bull-leaping might satisfy the Cretans, but for real sport on the maidân, give us the lion. The arena shall be kept clear by armed guardsmen, who will see to it that the lions are kept within bounds; then the brutes will be brought in in cages, and loosed when the king is ready in his chariot, or mounted on his stallion, with bow bent and arrow on the string. It was a healthy exploit for Ashurbanipal to seize one by the tail, as the flattering sculptor says he did. Gather up the carcasses of the quarry, for the king would give thanks to Ishtar for his sport. •



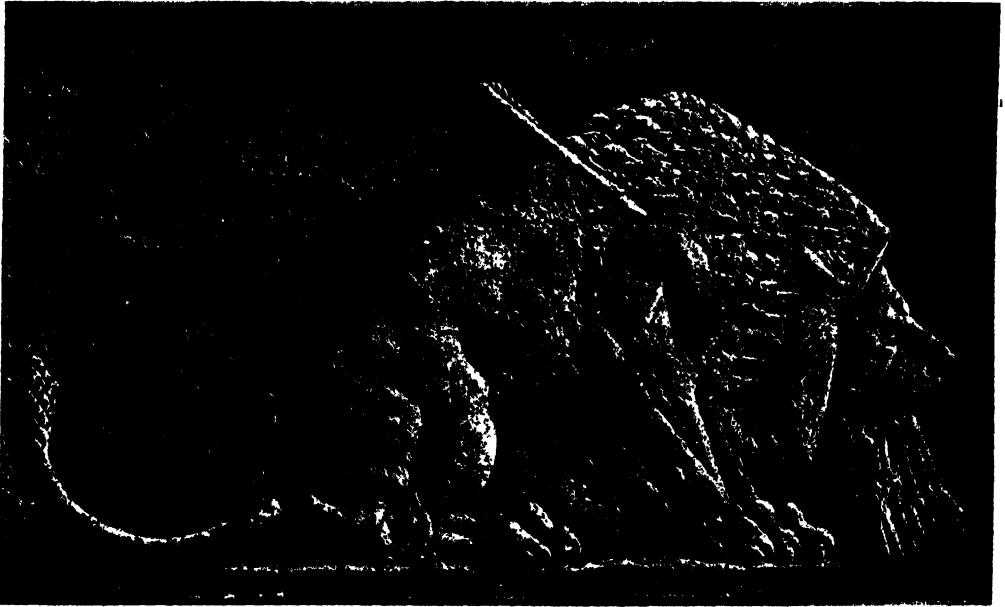
# **HIS SCULPTOR'S FLATTERING RECORD OF THE PROWESS OF ASHURBANIPAL AS A MIGHTY HUNTER OF LIONS**

Ashurbanipal was particularly proud of his prowess in the chase, and the hunting scenes on the bas-reliefs from his palace are of quite extraordinary interest. Here (top right) a lion is shown being released from a cage by a man enclosed in a timber grating above it. To the left of this the king is shown on foot killing a lion in the very middle of its spring, the rapid charge of another no whit disturbing his equanimity. A still more wonderful exploit is depicted in the lower register, when Ashurbanipal (just out of view on the left) seized a lion of the desert by the tail.

*British Museum : photo, Fleming*



How many lions Ashurbanipal killed cannot be ascertained. Tiglath-pileser I boasts in one inscription of having killed eight hundred, and Ashurbanipal was probably no more modest in computation of his score. Bow, axe and spear were equally deadly in the hands of this prince of lion hunters, here shown spearing a lion in the throat at shortest possible range.

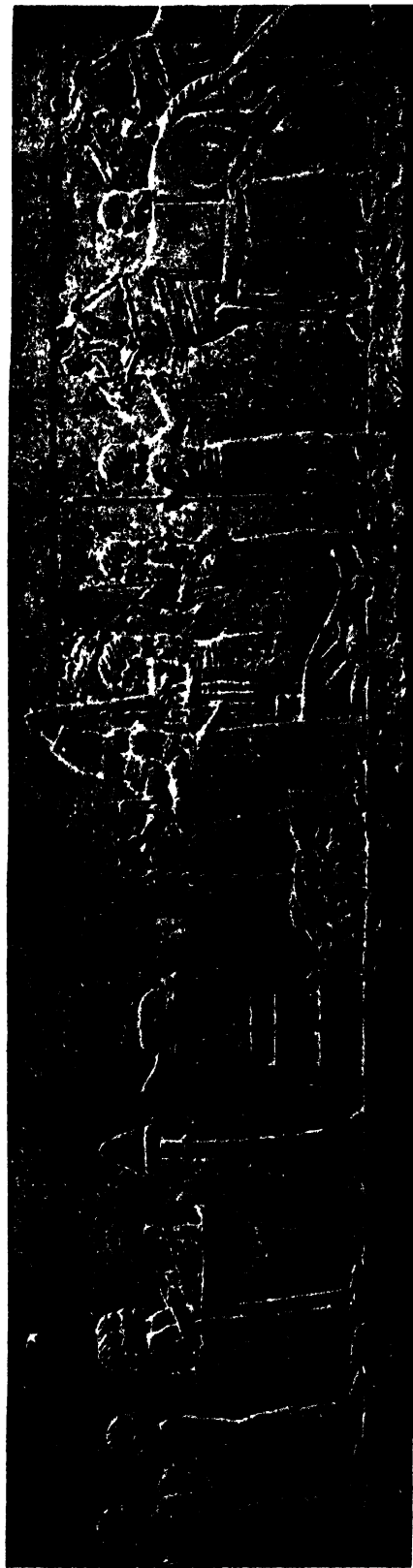


Assyrian sculptors were especially successful in their representation of lions, to whose various attitudes and characteristics they devoted close attention. Exceptionally fine is this study of a lion mortally wounded by an arrow that still sticks in his body. It has pierced some great vessel and the life blood gushes from the mouth of the dying brute, who with humped shoulders grips the ground with all four feet in a last effort to prevent himself from rolling over on to the sand.

#### **LIONS THAT FELL TO THE BOW AND SPEAR OF ASHURBANIPAL**

*British Museum: photos, Mansell*





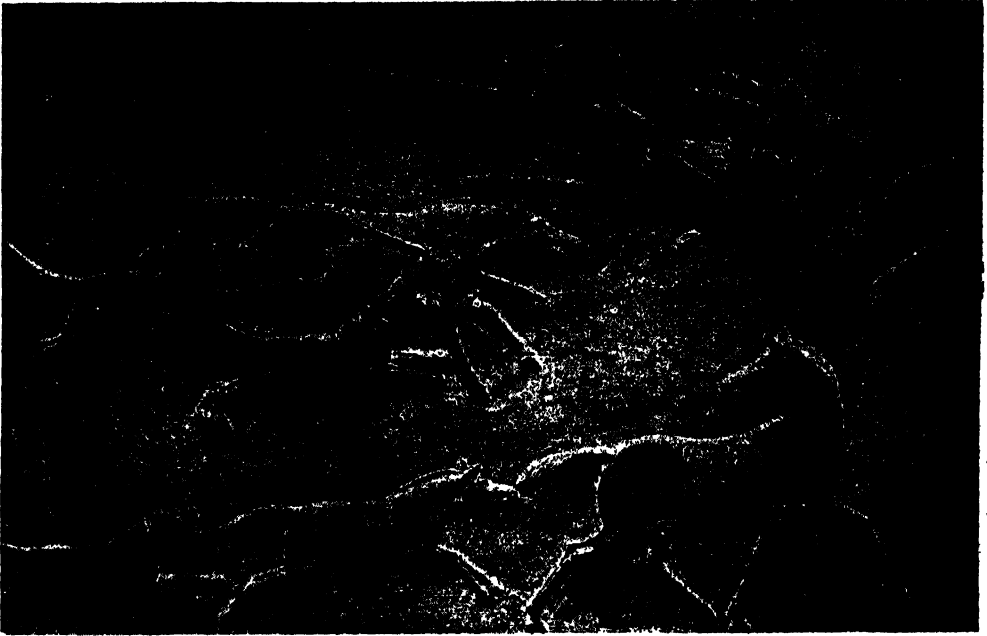
'I am Ashurbanipal, king of hosts, king of Assyria, whom Ashur and Belit have endowed with might. Against the lions that I slew I directed the powerful bow of Ishtar, the lady of battle, and I made an offering and poured out a libation over them.' So reads the epigraph above this altar, before which the proud hunter stands with four dead lions at his feet, with his fan-bearers, bowman and grooms behind him and musicians playing stringed instruments.



Lion hunting from a chariot must have been little, if at all, less dangerous than lion hunting on foot if the great beasts often came to such close quarters as here represented. The king—Ashur-nasir-pal in this instance—has hardly laid one lion low ahead of him before he has to turn to dispose of another behind, actually with its paws in the chariot. At the end of the day the 'bag' was brought in by the hunt servants and laid out at the feet of the sportsmen (right). No fewer than eighteen lions are depicted in one series of these reliefs, eleven dead and seven terribly wounded.

#### THE KING OF BEASTS AS SPORT FOR KINGS IN NINEVEH'S GREAT DAYS

*British Museum; photos, Mansell*



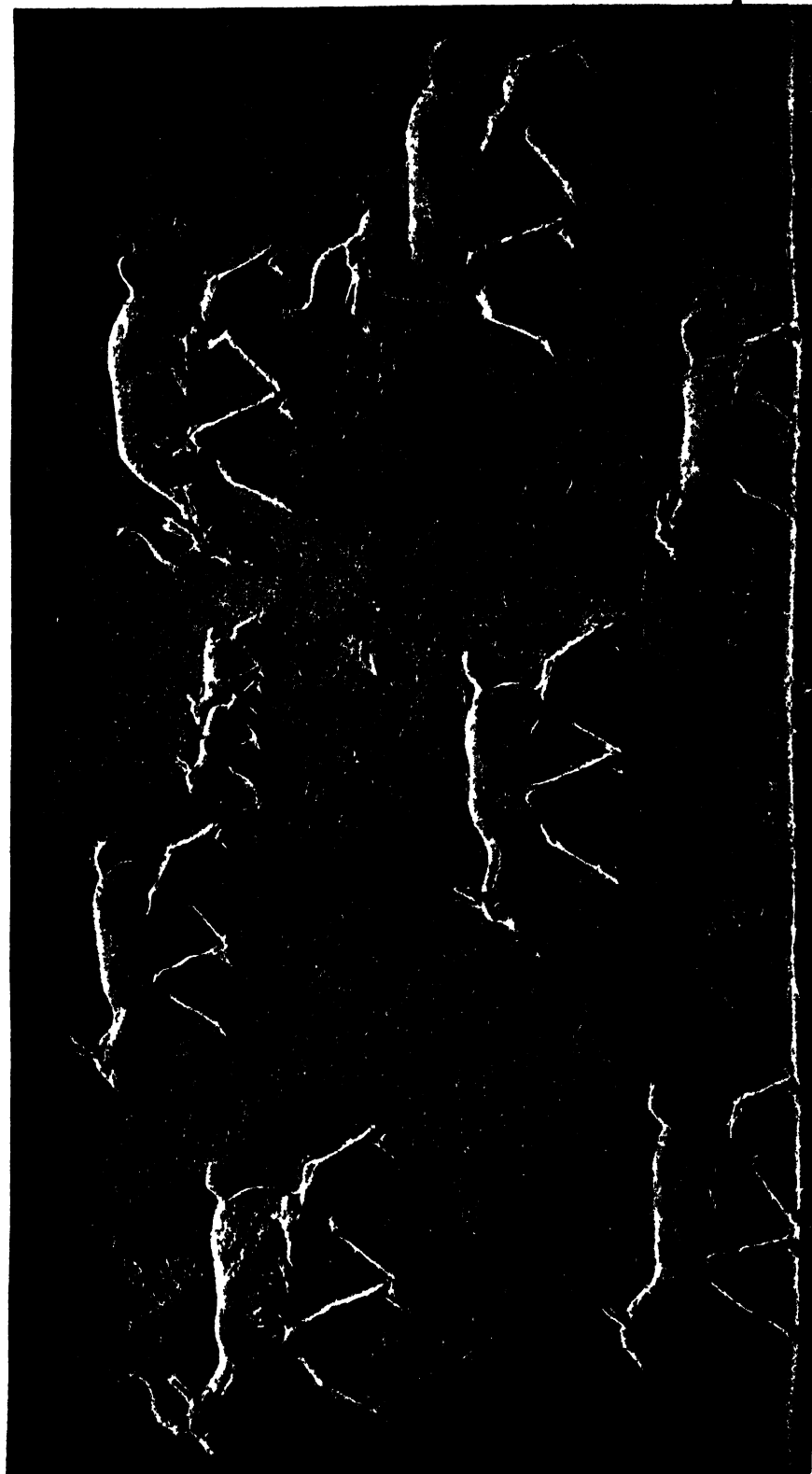
Surprised by beaters, a herd of wild asses is scattered by the hounds from Ashurbanipal's kennels and takes to flight, only for some of them to be pierced by arrows and others to be pulled down by the great mastiffs baying at their heels. The fine beast turning to look back after the doomed foal is an especially successful study from the life.



For accuracy of observation and truth of attitude and movement there is little that any modern school of animal painters could have taught the unknown sculptor responsible for these portrayals of the wild ass. Of these three lower animals, the least successful is the one just lassoed, for service perhaps at stud, since mules were much used in the East; the most successful, that on the right, lashing out with its hind heels with some wild idea of keeping off its pursuers.

#### **HUNTING WILD ASSES IN ASSYRIA : A SCULPTOR'S MASTERPIECE**

*• British Museum ; photos, Mansell*



#### CHARMING STUDY FROM THE LIFE : GAZELLES AT PEACE BEFORE THE HUNT ARRIVES

Admirable alike in composition and in actual drawing, this bas-relief of a herd of gazelles and kids grazing quietly before the chase begins is perhaps the most charming of the hunting scenes from Ashurbanipal's palace. Only the hindmost animal seems conscious of approaching danger, and with turned head sniffs the wind before giving the alarm. Beyond, a companion continues to crop the grass and two kids trot behind their mother, the others pursue their as yet undisturbed progress. There is a realism in the representation that can only come from personal observation of the actual scene.

*British Museum, photo, Mansell*

Enough, then, of blood and killing. Let us turn to the more peaceful pursuits of the civil populace.

Law in Assyria had been tabulated by the twelfth or thirteenth century, and from what we know of it there appears to be little connexion with the earlier Babylonian material. For one thing, we find that the penalties imposed in Assyria

be so much the more complicated. Science (for there was as yet no reason to fear the curtailing of ecclesiastical power by the investigations of more acute brains), astronomy, art and literature, apart from the religion; medicine and surgery; chemistry as applied to medicine, and the arts and architecture, were all pursuits open to the priest.



OFF TO THE CHASE: HOUNDS ON LEASH FROM THE ROYAL KENNELS

Numerous reliefs on stone and on terra-cotta give life-like pictures of the hounds used by Assyrian magnates for hunting big game in the deserts and marshes, wild boar, hyena and panther and perhaps lions. The hound was of a mastiff breed, powerfully built, and its characteristics are so clearly defined that naturalists think it can be identified with a species of dog still extant in Central Asia, although not actually in Mesopotamia.

*British Museum: photo, Mansell*

were far harsher than those in the sister kingdom. The unfortunate Assyrian who broke the laws made himself liable to the death penalty, all kinds of mutilations, flogging up to a hundred blows, hard labour on the king's 'corvée,' or fines amounting to two talents of lead; and if a woman caused herself to miscarry intentionally, she was impaled. Courts of arbitration, consisting of the burgomaster and some of the notables of the town, could decide cases which demanded investigation.

Apart from the law and the army, there was a large field for a young man in the priesthood. If he were of a clerkly turn of mind, the opportunities were, indeed, almost unlimited in their variety; the difference between the times of Hammurabi and the seventh century being, if our estimate is right, that empiric knowledge had greatly increased, and therefore the work entailed in each walk of life would

To enter the priesthood, the first essential for the young acolyte was that he should be perfect in body. His training began with his learning to read and write a clerkly hand in cuneiform on clay tablets, practising first with his bone pen on flat lumps of clay, writing out long lists of signs in their proper order and, when he had progressed a little, select passages from the books. To learn to write and spell was a long task spread over several years, and no small part of the training was concerned with fine and delicate handwriting, in which every artistic scribe took such pride. It can still be seen on very many of the religious tablets, and is often so fine as to need a magnifying glass to read it with accuracy.

Then would come his participation in temple ritual when he learnt to propitiate the god, following in the long train of priests, led perhaps by the king him-



#### OFFERINGS FOR THE ALTAR

Carved for the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal at Calah, this bas-relief represents either a winged genius or less probably a priest robed in ceremonial vestments and carrying a goat and an ear of corn as part of the prescribed oblation.

*British Museum; photo, Mansell*

self as chief ministrant. There in the long dim aisles of the shrine, amid the lowing of the firstling kine outside the temple awaiting sacrifice, he would go solemnly to the presence of the statue of the god made in man's image, before whom were his table groaning with food, the stand which held the pleasant drink and the tall censers sending forth their heavy scent of burning gums. So would he learn the right times to raise his hands in prayer, to kneel, to touch the ground with his forehead; to sing nasal chants in unison with the thin sounds of dulcimer and harp, and the beat of drum; to dance when ritual demanded it.

Many are the priests, and many their kinds, from those who remove the taboo which man has accidentally incurred, to

those seers who peer into the future, drawing their information from the ancient collections of omens, from every possible event which could happen, from the sun in the sky to the animals beneath.

It fell constantly to the lot of the priesthood to free unfortunate mankind from sickness or the evil effects of the taboo. The causes of disease were many, for, apart from the ghosts already discussed in Chapter 18, the devils were legion, and all were capable of attacking man, from the Labartu, the especial foe of childhood, to the Seven Devils, described in a long incantation, which was to be recited over the afflicted patient:

Seven are they! Seven are they!  
In the Ocean Deep, seven are they . . .  
Nor male, nor female are they,  
They are the wandering wind,  
They have no wife, nor son do they beget,  
Knowing neither mercy nor pity,  
They hearken not to prayer or supplication.

Besides these devils and ghosts, there were also the half-demon, half-human spirits,



#### THE DEMON PORTRAYED IN ASSYRIAN ART

Many demons were depicted as half-human. Always feared, but never worshipped, the power to combat their malevolence became associated with certain persons, particularly with the Ashipu class of priests who dealt with witches, the Night-Devil and other such spirits.

*British Museum; photo, Mansell*

born of vampires, just as demi-gods were born of the union of gods and mortal maids. Then, in addition to these supernatural foes, there were the witches and wizards equally potent to cast spells on those whom they hated, making waxen figures of their enemies, into which they put some part of the person attacked, be it hair, spittle, clothes :

Those who have made images in my shape,  
Who have likened them unto my form,  
Who have taken of my spittle, plucked out  
my hair,  
Torn my garments, or gathered the dust cast  
off from my feet.

If the priest was called in to exorcise a demon, it was his first duty to show the foe that he knew all about him, his name and his characteristics. To this end he would repeat long lists of all possible demons, and by so doing was held to have convinced the demon that he had this full knowledge, although he might not have definitely identified him. Then his next essential was to summon some god to his aid, and this he would do by reciting a regular formula which represents his appeal to the gods Ea and Marduk as follows :

Marduk hath seen him (the sick man) and hath entered the house of his father Ea, and hath said, ' Father, the headache (-demon) from the Underworld hath come forth ' [or whatever demon the priest may wish to exorcise]. Twice he hath said unto him, ' What this man hath done he knoweth not ; whereby may he be relieved ? ' Ea hath answered his son Marduk, ' O my son, what dost thou not know, what more can I give thee ? O Marduk, what dost thou not know, what can I add to thy knowledge ? What I know, thou knowest also. Go, my son Marduk.'

Then follows the prescription to be used to cure the patient, which has thus the added merit of having a divine blessing.

A very popular method in Assyrian magic of removing the evil influence was to provide some form of ' atonement offering,' some body or object as a substitute which the demon could be compelled to enter, thus leaving the patient free. In one charm against a demon we find a young pig so given, and the priest recites over it the following :

Give the pig in his stead, and  
Let the flesh be as his flesh,



#### TWO TYPES OF ASSYRIAN PRIESTHOOD

These terra-cotta statuettes from eighth-century Nineveh suggest the effect of the cult of divinities upon ritual garb. The bearded figure (left) is in full robes ; the other is dressed as a fish.

*British Museum ; photo, Mansell*

And the blood as his blood . . .  
That the pig may be a substitute for him . . .  
That the evil Spirit, the evil Demon, may  
stand aside.

With this very brief sketch of the exorcist's duties, which must, of course, be kept separate from the functions of the proper doctor, we can turn to the debt we owe to the priests in science. The priests were, above all, responsible for keeping the lamp of literature alight, and, apart from their own studies in collating and collecting manuscripts, it was part of the responsibilities of the temple to maintain a library, to which pious Babylonians dedicated copies of books, and series of books, as ex-voto offerings.

Such a library certainly existed in the Temple of Nabu at Nineveh, which, as far as we know at present, was provided, at least in later times, by the great amateur Ashurbanipal. There is little doubt that we owe much of our knowledge of Baby-

lonia to these efforts of the priests, and this is the place to consider their discoveries in different branches of science.

The first essays in scientific observation, which is the base of all true discovery, are to be seen in the early Babylonian vocabularies of words of the fourth millennium B.C., of gods, officials and objects of daily life, which were made by the scribes of the ancient city of Shuruppak, the legendary scene of the Flood. This capacity for tabulating words and objects, and giving the correct definitions of them, represents a scientific energy of great potentiality, which was subsequently to develop into an ability for accurate observation in experiment, and neat and concise expression in all literary efforts, particularly in drafting state documents.

In fact, dictionary making was to reach such a pitch under the later Assyrian and Babylonian kings, that it can be best described as a passion, which was never equalled by any other contemporary nation. Originally, of course, this virtue may have been in part due to the existence side by side of two distinct peoples, for not only did the Semites need dictionaries while Sumerian was still a spoken language, but after the Sumerians had died out there was almost stronger need of aids to the translation of the relics of the Sumerian language, owing to the great debt in the form of religious literature due from the Semites to the Sumerians. Down almost to the latest period of cuneiform a dictionary presented to a temple was accounted a very fitting gift.

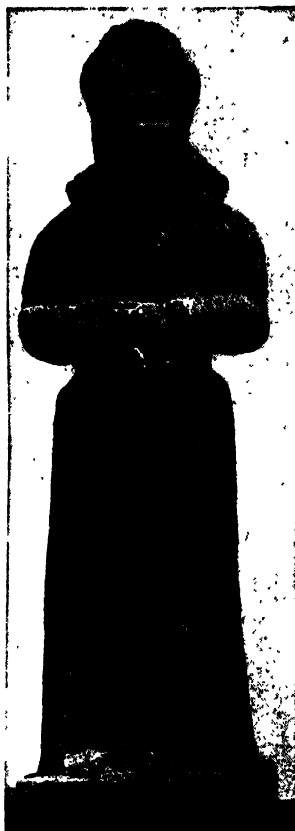
These lists include everything a lexicographer could desire: bilingual dictionaries of Sumerian and Semitic phrase books in the two languages; synonymous

words in Semitic Akkadian; and, although more rarely, dictionaries of foreign words with Akkadian equivalents—Hittite, Kassite and even Egyptian. Then there are the lists of gods, temples, stars, countries; objects made of metal, wood and cloth; and, more interesting still, the animals, stones and plants.

With these three last groups we are chiefly concerned, because of their obvious bearing on Assyrian science. The animal lists are divided into categories of beasts, birds, fishes, snakes and insects; the stone lists contain numerous chemical products, many of which are again found either in medicine or the manuals for making glass; but the largest of these three groups embraces the lists of plants, which show a very deep knowledge of vegetable products.

These plant lists, of which there are about 120 fragments of tablets from Ashurbanipal's library in the British Museum, as well as two tablets of the same nature believed to come from Ashur, perhaps a little earlier in date, show that the Assyrian botanists had grouped their plant names in a definite order, or at the most (since it is difficult to reconcile the variations which do occur), two orders. It is clear that

their ideas about species and genera are by no means the same as ours, but as practical lists their work is admirable. They begin, reasonably enough, with grasses, reeds and the Euphorbiaceae (including spurge), but after these the reasons for the arrangement appears to be arbitrary. The Papaveraceae (poppies), for instance, and Cucurbitaceae (cucumbers), are grouped together, probably because the cuneiform in each begins with the sign 'khul,' which must surely have reference to the similarity of the



**GOD OF LEARNING**

Majestic in long robe, ample beard and horned tiara, Nabu, or Nebo, was the patron god of wisdom.

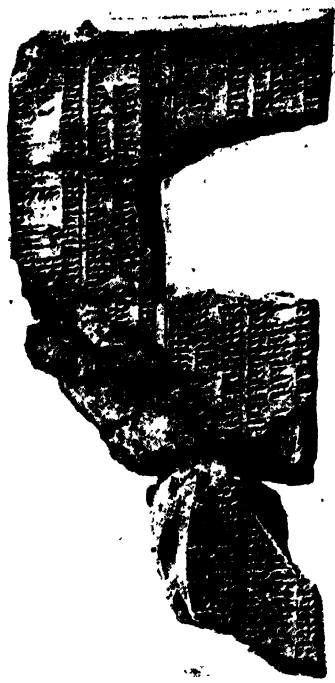
*British Museum*

poppy seed-capsule and the little oriental cucumber, or even gourd. The approximate number of Assyrian names given to species of the vegetable kingdom is three hundred.

To illustrate their wide knowledge of drugs we may instance hemp or cannabis, called in Assyrian the 'plant for spinning,' 'rope-plant' or 'plant for fodder,' but particularly 'plant for sorrow'—that is, it had an intoxicating effect, well known in the ancient East for raising the spirits of a man in grief; hellebore, which they called the ataishu plant—that is, the 'sneeze-plant'; opium, of which it was said that it was like the mandrake (in its narcotic effects), and that women and children gathered the juice, as they do to this day; the mandrake, called namtar-ira, or namtar-gira, from which the Greeks

made mandragora, garbling the word as they heard it. Then there were the gums, from myrrh to styrax; the daisy, which they, like the classical authors, accounted sacred to Venus; the fruits, among which are worthy of notice the armânû or apricot, from which the Romans took the name Armeniaca, and the musukkânu, mulberry, from which word came the old appellation 'sycamine.'

These, however, come from the simple botanical catalogues. The next in the scale of importance are the pharmacopoeia lists, arranged in three columns, giving the plant, the disease for which it is employed, and the method of use. Licorice-root is 'a drug for coughing,' to be crushed and drunk in beer; the galls of the tamarisk (a fruitful source of tannic acid) are for diarrhoea; aloes are 'a drug for bile,' also to be crushed and drunk; and then there is a plant called 'urû,' used for anointing in oil, that lice should not be on a man's body.



#### ASSYRIAN LEXICON

A fragment of a tablet containing an explanatory list of words with glosses, drawn up for use in the library of Ashurbanipal.

*British Museum*

From these brief reminders for the physician we can turn to the real medical texts, written on several hundred tablets or fragments, giving numerous recipes for different diseases, with the diagnosis in full, followed by the method of administering them.

If a man's eyes are full of yellow rheum, bray and apply pomegranate rind, an excellent styptic; for inflammation of the eyes, bray dust from a copper saucepan and apply it in curd to them, copper being a well-known remedy; if a man's head is full of scabies and itch, crush sulphur and apply it in cedar oil—a modern remedy; if saliva comes too freely in the mouth, crush and let him drink, perhaps with other drugs, tamarisk-galls (i.e., tannin), galbanum and turpentine from fir and pine. These are but specimens of what may be

enumerated as thousands of such recipes, which provide for everything from a scorpion sting to difficult childbirth.

No doctor, however, could quite shake himself free from magic, and even to the baldest lists of medical recipes the Assyrian would sometimes add a charm.



#### AN ASSYRIAN MATERIA MEDICA

This clay tablet from the library of Ashurbanipal (c. 650 B.C.), written in cuneiform Sumerian with its Assyrian translation, gives the names of various cucumbers, and other plants whence certain beneficial drugs are derived.

*British Museum*



There is the interesting Exorcism of the Worm which causes toothache:

After Anu made the heavens, the heavens made the earth, the earth made the rivers, the rivers made the canals, the canals made the marsh, the marsh made the Worm. The Worm came weeping to Shamash, (came) unto Ea, her tears flowing: 'What wilt thou give me for my food, what wilt thou give me to destroy?' 'I will give thee dried figs (and) apricots.' 'Forsooth, what are these dried figs to me, or apricots? Set me amid the teeth, and let me dwell in the gums, that I may destroy the blood of the teeth, and of the gums chew their marrow. So shall I hold the bolt of the door.' 'Since thou hast said this, O Worm, may Ea smite thee with his mighty fist.'

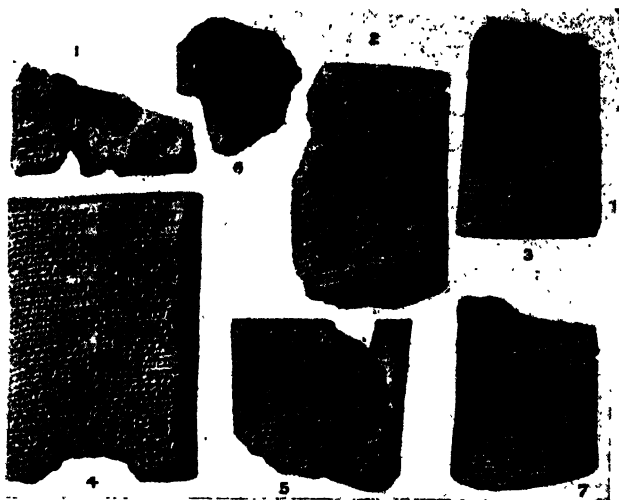
If the profession desired were that of a practical chemist, as with the doctor many branches of knowledge were necessary. The aspirant



#### BABYLONIAN MAP OF THE WORLD

The great circle marks the Ocean, while in the smaller circles are Babylon and other cities, and elsewhere the mountains and the deltaic swamps of Babylonia are all indicated. The map records the campaigns of Sargon of Agade.

*British Museum*



#### BABYLONIAN LEGENDS OF THE CREATION

Assyrian tablets relate the Babylonian epic of the Creation in seven sections: (1) the primeval ocean mass; (2) rebellion of the gods; (3) divine council of war; (4) Marduk, as champion, slays Tiāmat (see page 978); (5) creation of the stars; (6) creation of man; (7) hymn in praise of Marduk.

*British Museum: photo, Mansell*

had to have something of the priest in him, for no glass-furnace could be made without due sacrifices to the spirits of embryos born before their time, so that the ghosts of these unfortunate little beings, so incomplete themselves, might be pacified and so persuaded to withhold their evil influence from spoiling the chemical compounds in the process of their production. He must be also a geologist, for the compounds, for which his text-books provided recipes, demanded many earths and substances out of the earth, and he must also know something of medicines, particularly poisons. Finally, he must be something of an artist in his production of coloured glazes.

The Assyrian chemist was the forerunner of the medieval alchemist, without the latter's perpetual materialistic ambition to discover, by assiduous search, the elixir which was to produce gold out of some baser metal. Doubtless his first training was with the priestly staff of the temple, where he could study the books on stones and chemicals. As has been said above, there were dictionaries of these geological products, and herein he would find how the lapidaries used special terminations to denote the relative hardness of white stones and blue stones, as a test of

their identification, not perhaps so complete as our modern scale, but a very practical one for defining the difference between chalk and, let us say, chalcedony, or lapis lazuli and sapphire, the last being so hard that it was called 'scratching-stone' (the meaning of 'sapphire') and was used by them to cut seals.

He would learn from the seal-cutters how to identify other stones from their colour: red-stone (carnelian); blue-stone (lapis); crystal; a white

**Identification of** stone moderately hard  
**precious stones** (limestone); green serpent-stone (green calcite, or

serpentine). Still more advanced he would probably learn that certain of the stones would effervesce under acid, which was another distinguishing test, after which he would learn that there was a connexion between the hard black seal-stone, haematite, and the wonderful magnetic stone, iron oxide; that a form of arsenic (orpiment) was useful as gold paint, and the test of arsenic was that it gave off a smell as of garlic when fire was applied. The red cinnabar, which came from near the petroleum outflow that burns so mysteriously near Kerkuk, would afford him mercury, as he knew, if he collected the vaporised result after heating it in a seething pot; and if he treated lead with acid, it would give him a white paint, which he could turn to red lead by fire.

He would learn also how the different 'vitriols' (in the ancient sense of the word) were produced — just as 'muzu,' the word for sulphate of iron (or copper, it is uncertain which) was taken over by classical writers in the word 'misy,' so was the word 'sikhru' for vitriol (ferrous sulphate) borrowed as 'sori.' He would learn that 'green vitriol' formed itself like grape-clusters, and that the beautiful blue crystals of blue vitriol were called in his tongue 'heavenly blue.' All these facts were in his text-books.

Then would come the application of this knowledge to practical use in glass-making. The furnace was built so that the fire of styrax wood beneath would flame through holes called 'eyes' into the partition above where the components to form the glass — a mixture of special sand and alkali from the soda-plants and chalk or lime — were melted in the moulds. To these he would add chemicals to make various colours.

Most interesting it is that the Assyrian chemist knew how to introduce a very small quantity of gold into his components to produce a ruby colour, or as he calls it 'coral,' which is merely the origin of the famous 'purple of Cassius' supposed to be an invention of a much later period. Further, he knew how to produce a glass which he called 'spangled red glass,' his words being 'sandu markhashitu,' extraordinarily like Pliny's word 'sandra-sitac' for the well known spangled mineral called aventurine, which is actually the name given to the spangled brown glass supposed to have been invented by the Venetians in the thirteenth century.

With this brief sketch of terrestrial knowledge we can go on to his theories of the cosmos and his astronomy.

From very early times the science of mathematics had attracted the dwellers



**THE WORLD AS THE BABYLONIANS CONCEIVED IT**

Babylonian ideas of the universe were not unlike the early Greek. Surrounding a flat world, from whose central mountain flowed the Tigris and Euphrates, was the outer ocean; beyond this a ring of mountains supporting the triple dome of heaven. In the mountains were gates for the sun at dawn and sunset, and below the earth the seven-walled city of the dead.



#### CELESTIAL LORE OF ANCIENT BABYLON

Two sculptured stones, which record a deed of gift (left) and (right) the award of Nebuchadrezzar I to Ritti-Marduk for services on an Elamite campaign (see page 676), display Sun, Moon, Venus and Scorpion, symbols of a primitive astrological science which fathered the modern conception of astronomy.

*From J. de Morgan, 'Fouilles à Suse,' and British Museum*

in Mesopotamia, as would be only natural in a nation which paid so much attention to star-gazing, as well as to business, and the necessary surveys for land measuring. The pupil, at an early age in Babylonian history, would find cuneiform books of multiplication tables and the like, and at subsequent periods tables of square and cube roots. Much of this is to be found on tablets dating to the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2400 B.C.), and even at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (c. 2200 B.C.) there were enough formulae invented to train a man to be an efficient estate-agent. As far back as 2400 B.C. he would be able to work out the area of an irregular polygon with no little skill, and by 2200 he could learn a very fair formula for the hypotenuse; there is even a most advanced problem book, setting questions in the solution of areas: 'In a square of such and such a size I have marked 8 (isosceles) triangles: reckon this field.'

When we reach the seventh century our actual knowledge of Assyrian mathematics is less, but no little inference can be

drawn from their astronomy. Properly the science of the stars was still, for the most part, astrology; but already it was being turned to the practical use of determining the length of the month. This had come about in the following manner.

From a very early time the Babylonians had known the difference between the solar and the lunar year, and in order to make the two coincide they added, from time to time, an intercalary month. This arrangement must have originated with the Sumerians, but even by Hammurabi's time there was no fixed rule for the insertion of this month, the duration of the year being uncertain. Ultimately, in the sixth century, an eight year cycle appears to have been in vogue, and in 381 B.C. there was a nineteen year cycle, having a second month Adar added in the third, sixth,

eleventh, fourteenth and seventeenth years, and a second month Elul in the ninth.

From the ancient observation of these two years, the lunar and the solar, with the division of the ecliptic into twelve signs which are almost the same as those in use to-day, had arisen the celebrated Sexagesimal System for which the Sumerians were famous, and which we have inherited in our divisions of time.

In this problem of settling the duration of the solar year, a second one had arisen, that of defining the actual length of each month, not only for astronomical reasons, but also for purposes of business. The month began, like the modern one in the Near East, with the new moon, but as the lunar month lasts about twenty-nine days and a half, it is obvious that some months will have twenty-nine days and others thirty. It was part of the routine of the Assyrian observatories to settle this point monthly, and report thereon to the king, and by an ingenious but practical method they were able to see

**Duties of the  
Astronomers**

in advance, from the relative positions of the sun and moon, whether the month was to have its twenty-nine or thirty days. The length of the month was thus forecast.

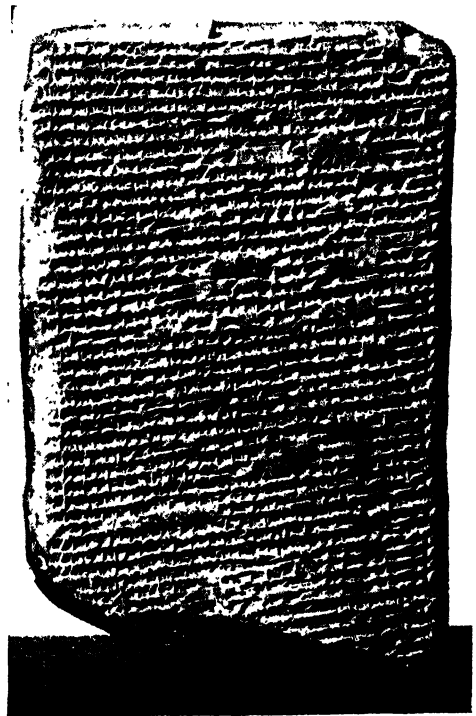
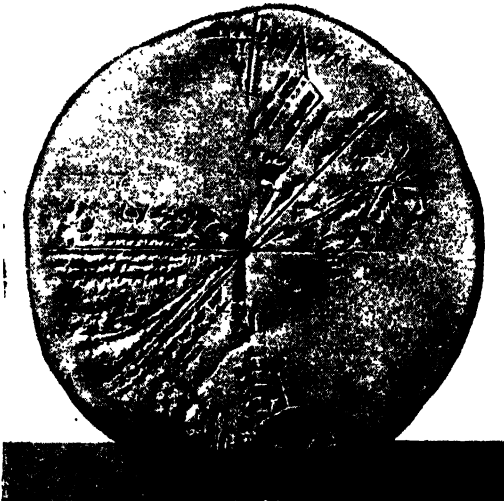
The Sexagesimal System gave rise to the smaller time-divisions of 'bêrê' or double-hours. That these were made is proved to us by the report of an ancient astrologer on the equinox, which states that on a certain day the day and night were equal, there having been six bêrê to each.

This at once leads us to the invention of the clepsydra or water-clock, which the Babylonians probably had in the seventh century, certainly in the Seleucid period (c. 300 B.C.). The amount of water which appears to have been allowed to drip through the orifice of the clock was at the rate of one talent (= 60 mana of 505 grammes each) in the day and night, or approximately six drops to the second. The tradition of the existence of a Babylonian clepsydra is preserved by Sextus Empiricus (third century A.D.), and Herodotus credits them with the invention of the gnomon, a kind of sundial, and the polos, a concave dial for measuring time.

As was seen in Chapter 18, science had as yet had no unsettling effect on the minds of Babylonian theologians. They had as yet no reason to keep their religion and their

investigations separate in 'water-tight compartments.' They held to the old religious beliefs for the two good reasons that they were naturally conservative, and up to the present, as far as their somewhat elementary researches had gone, there was nothing in science that conflicted with religion. The same may be said of the seventh century, or, for that matter, of the later Babylonian Empire in the sixth, which is as late as we can postulate this with certainty. As far as the Assyrian or Babylonian was concerned, the heavenly bodies, at which he gazed so intently, in order to learn the will of the gods, had been set in their places and given the ordinance of their movements by the gods.

For the Assyrian the stories of the creation of the world were those which tradition had handed down, particularly the great version in seven tablets. He accepted without cavil the stories as given in his texts, after having made in the main version a monstrous and fundamental



#### ASTROLOGY THE FORERUNNER OF ASTRONOMY

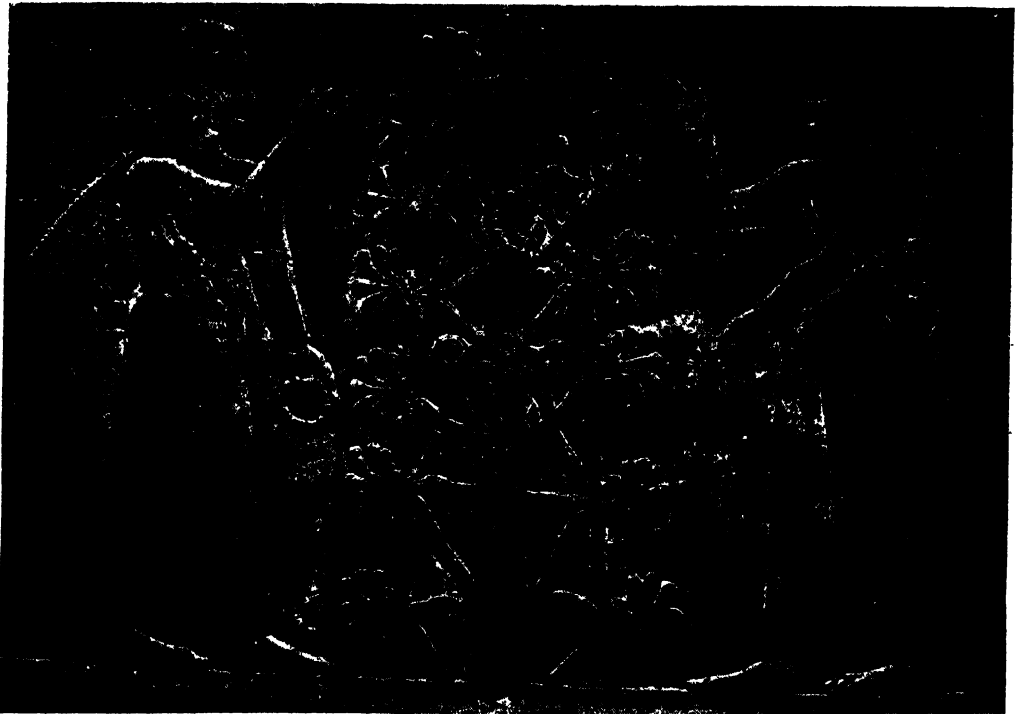
Assyrians and Babylonians alike supplemented traditional lore by scientific observation, and saw nothing incompatible between the claims of religion and science, a stage of culture that prevailed to the sixth century B.C. Left, an Assyrian astrolabe for making astrological computations. Right, a tablet with astrological forecasts derived from lunar observations.

• British Museum; photos Mansell •



Ashur (or, in Babylonia, Marduk) became the champion of the other gods against the dragon-goddess Tiāmat, who created monsters to revenge herself upon Apsū on account of his wicked plan to destroy their own offspring. Tiāmat was slain and from the two halves of her body were created heaven and earth. The figure on the left is a priest. These reliefs were found at Nimrūd.

*From Layard, 'Monuments of Nineveh'*



This marble relief from the palace at Nimrūd most probably represents the 'Great Mother' (Ishtar or Belt) engaged in a rite of the fertility cult before the sacred tree. The Tree of Life depicted in a similar symbolic design has been found on several sculptures of the period; it is probably a conventionalised form of the date palm, on which Mesopotamian prosperity so largely depended. With a desire to secure symmetry, the designer here has duplicated the figure.

#### **MANIFESTATIONS OF GOOD AND EVIL BEFORE THE COSMOS WAS CREATED**

*British Museum; photo. Mansell*

change. The legend had been borrowed from Babylon, where the hero of the story had been the national god Marduk; as soon as the Assyrians took it over the hero was changed to Ashur, a very typical piece of priestly juggling.

In the beginning when the heavens were not, and the earth beneath was not formed, the Deep, Apsû, and the Dragon, Tiāmat, with Mummu to do their behests, were the only creations. Then from the union of these two first named were two deities born, Lakhmu and Lakhamu, and from these sprang Anshar and Kishar, who in turn gave being to Anu (the Sky), from whom was begotten Ea, god of the earth beneath and the waters under the earth in particular. But the gods thus created so disturbed their pristine parent, Apsû, that he took counsel with Tiāmat that they might destroy them. Tiāmat, however, would not agree to slay her own offspring, but Mummu encouraged the wicked plan of Apsû, and this came to the ears of Ea, who by magic cast a deep sleep on Apsû

and then killed him and bound Mummu as prisoner. Then was the national god Marduk, son of Ea (in the Babylonian version) born, or, as in the Assyrian account, Ashur, son of Lakhmu and Lakhamu.

Tiāmat, however, robbed of her husband, meditated revenge, and to this end bore monsters of all kinds, exalting Kingu over them, and prepared to fight the gods. Ea again heard of this and was greatly perturbed in mind, and on going for help to Anshar was advised to encounter the dragon; but his spirit failed him and he would not. Then Anshar told his son Anu to go, but he turned back in terror at sight of her, and finally Marduk was besought to take up the championship, and he accepted gladly. Ultimately there was a tremendous fight between Marduk and Tiāmat, in which the god was victorious, slaying the great dragon, and then taking Kingu prisoner.

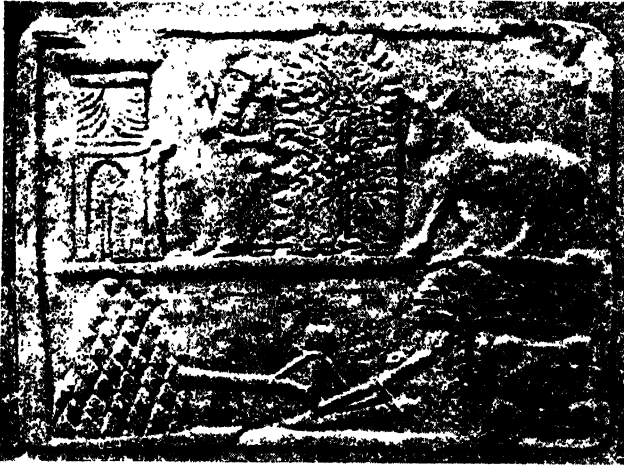
Here begins the creation of cosmos: Marduk splits the great dragon into two



**TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE OLD ASSYRIAN CAPITAL**

The elevation and area of the temple erected in Ashur by Shalmaneser III to Anu and Adad follow closely those of the older edifice founded by Shamshi-Adad I about a thousand years before and rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser. Both temples were typical expressions of a deep-seated tradition of the warrior-kings who sought to equalise regal splendour with divine governance in a theocratic state. The provision of 'houses' and of one great tower for each deity emphasises this aspect.

*After Andrae, 'Der Anu-Adad Tempel in Assur,' J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig*



#### AGRICULTURE IN IMPERIAL ASSYRIA

The plough and seed-drill shown in the lower half of this 7th century tablet afford a glimpse into the methods of the cultivator. A date palm is appropriately introduced. Above are seen a sacred tree, a bull and a man before a small shrine.

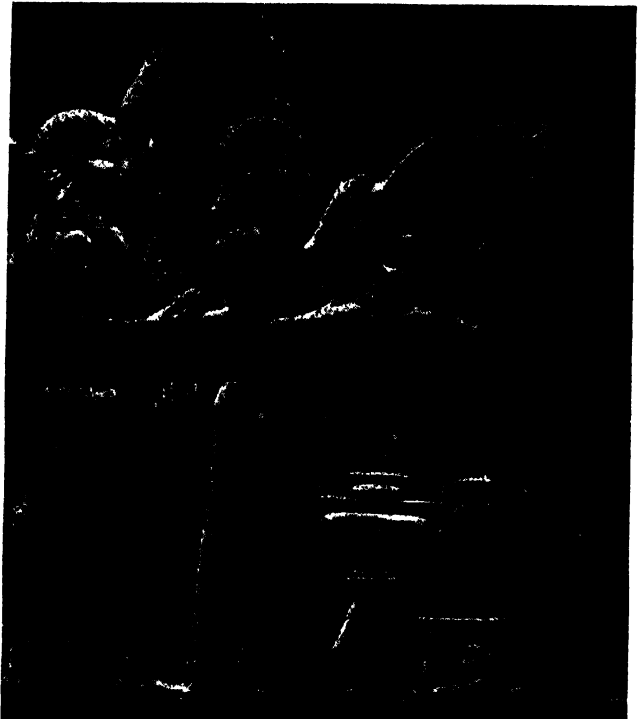
*British Museum*

halves, one for the heavens, the other for the earth, and settles the ordinance of the heavenly bodies, and the duration of periods of time. Then in order that the gods might be duly served, he creates man by slaying the iniquitous Kingu, and using his blood.

This, then, was the orthodox cosmogony, and the Assyrian saw no more cause to disbelieve it than the modern orthodox Arab would mistrust what his teachers have taught him. A compilation of the different texts which refer to the cosmic order shows that the heavens were regarded as being in three successive layers, above the flat earth, which was surrounded by the ocean. Beyond this earthly ocean was the lofty dam which bounded it and supported the heavens, and from a gate in the eastern mountains therein issued the sun on his daily round to the western gate. Beneath the earth was the dark, forbidding Underworld, containing the seven-walled abode of the dead.

With all their limitations, however, the Assyrians were beginning to settle the science of astronomy on a firm basis, albeit their use for their observations was in the main astrological. They reckoned, of course, seven planets, the Sun, the Moon, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Saturn, and one of their astronomers describes them as 'stars which pass over their own road over themselves.' Even in the seventh century they may have been able to foretell eclipses of the Moon, from the eighteen-year 'saros' period (within which eclipses recur), and there is no doubt that they were able to predict eclipses successfully in the succeeding

century, although they could not always state which would be visible at Babylon.



#### MUSIC IN THE REIGN OF ASHURBANIPAL

Priests chanted to the accompaniment of the tenuous sounds of harp and drum. This marble slab from Kouyunjik shows the harp with twelve strings, whereas the 'Asor'—the treble instrument of the Hebrews—had but ten.

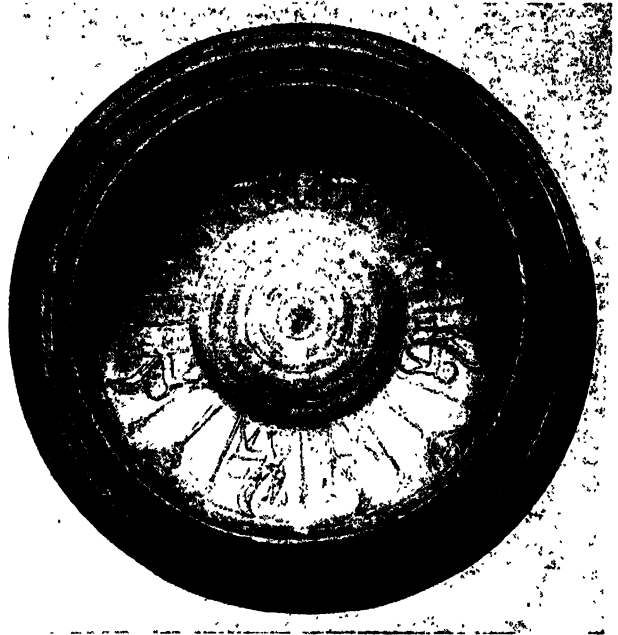
*British Museum: photo, Mansell*

Their passion for astrology led them to record the presence of stars within the larger and the smaller haloes of the Moon. The Sun's path through the ecliptic they had long ago divided into twelve signs of the Zodiac; Venus was carefully observed even in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Ammi-zaduga, c. 1977 B.C.). After the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., down almost to the Christian Era, the science of astrology, as the pundits who recorded their observations in cuneiform knew it, was beginning to develop into a very sound astronomy.

It remains now to sum up our two chapters on the inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria by tracing the development of the Semitic mind and capacity, and their ultimate influence on the later civilizations. What were the causes of the greatness, and at the same time the inferiority, of the Semites who occupied the Mesopotamian valley?

To answer this properly demands, first, a review of the Semitic character in its power of expansion, and its limitation of aim. Broadly speaking, two factors accentuate their defects, which in the end were so strongly to militate against their rising to unlimited supremacy among civilized nations; and these were, first, the external one of the enervating climate of Babylonia, and, secondly, the internal one of their natural conservatism.

It has been impossible to lay any very great stress throughout these chapters on marked differences between the Babylonians and Assyrians, or salient advances in the different periods; throughout the two or three thousand years of Semitic occupation of Mesopotamia we are compelled to say that there was very little in the way of human advancement to mark the passage of years. This long period can show much empiric discovery, it is true, in the fields of concrete and practical science, but nothing on the lines of



#### FOREIGN ART ON ASSYRIAN SOIL

This bronze bowl from Nimrud shows a design of distinct Egypto-Phoenician motive. The concentric circles are surrounded by a frieze depicting winged hawk-headed sphinxes, each with an enemy underfoot, and wearing the crowns of North and South. Khepera-beetle standards divide the groups.

*British Museum: photo, Mansell*

rational philosophic theory, which was practically the same in 700 B.C. as it was in 2000 B.C.

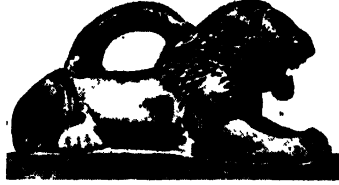
If we essay to indicate the character of the ancient Semites, we must ascribe to them an intense devotion, not necessarily fanatic, to their gods; loyalty to their race rather, perhaps, than their country; kindness and faithfulness to their families and friends; professionally a great capacity for trade, and a judicious courage in time of war; a high appreciation of music, which shows itself in the rhythm and beauty of the imagery in their poetry, and a nice perception of literary details; and in all their doings an efficient practical outlook.

On the other hand metaphysical abstractions had little charm for them; they cared little for original channels of thought, and were as a rule very unready to accept new conceptions in religion, save in conventional transference of legends from other gods to their own. Although they allowed themselves no little freedom in translating the poetic epics, they were conservative in



their copying of ancient rituals and religious services, thus unwittingly withholding the proper application of a very learned scholarship from the realm of physics, in which nothing but the most daring originality could eliminate the infinite fantasies born of ancient savage credulity which ultimately in their descendants became definite and unassailable convictions, to be perpetuated by an uncompromising priesthood. The efforts of their learned men came to a spontaneous end in the persistent limitations of their religion against which no one had the initiative or even the desire to struggle.

Throughout the Near East excavations have over and over again proved this lack of originality; the Palestine sites show nothing but relics of a people poor in art, paradoxically (as at Gezer) crying aloud that it was the Israelites who were the real 'Philistines' in artistic conception. The Phoenician worker in metal borrowed his designs from Egypt; and as for the Arab of to-day, he seems likely to remain incapable of doing more than borrowing weapons of war or telegraphs, under the impression that this adaptation constitutes an inventive capacity.



**ASSYRIAN LION WEIGHT**

Found at Nimrūd, date c. 745-705 B.C. The handle is cast on the bronze body and the weight is indicated on one side in strokes: thus /// means 3 minas (manehs).

British Museum; photo, Mansell

This lack of invention is equally obvious throughout the Semitic domination of Babylonia, where the Sumerians were the founders of everything; the Semites borrowed practically all their literature, and

only in their historical inscriptions or their free translations of the epics did their imagery lead them to be original. In sculpture, although their artistic sense led them to improve on the results of their predecessors, their very technique was borrowed from the Sumerians, and down to the end they retained the conventional Sumerian ideas of perspective.

It is true that their great practicality had made them excel as law-givers, but here again we cannot eliminate the probability of Sumerian connexion. Indeed, there is one obvious and outstanding debt which the different Semites owe to their neighbours, and that is the alphabets which they borrowed.

Nevertheless, in spite of all their conservatism, which is the mark of so many people in the East, the Semites by their great power of observation undoubtedly wrested many a secret from nature, and we are to-day greatly their debtors for the largesse which their caravaneers passed on to Europe.



**MUSIC AND THE DANCE ON AN ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEF**

From a seventh century alabaster relief from Nineveh it is evident that the Assyrians were extremely sensitive to the beauties of rhythm in music and dancing, and no less successful in portraying their ideas. Note the orchestra (left) of tambourine, cymbals and two kinds of lyre to which the dancers perform graceful steps, recognizable by the idea of motion subtly informing hair, foot, and body movements. Mastery of form also characterises the two horses on the right.

*The Louvre*

# THE DORIAN INVASION AND IONIAN MIGRATIONS

A Period of Storm and Stress that beset the Greek  
World in the Dark Ages after the Trojan War

By W. R. HALLIDAY

Principal of King's College, London; Late Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in  
the University of Liverpool; Author of *The Growth of the City State*, etc.

FOR the Greeks themselves two great events stood out in the tradition of their past as necessary points of departure for any attempt to reconstruct its history: one was the Trojan War and the other was the 'return of the Heraclidae,' which was said to have taken place some eighty years after the fall of Troy. The story of 'the children of Heracles' owes its form to a desire to justify the Dorian rulers of Argos by an alleged hereditary claim, which has no real historical foundation; but that the event which it describes really took place, there can be no reasonable doubt.

The story ran that Heracles had taken service with Aegimius, a Dorian chieftain in Thessaly, fought for him against the Lapiths, and was rewarded by receiving a third of his kingdom. Hyllus, the son of Heracles, was confirmed in the possession of the land which his father had won, and was adopted by Aegimius upon equal terms with his own two sons, Pamphylus and Dyman. Hence arose the names of the three tribes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Dymanes, into which Dorian communities everywhere were divided.

In the second generation an unsuccessful attempt was made to recover the possessions of Heracles in the Peloponnese, but it was left to the hero's great-grandchildren, Temenus, Cresphontes and Aristodemus, to sail across the Corinthian Gulf from the 'Place of Ship-building' (Naupactus) under the guidance of a one-eyed Aetolian chief named Oxylyus. Oxylyus and his Aetolians overran Elis and settled there. For the rest of the conquered Peloponnese the victorious brothers cast lots; Argos fell to Temenus, Messenia to

Cresphontes and Laconia to Aristodemus. Aristodemus, however, died leaving twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, who jointly succeeded to their father's portion. This was the explanation offered by legend for the curious phenomenon of a dual monarchy in historical Sparta.

From Argos the Dorians established themselves in Sicyon, Phlius and Epidaurus in north-eastern Peloponnese, and, at a somewhat later date, in Aegina, the largest island in the Saronic Gulf. In this area Corinth alone possessed traditions of an independent settlement from the sea by a certain 'Wanderer, son of Cavalier' (Alcetes, son of Hippobotes), but, whatever her origin, Corinth in her early days was also under the suzerainty of Argos. The story of a further wave of invasion sweeping up the Isthmus of Corinth from the south, to be shattered by the heroic king Codrus upon the borders of inviolate Attica, is probably an exaggeration due to Athenian vanity. What is certainly true is that from Corinth Megara was conquered and 'Doricised,' at a date appreciably later than the north-eastern Peloponnese.

The whole of the best land in the Peloponnese had thus been occupied by invading tribes. What had happened to its original possessors? Some had been reduced to serfdom and now tilled the land for their new masters; some, no doubt, fled to the two areas which invasion had spared. The Dorians had turned aside from the barren uplands of Arcadia to more profitable conquests; they had left, too, the narrow strip between the Arcadian mountains and the Corinthian,

Occupation of  
the Peloponnese



#### DISTRIBUTION OF THE GREEK STATES AFTER THE DORIAN INVASION

What the Greeks knew as the 'return of the Heraclidae,' or the Dorian Invasion, we must recognize as a general immigration, from Macedonia or northern Greece into the Achaeic world, of ruder Greek-speaking folk, not necessarily all 'Dorian' in the narrower sense. The entry of the Boeotians and Aetolians, for instance, into the regions later called after them must have been part of the associated movements. This map shows Greece as the Dorians remodelled it; compare the map in page 772.

Gulf, the district which was called Achaea in historical times. It will be obvious, however, that the displacement of population involved in an invasion upon this scale must have more than local consequences; nor were Arcadia and Achaea, the poorest parts of a country which is nowhere capable of supporting a very dense population, likely to be able to absorb the whole of the fugitives.

The greater part, we are told, fled to Attica for refuge. But Attica, again, had owed her boasted immunity from invasion largely to the poverty of her soil. For Attica now to absorb and support the

surplus population that was thus suddenly thrust upon her was economically impossible. Another outlet must be found. So, under Athenian leadership, the refugees from pre-Dorian Peloponnese set sail for the coast of Asia Minor, where, between the Aeolian settlements of the north and the Dorian settlements of the south, a central area was yet unoccupied by the Greeks. This, the final stage of the Greek settlement of the western coast of Anatolia, is what is known as the Ionian Migration.

If the Ionian Migration represents the last phase of the settlement of the

Anatolian coast, the Dorian Invasion of the Peloponnese was similarly but the last of a series of connected movements, which changed the conditions of the Greek world as depicted in the Homeric poems to those prevailing in historical times. Homeric Greece (see Chap. 28) we may conveniently call Achaean, but who these Achaeans were is unfortunately a matter of dispute. Of the two main theories each has a certain plausibility and each raises certain difficulties of its own. Although every student of the period is likely to have a strong preference for one or the other, it can hardly be claimed that at present the evidence is sufficiently decisive to brand one as definitely wrong and the other as right.

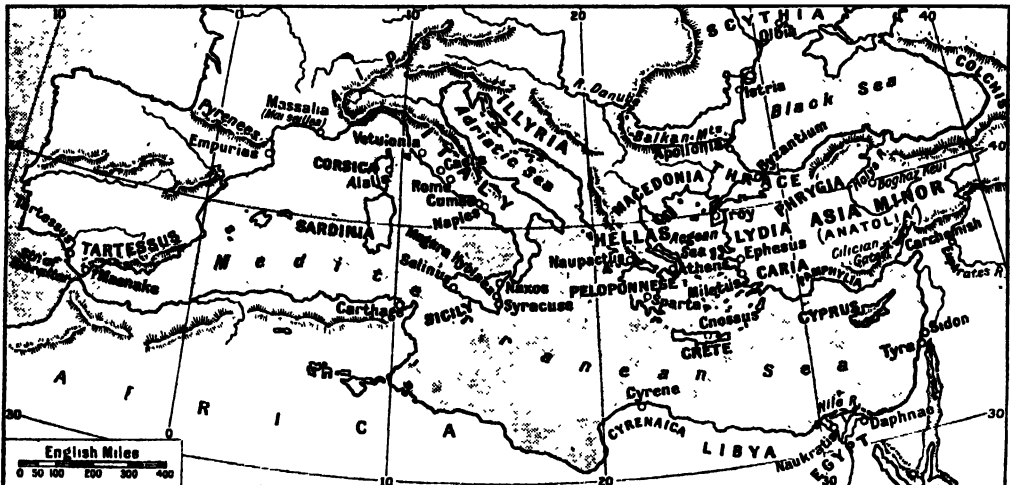
The present tendency is to suppose that Greek may have been spoken in the Balkan Peninsula at a very early date. That the earlier period of Mycenaean splendour, the period of the Shaft Graves, drew its inspiration from Crete is not denied. But some scholars hold that it was a Greek-speaking population which was then civilized by Minoan overlords, that the Achaeans were already living in northern Greece, and that they came to power in the centre and south at the beginning of the second great period of Mycenae. According to this view it was

Achaean kings who built the Beehive Tombs and ruled over the Mycenae which inherited the leadership of Aegean civilization after the fall of Cnossus, the centre of Minoan power, in the middle of the second millennium B.C. Homer, that is to say, is describing in his epics the civilization of the enlarged Mycenae of the Beehive Tombs and the Lion Gate, discussed in Chapter 25.

Other scholars, whose view I am old-fashioned enough to prefer, are inclined to doubt whether Greek was spoken by the Mycenaeans when Cnossus fell. The Achaeans they believe to have been invaders from much farther north, who overran the Mycenaean civilization in its later stages. Perhaps a dominant minority, they barbarised but did not destroy the civilization that they conquered, perhaps by penetration that was relatively gradual. With them they brought Indo-European speech, the Indo-European type of social organization, the practice of burning their dead, and religious beliefs responsible for the different character of the Homeric pantheon from what little we know of the religious system of the Mycenaeans.

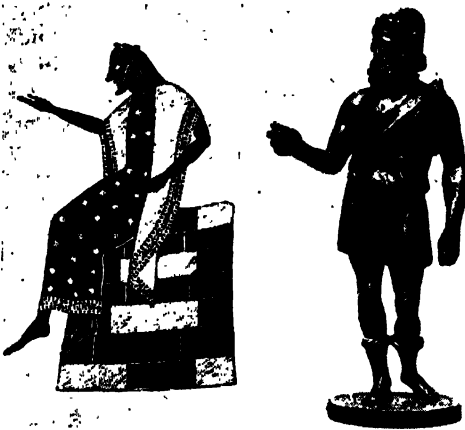
But, whichever of these views may be right, there can be no question that

**Rival theories about Achaeans**



WIDER RANGE OF GREEK ACTIVITIES DURING THE AGE OF COLONISATION

There were two distinct phases of Greek expansion. First, there was an unorganized overflow of refugees mingled with homeless adventurers, which was caused by the Dorian Invasion and resulted in the settlements of Asia Minor. Later, in the eighth century B.C., owing to economic causes rather than direct pressure, the over-populous states of the mainland and Asia Minor began to send out organized colonies. This stage is dealt with more fully in Chapter 34, to which these two maps equally refer.



### THE CHITON AS WORN BY MEN

In early times, and on ceremonial occasions, Greek men wore a sewn tunic with or without a mantle (left). The Dorian tunic, the same for men as for women (below), was worn short (right) for exercise, and draped over one shoulder by slaves.

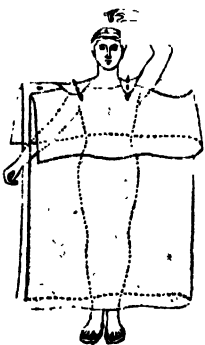
*British Museum*

the Greece of Homer is very different from the Greece of historical times. Iron is not unknown to Homer, but it is still rare; his Achaeans are true representatives of the Bronze Age. Again, even if we are right in believing the Achaeans to be northern invaders, they are nevertheless in closer cultural contact with the great age of Mycenae than were the Greeks of the Iron Age. For instance, the palace of the Phaeacian king Alcinous is more sumptuous than any building which we shall find again in Greece for many generations, and the style of its

decoration is clearly Mycenaean in general character. Again, the armament of the troops before Troy betrays a period of transition. Side by side with the warrior of the north armed with cuirass and parry-shield are fighting heroes who are protected by the cumbersome 'tower shield' of Aegean chivalry, which covered the body from neck to ankle.

In Europe the Greek world of Homer is still an interconnected whole, almost homogeneous throughout in civilization and able easily to combine for the common venture; whereas we find the Greece of post-Homeric times to be divided, as it were, into compartments in which a parallel development, it is true, takes place, but one distinguished in the different areas by marked local individualities. As regards Asia, the coast lands in Priam's day were not yet in Greek hands, and Miletus was a Carian town. But the movement eastward had begun. In the north, the island of Lemnos was ruled by a son of Jason, the leader of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo from Iolcus in the Pagasaeon Gulf to bring home from Colchis the Golden Fleece. In the south Achaeans had reached Cyprus, while Dorians had reached East Crete and, apparently, Rhodes.

This last fact may suggest—and it seems actually to have been the case—that the great movement which was to shatter the Achaean civilization had already begun. The Trojan War, which



### EARLIEST FASHIONS FOR WOMEN IN HISTORICAL GREECE

The Dorian chiton, or tunic, was an oblong sheet of woollen cloth measuring rather more than the height of the wearer and about twice the span of her arms. Folded as shown in the diagram on the left, it fell into position about the figure leaving the arms bare (centre, from a toilet box). A girdle was usually worn to keep the two edges together. The Ionian chiton (right) was essentially a loosely-fitting dress of fine, almost transparent linen with wide sleeves, and girt at the waist.

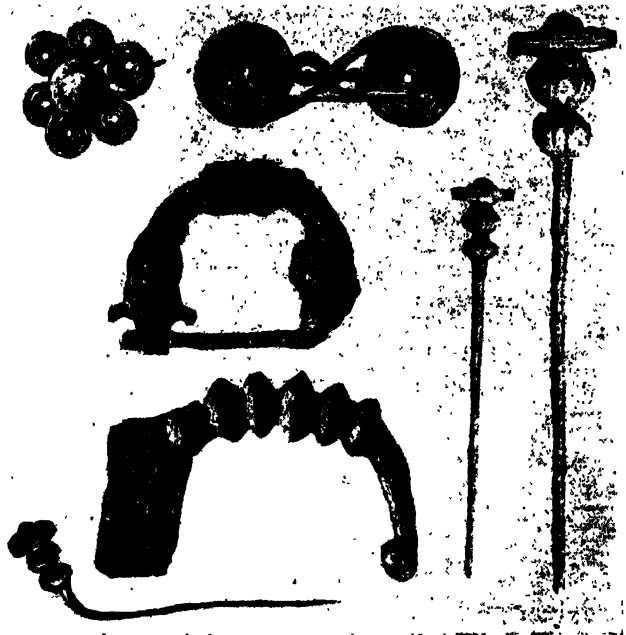
*British Museum*

imposed an intolerable strain upon a cracking fabric, may well have hastened the catastrophe. Tradition is unanimous in telling that the Achaean chieftains returned to a Greece in confusion and turmoil. If the expedition after ten weary years was crowned with victory, the story of the return is no paean of triumph, but a tale of tragedy almost unrelieved.

By the 'Dorian Invasion' an ancient Greek would have understood 'the return of the children of Heracles' to the Peloponnese; and by 'Dorians' the ruling members of a restricted number of definite communities, mainly to be found in the Peloponnese and the southern islands of the Aegean, whose race was attested by the presence of the characteristic three Dorian tribes in their social organization. But for our purposes the label of the Dorian Invasion must be used in a wider sense to cover the whole series of connected racial movements, of which the conquest of the Peloponnese was the last, on the part of a group of peoples, closely allied in speech, of whom the Dorians were one. For the concluding centuries of the second millennium witnessed an invasion of the south of the Balkan Peninsula from the north by peoples whose earlier home had probably been in Illyria. Hardy and determined warriors, these invaders had the overwhelming advantage of superior armament. The bronze stabbing swords of the Achaeans, liable to break with a direct blow, were no match for the northerners' cutting swords of iron. Characteristic, too, was the new form of dress which the invaders from a colder climate introduced.

#### Arms and dress of the invaders

A rough blanket, not sewn and shaped to the body, nor buttoned, was folded over along its upper edge, so that the overlap reached roughly from the neck to the waist. It was then wrapped round the body and fastened above each shoulder



#### FASTENINGS FOR THE DORIAN CHITON

Pins and brooches were long in common use in Greece wherever the Dorian chiton was worn. Of the former, which were often of great length, two specimens are shown here (right). Brooches assumed many forms but were usually spiralled (top) or more or less deeply bowed (centre), sometimes resembling a safety-pin.

*British School at Athens Annual*

with large fibulae or safety pins. This garment was the simple form from which the later improved varieties of Greek tunic were all essentially derived.

The great brooches, which are very typical of the Iron Age in Greece, continued to be used by the Dorian women of Argos, Sparta, Corinth and Aegina long after the Ionian tunic, which needed no such fastenings, had been adopted at Athens. Of this change of fashion at Athens Herodotus tells a story, which may not be historical in the strict sense, but will illustrate the formidable size of these pins. An Athenian expeditionary force, which had been sent to Aegina, was completely annihilated with the exception of one survivor, who was sent home to tell the tale. When he arrived at Athens he was met by the wives and mothers of his comrades, who stabbed him to death with their brooches, each fury demanding, as she struck, where her man was. Since then, Herodotus tells us, Athenian women were obliged to wear Ionian tunics, which were not fastened with pins; but the

Argives and Aeginetans, he declares, made their brooches half as large again.

Aegimius, it will be remembered, was king in Thessaly when Heracles took service with him. Upon Thessaly inevitably fell the first brunt of the northern invasions. Its plain is more fertile and far larger in extent than any which can be found elsewhere in Greece, and in consequence of its attractiveness as a prize no land so frequently changed hands in the prehistoric period. That the dislocation of the peoples inhabiting this area had begun before the Trojan War could be shown by references in the Homeric poems, though its final occupation by the Thessalians may not have been completed until after the fall of Troy.

The character of our evidence does not justify any confident reconstruction of the details of the invasion in the chronological

have been driven west over Pindus to Molossia and the region round the Ambracian Gulf. Others, again, were allowed to retain a foothold in the hilly circumference of the fertile plain, as, for example, the various inhabitants of the two districts which were later known as Achaea Phthiotis and Malis.

South of Thessaly the main stream of invasion seems to have flowed down the mountain range of Pindus. In central Greece the small district of Doris claimed to be pure Dorian, the mother land of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. Hence the main current swept over Delphi to the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, where perhaps it was joined by a confluent stream consisting mainly, not of invaders, but of the victims of invasion.

Aetolia, to the west of Delphi, enjoys a prominent place in Greek legend. Here the



PELEUS AT THE HUNTING OF THE CALYDONIAN BOAR

The mountains in the interior of Aetolia harboured many wild beasts and were celebrated in mythology for the hunting of the boar sent by Artemis to ravage the fields of Calydon because Oeneus, king of Calydon, once neglected to offer sacrifice to her. This boar hunt was a favourite subject with Greek artists and sculptors, and is thus depicted in the upper part of the neck of the so-called François vase at Florence, painted by Clitias about the middle of the sixth century B.C.

From *Fustangler-Reichhold, 'Griechischen Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann, A.G.*

order of events, but the eventual result of the movement from Illyria is certain. The invaders became masters of the whole of the rich central plain. Some of the original inhabitants were reduced to the condition of agricultural serfs and remained on the soil. Many peoples, on the other hand, were ejected from the area. Among these, according to Greek tradition, were the Boeoti, who were now pushed by the Thessalians into central Greece, where they gave their name to Boeotia.

If this tradition is correct, the Boeoti, whose speech confirms the probability that they came from Mount Boeon in Illyria, must have represented an early wave of the invaders, who succeeded in effecting a temporary settlement in Thessaly, but were then pushed out by a succeeding wave. Other tribes seem to

discovery of the vine was said to have been made, and the cycle of stories which centre round the hunting of the Calydonian boar testifies to its prehistoric importance. In historical times, on the other hand, Aetolia was notoriously the most backward and uncivilized part of Greece. The remarkable contrast between the Aetolia of legend and the Aetolia of history is perhaps to be explained by these invasions of rude Illyrians, from which this part of Greece, which lacks the physical advantages of the other seats of early culture, never recovered.

Aetolians, no doubt in the main dispossessed refugees, sailed with the Dorians and occupied Elis. The story that the name Naupactus preserves a memory of the embarkation of the invaders of the Peloponnese may possibly be true. But

there is good reason to doubt the tradition that they sailed straight across the Gulf and completed the conquest of the Peloponnese from the north by land. It is more probable that independent companies at different times sailed round the Peloponnese to attack Laconia, Argos and Corinth from the sea. It is also probable that some of the Dorians of Crete and the islands similarly effected their settlements by sea from the Gulf of Corinth at this stage of the migration.

In fact the movement, which appears in tradition to have been like a mountain torrent, was no doubt in reality less rapid and direct. It occupied in all probability a considerable time to run its course and affected a wide area outside the main channel. But the principal stream passed far to the west of Attica, and the Athenians claimed that their land alone in central Greece had remained untouched by invasion. Arcadia in the Peloponnese, too difficult and too poor a country to tempt the conquerors, made similar claims. Here the essential truth of tradition is confirmed by the evidence of the distribution of the Greek dialects.

The Greek dialects are commonly divided into three principal groups, Aeolic, Ionic and Doric, the names of which are probably due

**Classification of Greek Dialects** to a reflex influence from the Greek settlements of the Asiatic coast, where,

it will be remembered, we have Aeolis on the north, Ionia in the centre and Doris on the south. The Aeolic dialect or group of dialects consists essentially of a blend of the Greek spoken by the victims of the Illyrian invasion with a speech of the same family as Doric. Its varieties, broadly speaking, are attributable to the different proportions of the mixture in the different areas. For instance, the Thessalian dialect shows that here the invaders dropped their own language almost completely and practically adopted that of the peoples they conquered. In Boeotian, on the other hand, the speech of the original inhabitants has been strongly influenced by a much larger admixture of the language of the conquerors. Throughout northern and central Greece varieties of Aeolic Greek

were spoken, except in one district. Attica alone possessed a different dialect, which is closely related only to Ionic.

In the Peloponnese a variety of Aeolic, as we should expect, was spoken in Elis, where the Aetolians had settled. In the areas conquered by the Dorians, Doric naturally prevailed. Arcadian speech, however, **Problem of the Arcadian Speech** falls completely outside the conventional triple classification. It is neither Aeolic, Doric nor Ionic, and in fact is unique except for its reappearance in Cyprus, whither emigrants must have carried it at a date which, according to the evidence, must be extremely early. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Arcadian was the pre-Dorian speech of the Peloponnesians, some of whom carried it to Cyprus before the Dorian Invasion. In its original home it survived in one of the areas which remained traditionally untouched by the invaders.

The irruption of northerners into the Balkan Peninsula inevitably produced secondary movements of population; for the land of northern and central Greece was no more able than that of the Peloponnese to support a sudden and violent increase of population. Further, an age of violence is not without its psychological effect. Besides dispossessed and desperate refugees in search of new homes, there will also be invaders who are not sated with their conquests, warriors who have lost the will to settle, adventurers whose restless spirit urges them to disdain a life of ease. Of such a rover Homer has given us a picture in the story which Odysseus concocted to satisfy the curiosity of the faithful swineherd, to whom he was not yet willing to reveal his true identity.

He was the bastard son, he pretends, of a Cretan chieftain, whose intrepid valour had discounted the disadvantages of his birth and had won him wealth and honour. 'Such a one was I in war, but the labour of the fields I never loved, nor home-keeping thrift, that breeds children, but galleys with their oars were dear to me, and wars and polished shafts and darts—baneful things whereat others used to shudder.' He goes on to tell how he had served through the long years at



Troy and had come safe home. But 'for one month only he abode and had joy in his children and his wedded wife and all that he had,' for his restless spirit urged him again a-roving, and he fitted out a company of nine ships to raid the fat lands of Egypt.

Five days with a fair north wind behind them brought them to the mouth of the Nile, and 'they fell to wasting the fields of the Egyptians,

**Odysseus the type of Sea Rover** exceeding fair, and led away their wives and infant children and slew their men.' But, as had really happened to Odysseus at Ismarus, the pirates dallied too long and failed to get away with their booty before the natives had had time to concentrate superior forces. The raiders were cut to pieces, but our hero escaped by taking service with the Egyptian king.

After seven years' honourable service with Pharaoh, Odysseus was tempted to leave Egypt by a Phoenician rogue, who eventually enticed him upon a voyage to Libya, intending really to sell him as a slave. From this fate, however, he was saved by shipwreck. Clinging to the mast of the foundered vessel, he was at length cast ashore at Thesprotia, where the king received him kindly and put him aboard a ship bound for Dulichium. But when they got to sea the sailors determined to kidnap their passenger, in order to sell him as a slave. However, when the ship put in at Ithaca, the crew went ashore, leaving their prisoner, as they thought, securely trussed up with ropes. But he succeeded in freeing his hands, untied his bonds, slipped down the landing-plank into the water and swam quietly to land. There he had hidden in the bushes until the danger of recapture was past, and had then made his way to the homestead of Eumæus.

The tale of Odysseus was a fiction, but a fiction plausible enough to deceive Eumæus. It gives us in fact an authentic sketch of a contemporary type, the rover, whose individual exploits heralded the migrations, much as the Gothic raiders of the third century after Christ heralded the great movements of peoples which broke up the Roman Empire. 'Sackers of cities' the Homeric heroes called them-

selves, and piracy was their honourable profession.

Towns, for fear of the sea raiders, were everywhere perched upon the hills at a safe distance from the shore. The sea rover would land at the spot of his choice and would send out his men to collect booty and women; children, too, and male prisoners could be marketed; but, for obvious reasons, it was not easy to secure adult males without delay and difficulty, and it was usually more expeditious to kill them out of hand. The rest of his men the experienced captain would post on guard to watch for the enemy's concentration and approach, and to cover the retreat of the booty-laden foragers to the ship. For success or failure turned upon getting away before the inhabitants had had time to collect in overwhelming force.

Of the same type as these Homeric 'sackers of cities' were the rovers who led the migrations over seas. Migrations they were in the main, not colonising expeditions like those of a later date, when a community sent out an organized body of **Mixed Companies of Homeless Men** pointed leader to a definite goal, though it is true that one such, the colonisation of Scheria, occurs in Homer. One should rather think of these early expeditions as being undertaken by mixed companies of adventurers and broken men. Often, as for instance in the tradition of the Laconian settlement of the Cyclades and Crete, the rank and file may chiefly have belonged to the conquered races, while the leaders were Dorian.

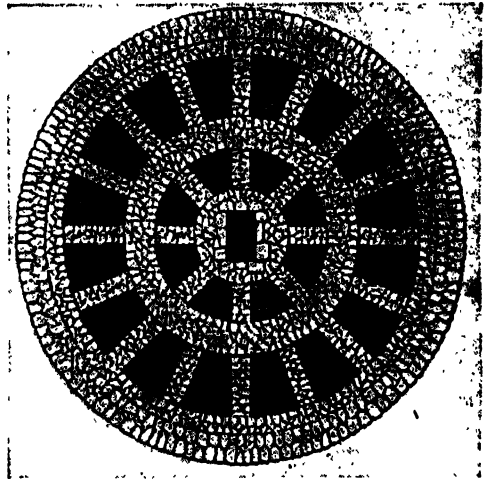
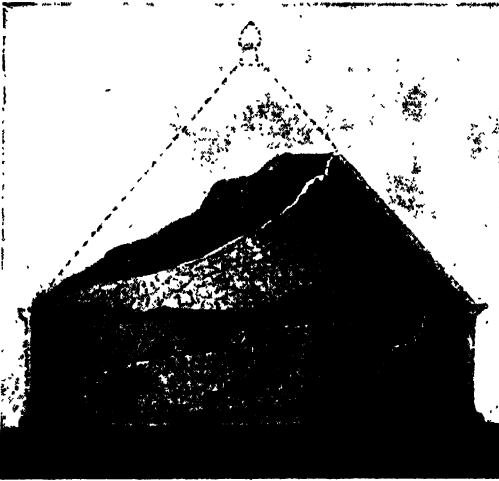
The displacement of peoples in Thessaly and central Greece was then extended beyond the sea. It has been suggested, and the place-names of East Crete support the hypothesis, that the Dorians of whom Homer seems to know in Crete and Rhodes at the time of the Trojan War had set sail from newly conquered Thessaly. They clearly cannot have come from Argos or Sparta many years before the Dorians invaded the Peloponnese, though their settlements were certainly reinforced from Sparta and Argos at a later date. In the main, however, the adventurers and refugees of northern and central Greece followed another route, that which had

been explored before them by the Argonauts. Thus the northern islands and the opposite coast were settled by Aeolians, the main current of migration setting due east, roughly along the same parallel of latitude.

After the conquest of the Peloponnese the similar extension from Argolis and Laconia was directed south and east, and a part of the surplus population under Dorian leadership occupied the southern

few early sites upon this coast have yet been explored at all, and almost none have been excavated to the bottom. It may be hazarded, however, that the obvious advantages of Ionia, where the main natural routes from Asia over land debouch down river valleys to the sea, were not wholly concealed from the early adventurers.

A political cause may perhaps explain the apparent shyness of the first comers



**MONUMENT OF A LONG LOST CIVILIZATION IN ASIA MINOR**

Most notable of the monuments of the pre-Hellenic civilization that existed in the Sipylus region of Asia Minor between the Gulf of Smyrna and the modern Manissa is the so-called Tomb of Tantalus (left). The tumulus formed a perfect circle built of small mortared stones. As shown on the ground plan (right) sixteen radiating walls led from the outer to an inner circular wall and were continued, forming eight partitions, to the central nucleus, walled up in the heart of which was a rectangular mortuary chamber

*From Texier, 'Description de l'Asie Mineure'*

Cyclades, Crete, Carpathus, Rhodes and the southern corner of the Asiatic coast. Last, as we have seen, came the Ionians to the central portion; a very mixed people these, for in addition to the Peloponnesian refugees and their Athenian leaders, a considerable element was composed of natives of central Greece. Hence it comes about that the primary religious loyalty of the Ionians was not to the tutelary goddess of Athens, but to Poseidon Heliconius, a Boeotian deity.

Was it then mere accident that this favoured central area was left for occupation by the latest comers? We can hardly think so. Unfortunately the archaeological evidence, which will one day settle many of these difficult questions, remains as yet under ground. . Relatively

in seizing the most favoured area. Perhaps its very advantages caused it to be held with securer power by a more formidable native civilization, and so to be more difficult of conquest. Such an hypothesis is at least supported by the pre-Hellenic monuments of the Smyrna-Magnesia district, the rock-cut sculptures and the so-called Tantalid tombs.

The foundation legends with their stories on the one hand of Amazons and on the other of Telchines, magicians and metal workers from Crete, point to the coast as a meeting-place of Late Minoan and Hittite cultures, and there is a strong tradition of the existence of a native civilization, the Caro-Lelegian, in which these two influences may well have been blended.



#### CONVENTIONAL RELIGIOUS ART

What became a tradition in religious art is exemplified in this geometric potsherd from Boeotia, depicting the Bocotian goddess flanked by two lions. This system of ornamentation by geometric forms was the first creation of Greek art.

*From Farnell, 'Cults of the Greek States'*

The Greek foundations immediately connected with the Trojan War lie not on this coast, but far afield to the south-east, where wandering heroes, like the seer Mopsus, were believed to have planted outposts of Hellenism in savage lands. The west coast of Asia seems in fact to have been firmly held by native powers, until the extensions of the European migrations proved too persistent and too strong for their resistance. As Dr. Hogarth has pointed out, none of the main Greek settlements is upon a new site. All had been inhabited long before the Greeks came.

In various ways and in various places the Greeks got the upper hand. At Aeolian Cyme, for instance, we find the first Greek settlers establishing themselves first in a stronghold near-by, at 'The New Fort' (Neon Teichos), which they deserted when they had become sufficiently strong to possess themselves of the town. Often a gradual process of infiltration rather than the sudden shock of violence may have secured the predominance of the Greeks. The settlers, as we have seen, were already a people of very diverse origins; perhaps in most cases the settlement involved yet further racial admixture. Herodotus tells us definitely that the Greeks at Miletus married Carian wives, and in few cases, one imagines, did the new-comers bring their women with them. In the majority of these new centres of Greek civilization the Greek racial element in fact came to form a dominant aristocracy among a numerically superior native population.

That the Illyrian invasions of the Balkan Peninsula altered the racial and political map of Achaean Greece, we have already noticed. There resulted a break in the continuity of culture. Civilization had again to start almost from the beginning, and it is in the Dark Age which followed these racial disturbances that the culture which is properly called Greek was brought to birth.

Fortunately no break in civilization is absolute. Inherited aptitudes and aesthetic instincts must have survived among the conquered peoples, who contributed to the racial mixture which formed the population of historical Greece. No doubt an occasional heirloom or a chance re-discovery of some specimen of the great artistic achievement of the Bronze Age may here and there have influenced the art of some particular craftsman or school. In religious art certain traditional motives, for example the grouping of a goddess or cult object between two birds or animals, persisted into historical times. There is no doubt whatever that much in the religious belief and practice of the Greeks is derived from the Mediterranean element



#### CRUDE BOEOTIAN MODELLING

Most of the statuettes found in the rude hamlets of early Boeotia are female figures, sometimes steatopygous, always very primitive in execution. These crude attempts date from between the seventh and fifth centuries B.C.

*British Museum*

in their racial composition. The Homeric poems have preserved coherent and substantially accurate memories of the Achaeans, that is to say, of society in the latest phases of the Bronze Age.

The sites round which the Greek traditions of the heroic past are gathered, with the one exception of Aetolia, are all places which archaeological investigation has proved to have been of grandeur and importance in Mycenaean Greece. Again, there persisted tales of a Minos, king of Crete, who had ruled the seas; whose palace was adorned by the art of the legendary Daedalus, so skilled an artist that his creations moved as if alive; who possessed a maze or labyrinth into which his victims, male and female, were sent to encounter a bull-headed monster. That this last represents a distorted memory of the bull-fights in the theatre at Cnossus can hardly be doubted.

Naturally it is at present one of the most interesting duties of archaeology to trace and to emphasise such examples of continuity as can be definitely established. Nevertheless, when all has been said on this score, the Dorian Invasion checked the course of civilization in a very real and definite fashion. Except for these shadowy reflections in Greek myth and legend all knowledge of the great civilization of the Bronze Age was lost.

The Greeks themselves had no accurate appreciation of its historical existence, and had it not been for the excavations of modern times no scholar could legitimately have deduced its existence and character from literary sources. Indeed so complete was the ignorance of the



#### YACHTS OF ANCIENT GREECE

Besides quite large merchantmen, the ancient Greeks built graceful little craft such as that figured on this Boeotian fibula. They were single-masted vessels with high stem and stern, small decks fore and aft, and latticed cabins.

*British Museum*

Greeks of the true significance of their legends of King Minos, that when they tried to account for the origins of their civilization they looked, not to Crete and Mycenae, but to hypothetical Phoenician settlements in prehistoric Greece; to equally hypothetical direct borrowings from Egypt; or, antedating a very real debt to the Orient, to the immigration of the sons of Phrygian Tantalus to rule the pre-Dorian Peloponnese.

Of the centuries which immediately succeeded the Dorian Invasion we have no historical record. It is a dark age following upon the cataclysm of barbarian invasion, a period no doubt of long continued unrest, turmoil and migrations, followed by a gradual subsidence of the ferment. When the darkness lifts again, we find the Greek world that we know, an aggregate of small states which consist, for the most part, of a town with a relatively small area of not very productive arable land in its immediate vicinity. Most of these communities are cut off from their neighbours by mountains and the sea. In consequence they have developed an arrogant consciousness of their respective individualities, which has bred, on the one



#### CYPRIOTE FISHING BOATS

Numerous terra-cotta models from Amathus, in Cyprus, have preserved for us the form of the Greek fishing boats of the late sixth century B.C.

Notice here the high poop for the steersman.

*British Museum*

hand, the characteristic Greek passion for political independence, and, on the other, the corresponding defect of a particularism which was to render impossible any permanent form of political combination larger than the city state.

But though by now the period of invasions was over, there soon existed once more a surplus population which was driven by necessity to adventure overseas. The soil, nowhere rich, had become insufficient to provide food for the increased number of mouths

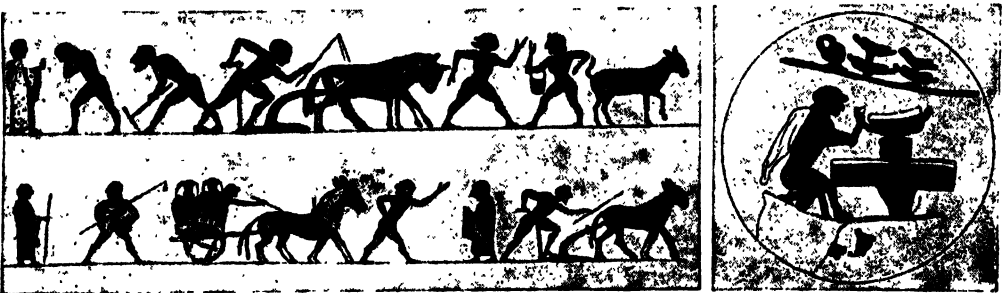
**Results of Overpopulation** —a condition inevitable in a limited area where an ever growing population had adapted itself to a settled and peaceful manner of living. The harassed peasant would be tempted to abandon his desperate struggle upon a tiny holding for the greater risks compensated by the infinitely greater gains of maritime commerce, and the Greeks became a race of merchants.

This is the stage reflected in the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, written perhaps about 800 B.C., and of surviving literary works of ancient Greece the next in order of date to the Homeric epics. Hesiod's poem narrates the hard details of the peasant's life. Work, work, work is its theme, and at the end it can promise but little reward for incessant toil, a mere livelihood at best, and even that may be impaired by the consistent injustice of the great barons. 'Would that I had either died before my time or was born later,' is the poet's prayer. 'For now we have the race of Iron. Never by day will they

(mankind) cease from toil and woe, nor by night, as they decline and perish; the gods will give them hard troubles.' To the dangers of sea-faring Hesiod is not blind; indeed his own instincts are conservative, and he himself is tied to the soil. But as a desperate alternative to a life of hopeless drudgery on a little farm, he recognizes the attractiveness of staking life and fortune on a bold gamble and becoming a merchant adventurer.

Thus necessity drove the Greeks to sea, and in a short space of time the carrying trade of the Eastern Mediterranean passed into their hands. This development of commerce afforded some relief to economic pressure, but it was not by itself sufficient. In consequence the eighth and seventh centuries became an epoch of organized emigration, and the shores of the Black Sea and Mediterranean were studded with colonies sent out by the states of mainland Greece and the Greek settlements on the Asiatic coast (see Chap. 34). Though in the later stages political and commercial motives played a part in directing the course of this expansion, its earlier phases were primarily conditioned by overpopulation and famine in the mother states.

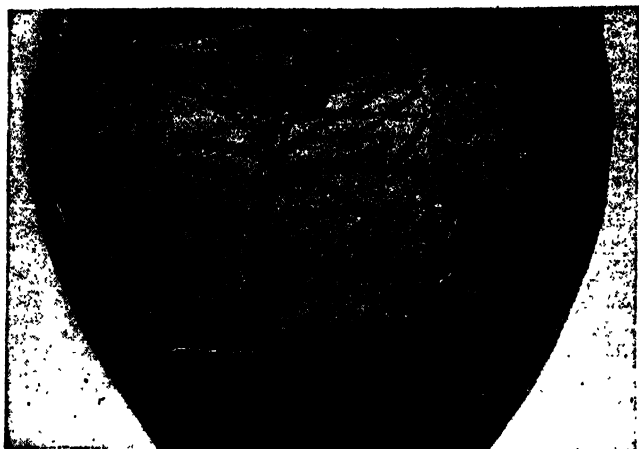
The curtain rises, then, upon a secondary expansion of the Greek race, which is due this time to economic rather than to racial pressure. The intervening centuries are wrapped in darkness, nor has archaeology much to tell us except to confirm our general outline of development. For here too we find evidence first of a definite break with the past, and then of a slow



SCENES FROM THE HUMBLE LIFE OF WHICH HESIOD SANG

Hesiod's verbal descriptions of rural life in ancient Greece are supplemented by many vase paintings and reliefs. These strips from a black-figured cup depict two peasants ploughing, one hand holding the plough, the other a goad for the oxen; another peasant plies the mattock, another carries a basket of seed corn, and others are carting away jars of wine or olive oil. The sixth-century figure on the right is of a seated potter modelling clay upon his wheel.

*The Louvre and British Museum*



#### GATHERING IN THE OLIVE HARVEST

Vines and olives brought much more profit to the early Greek agriculturist than did corn. This sixth century black-figured vase shows the primitive, ill-advised method of gathering the olive crop—men and boys brushing the branches with sticks to bring down the fruit which a lad collects into a basket.

*British Museum*

development of civilization from barbaric beginnings, a development similar in general character throughout the Greek peninsula, but marked by strong local individualities, and finally, about the eighth century, a strong sudden influx of foreign influences.

The period which followed the Dorian Invasion is often called the Geometric Period from the characteristic decoration of its pottery. Late Mycenaean pottery, in most parts of the Greek world, suddenly but completely disappears, and is succeeded by a pottery which is wholly different in character. The decorations upon the later kinds of Mycenaean vases are degenerate and conventional; the meaninglessness of their twirls and too ornate patterns is the product of decadence. Art in the Bronze Age had passed through naturalism to a highly sophisticated preference for design rather than naturalistic presentation. It then traversed its zenith to a decline during which the patterns on the pottery became more and more mechanical, conventionalised and devoid of meaning. The decoration upon the later Mycenaean wares is decrepit; and artistic tradition has worn itself out. Quite different is the new style of geometric ornamentation which succeeds it. This is crude, angular and rather barbaric, but its shortcomings are those of infancy, not of senility. Its

affinities are with the art of central Europe, an additional indication that it was brought into Greece by invaders from the north.

The usual scheme of decoration consisted of a series of horizontal bands of varying width, which consisted of angular geometrical figures arranged in rows—the maeander or key pattern, lozenges, zigzags, etc. The scheme of decoration was then successively improved by the definition of a main zone or zones considerably broader than the rest, by the division of such main zones by verticals into rectangular fields, by the introduction of animal figures, and finally by the depiction of scenes from daily life.

The best and most artistic specimens of the work of the geometric potters are the vases called Dipylon, because they were found in the cemetery at the Dipylon Gate of Athens. In ancient Greece and Rome the bodies or ashes of the dead might not be buried within the town walls. In consequence, as we may be reminded by the appeal to the sympathy of the passer-by which has remained a convention of our own graveyard poetry, the roads outside the town gates were flanked by rows of graves, as they still are to-day



#### COPPER MINING IN AETOLIA

Early Corinthian pottery included votive clay tablets depicting scenes from workaday life, intended to be hung in shrines. This specimen shows copper miners excavating ore and removing it in baskets, and wine being lowered by ropes.

*From Antike Denkmäler*

in the Moslem cities of the Near East. Large vases, decorated in the manner that we have been discussing, served as sepulchral monuments, and many of them have holes in the bottom, through which a drink-offering to the dead man in the tomb below could be poured.

The pottery of these vases is excellent as regards technical fabric. Their shapes, though heavier than those of Mycenaean art, are well proportioned and have a dignified solidity. Favourite subjects for the decoration are nautical scenes, or the funerals of the great. We are shown the dead man lying in state upon his bier, which is set upon a wagon. Upon each side of it are grouped rows of mourners. Often in a band below is depicted a row of warriors in their chariots, ready to compete in the funeral games. The funeral of a great man, it will be noted, was still celebrated with barbaric profusion and was followed, as



#### FINE DIPYLON VASE

Geometrical patterns, animals and figure subjects cover the entire surface of this superb Dipylon vase, which is the most richly ornamented specimen extant.

*British Museum*

inspiration of new ideas shall have broken the shackles of this limited convention.

The new breath of life came from the East. In the eighth century Oriental ideas begin markedly to influence the Greek potter's art. Lions, sphinxes and

was the burial of Patroclus in the Iliad, by athletic contests in the dead man's honour.

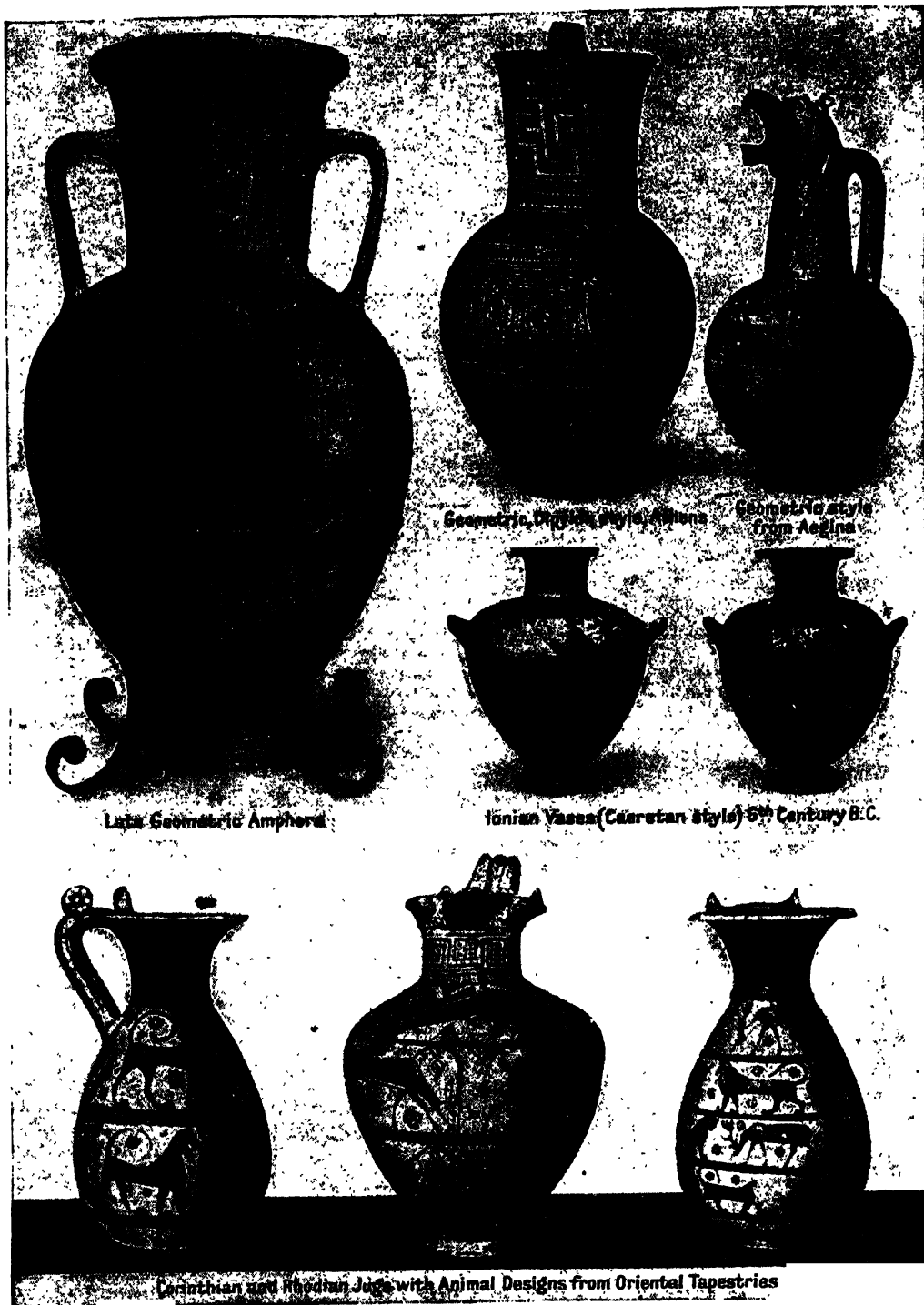
As regards the artistic merits of this style of pottery, what will first strike the observer is perhaps its limitations. Objects are represented in a thin, angular, narrative convention, rather like a child's drawing. He is likely, too, to notice the artist's dread of unoccupied space. Geometrical ornaments, irrelevant to the theme, are crowded into the field, wherever the design leaves a vacant space, however small. On the other hand reflection will admit that these vases show in their broad effects a real sense of symmetry and effective grouping, the promise of greater things when the



#### AN EARLY MASTERPIECE OF MINIATURE PAINTING

Beginning in the geometric period a class of vases made near Corinth and usually called proto-Corinthian persisted until the end of the sixth century. An exquisite specimen is this tiny perfume vase, only four inches in height but covered, although not overloaded, with plastic and pictorial decoration. On the main band warriors are shown in action and the strips beneath this depict successively a chariot race, an animal frieze with a lion confronting a bull as the dominant figures, and a hare hunt.

*From Ernst Pfuhl, 'Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting,' Chatto & Windus*



Late Geometric Amphora

Geometric Dipylon style Athens

Geometric style from Aegina

Ionian Vases (Caeretan style) 5th Century B.C.

Corinthian and Red-figure Jugs with Animal Designs from Oriental Tapestries

#### DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK POTTERY AFTER THE DORIAN INVASION

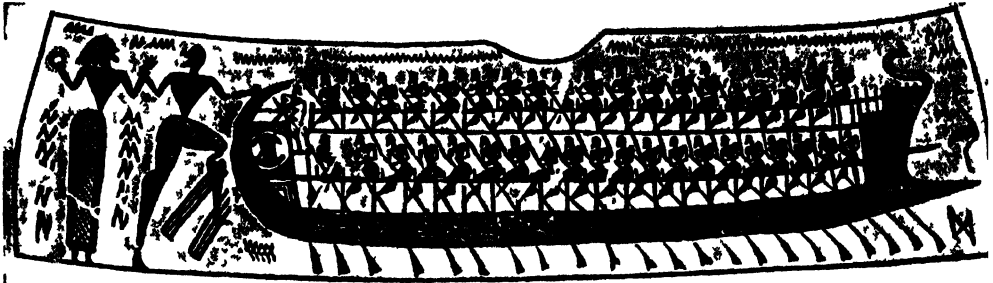
Geometric pottery, the first product of native Greek art, is best represented in the grave amphorae found in the Dipylon Gate cemetery at Athens. Geometric designs at first occupied the whole surface; a main zone decorated with human or animal figures was then added, as in the specimen from Athens (top centre). A later type (top, left) approximates to proto-Corinthian. Ionian influence, derived from the Orient and full-blown in the lowermost examples, appears in the vase from Aegina.

From Boston<sup>o</sup> Museum of Fine Arts (top left) and British Museum





The most frequent pictorial designs on geometric pottery are scenes of daily life, and chiefly those connected with the sepulchral purpose of the Dipylon vase. Here, for example, is a funeral procession: the dead man on his cloth-draped bier placed on the hearse to be driven to the cemetery, and women crowded around with arms upraised in mourning. Note the swastikas above the horses.



Legend only begins to appear in Greek vase painting in the later days of the geometric period. In this embarkation scene on a bowl from Thebes, perhaps depicting the Rape of Helen by Paris, geometric ornaments still fill all the space not occupied by the silhouetted human figures.



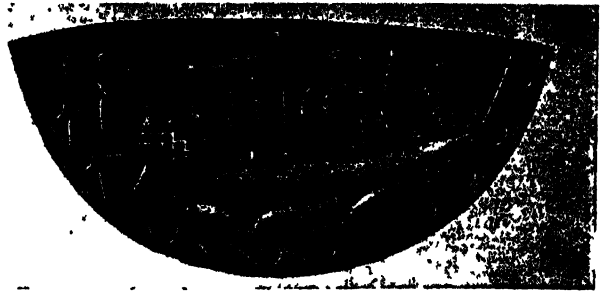
Excellence in the drawing and rich polychromy distinguish the so-called Chigi jug, a magnificent example of the proto-Corinthian style of Greek pottery discovered at Veii, in Italy. Among the scenes depicted on it are two armies marching into battle and (top) a chariot and horses and a lion hunt.

#### DECORATIVE PROGRESS IN GEOMETRIC AND PROTO-CORINTHIAN POTTERY

*From Journal of Hellenic Studies and Antike Denkmäler*

other creations of Eastern fantasy are added to the artist's repertory of design. The lotus and the palmette suggest to him new patterns of flowing curves to replace the harsh angularity of his less gracious maeanders. At first the new wine was dangerously intoxicating, and the tendency towards oriental mannerisms appeared almost in danger of swamping the native art. But long training in the severe tradition which had bred the artists of the Dipylon style was too robust to allow Greek potters to become mere feeble imitators of foreign artists. Greek art assimilated, mastered and turned to its own uses what the more ancient art of the East had to give.

We have hitherto fixed our eyes upon mainland Greece, where in the darkness that followed the Dorian Invasion we can dimly discern a steady though slow rebuilding of civilization from crude beginnings, until, about the eighth century, there is a sudden advance as a new and life-giving wind of inspiration reaches the shores of Greece. This wind was blowing from the East, and to the mainland Greeks it came immediately from the Greeks of Asia. In the excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta was found a



#### ORIENTAL INFLUENCE ON GREEK ART

This seventh century ivory relief was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Its design—a captain bidding farewell to his wife—is roughly the same as on the centre geometric vase opposite, though that is usually interpreted as pirate and captive. But the difference in treatment is obvious.

*British School at Athens Annual*

series of ivory plaques, most of which were intended to be worn fixed to the big Dorian brooches. These ivories overlap the strata of geometric and orientalising pottery. One of the latest reliefs, which is definitely associated with orientalising pottery, reproduces in a new style and in quite a new spirit a favourite Dipylon design. We have the ship with its warriors seated upon the thwarts. The captain is going on board, and in this case it is clear that he is saying good-bye to his sweetheart or wife, not haling a woman captive to the ship. The earlier Spartan ivories belong definitely to the end of the Geometric Age, but their closest analogues are to be found in the ivories of the lower deposits at Ephesus, and these in turn are closely related to ivories discovered at Nimrud, in Assyria (see page 1008).

For various reasons the Greeks of Asia rapidly outstripped those of mainland Greece. Up to the middle of the sixth century the centre of gravity of Greek civilization was on the Anatolian coast, and Miletus rather than Athens was 'the school of Hellas.' Homer, perhaps, belongs to the eastern shore of the Aegean; even Hesiod was the son of a man who had emigrated back to Boeotia from Aeolian Cyme; the lyric poets were mainly natives of the Asiatic coast and its islands. The principal early achievements of Greek sculpture and



#### EARLY SPARTAN IVORY PLAQUES

Assyria provided the archetypes on which the early Spartan craftsmen modelled the ivory plaques which they designed to serve as ornaments for the great Dorian brooches of the period and for other purposes. This ivory lion (left) and still more the gryphon (right) breathe the very spirit of eastern phantasy.

*British School at Athens Annual*

engineering were credited to Chians and Samians; the first Greek prose was written in Ionia, where Greek philosophy had its origin; geography, astronomy, geometry and the natural sciences were discoveries of the Ionian intellect (see Chap. 34).

Some of the reasons for this precocity of the Anatolian Greeks are not difficult to suggest. They are to be found partly in the conditions of the early settlement

and partly in the circumstances of their closer relation to older and more civilized foreign powers. There was, to begin with, a kind of natural selection at work in this, as in similar migrations. Upon the whole, it is the more adventurous spirits, at any rate among those who take part not from necessity but from choice, who will sail to new lands. Among those, again, it is the more energetic whose qualities will bring them to the fore and give them the directing control. Such enterprises and expansions, in fact, both demand and foster a temper of energetic activity, nor is it surprising to find that the pioneer spirit so engendered is reflected in enterprise in intellectual and artistic spheres.

Again, we may remember that of the settlers who sailed from Greece no small proportion belonged not to the barbarian invaders, but to the conquered Achaeans. Memories at least of the old civilization they carried with them, and on the Asiatic side of the Aegean the break with the past was probably not so complete as we have seen it to be on the mainland. For it was the emigrants who preserved the lays of the heroic past, which they brought to



#### GRADUAL BLEND OF EASTERN AND WESTERN ART CONVENTIONS

Traces of the early geometric style of decoration persisted for a considerable time after Asiatic art forms had reached mainland Greece. The method is very apparent in the ivory plaque from Sparta (top) depicting mourners standing beside a corpse laid out on a bier—a funeral scene such as often furnished the subject for the principal zone of the Dipylon vases. It is apparent also in the already orientalised design on the broken plaque below, a reconstruction of which is given on the right.

*British School at Athens Annual*

Asia for Homer, perhaps about 900 B.C., to weave into the greatest of epic poems.

The invading Greeks, too, as we have already noticed, occupied sites which were already inhabited, and the original peoples had already attained a comparatively advanced stage of native civilization. The direct contribution of this pre-existing native culture was probably very considerable. Further, the intermixture of the Greek and native stocks may well have assisted in producing an energetic precocity, which is not seldom to be observed

as the result of the happy

**Precocity of the** crossing of two racial  
**Greeks of Asia** strains. To these conditions we may add the fortunate circumstances of most of the new settlements, which in general possessed a better climate and a more fertile soil than the states of mainland Greece, together with harbours in no way inferior. These natural advantages enabled the Greeks of Asia to build up more rapidly than those of Europe the material prosperity and surplus wealth which are necessary for cultural advance.

The advantages which we have enumerated were shared in some measure by all the states of the Anatolian coast, but the region most favoured by nature and by political circumstance was Ionia. Here material prosperity and luxury most rapidly developed and civilization reached its highest pitch

There remains to be considered the relation of the Greeks of Asia to foreign powers and to the older civilizations. A glance at the map will show Asia Minor to be a bastion thrown forward by Asia towards Europe. It consists of a plateau, roughly oblong in shape, of considerable height above sea level, but with a relatively flat surface. The sides of this plateau are steep and rugged upon the north, and still more precipitous and forbidding upon the south. On the west, on the other hand, it slopes gradually down to the sea, and its river valleys, particularly those of the Hermus and the Maeander, form natural and easy routes of trade. The whole forms a natural corridor leading from the east to the west. The commercial advantages of the sites at the seaward end of the river valleys of its western coast are therefore obvious

During most of the Bronze Age this great table-land had been dominated by the Hittites, whose capital was at a place now called Boghaz Keui on the river Halys. So far as can be deduced from the meagre archaeological evidence which is at present available, it would seem that Minoan culture did not effect a footing upon the coast of Asia until the very end of the Bronze Age. The explanation may well be that the Hittite hold upon its coast-lands was then too firm to tolerate the intrusion of an alien civilization. But towards the end of the Bronze Age, the centre of Hittite interest had shifted eastwards to Carchemish upon the upper Euphrates. Their hold upon the west had also been shaken by the Thraco-Phrygian



DAINTY FIGURINES FROM EPHEBUS

Eastern Greek work in the oriental manner is again exemplified in these little ivory statuettes from Ephesus, that of the priest fingering his beads (left) having its analogue in a colossal figure at Nineveh. Right, a priestess.

Constantinople Museum

thrust from Europe, which brought the Indo-European Phrygians across the Dardanelles to settle in Asia.

This relaxing of the Hittites' hold upon the western part of their empire had enabled Aegean culture in its latest phases at last to get a footing on the coast, and to contribute its share to the Cario - Lelegian civilization, which the Greek settlers found there. When the Greeks arrived, Carians, Lelegians, Maeonians and the rest were probably still loosely dependent upon the Hittite empire. But Hittite power was on the wane, and Hittite culture itself was becoming more and more

dominated by that of Assyria. The earliest Asiatic power of which Greek historians have preserved traditions is that of Midas, king of Phrygia, who succeeded upon the collapse of Hittite power to the control of their western dominions. Then, in the seventh century, a Lydian usurper, Gyges, overthrew the waning power of Phrygia, and western Asia Minor became a Lydian kingdom with its capital at Sardis.

The attitude of Phrygian and Lydian monarchs seems on the whole to have been phil-Hellenic. It is true that we find Lydia

subduing Greek cities by force of arms and asserting her control of her sea-board. But the yoke of Lydia appears to have been light. Generally speaking, the policy of her kings was to be on good terms with the Greek cities of the coast and to cultivate friendly relations with their kinsmen beyond the sea. The Lydian empire was but loosely organized, and the degree of subjection demanded of the Greek states, which were its dependents rather than its subjects, seems to have been slight.

The Greeks, therefore, were free to make the most of the commercial advantages of their position without any very serious sacrifice of political liberty. In Phrygia and in Lydia they became acquainted with a new standard of luxurious living, made delightful by arts which they had not hitherto known. From the Euphrates valley the ivories and tapestries of the East were brought through the Cilician Gates and across the table-land to the natural termini of the trade routes, the sea ports at the mouth of the river valleys. Thus the Greeks came to know at first hand the products of Mesopotamian art. It is not, there-



THE TOMB OF MIDAS, KING OF PHRYGIA

The most famous monument of the ancient Phrygian Kingdom is the Tomb of Midas, so called because that name appears in the inscription engraved above the gable. It is a rectangular table crowned with a triangular pediment, sculptured on the face of a vertical rock and covered with a maeander pattern.



THE LIONS' ROCK AT AYAZEEN

Another notable tomb in the Phrygian necropolis is situated near the village of Ayazeen. Over the lintel of a small doorway pierced in the face of the rock is an obelisk flanked by rampant lions very similar to those on the Lion Gate at Mycenae (see • page 776). Beneath each lion a little cub is carved.

fore, surprising that the early ivories of Ephesus recall those of Nimrūd.

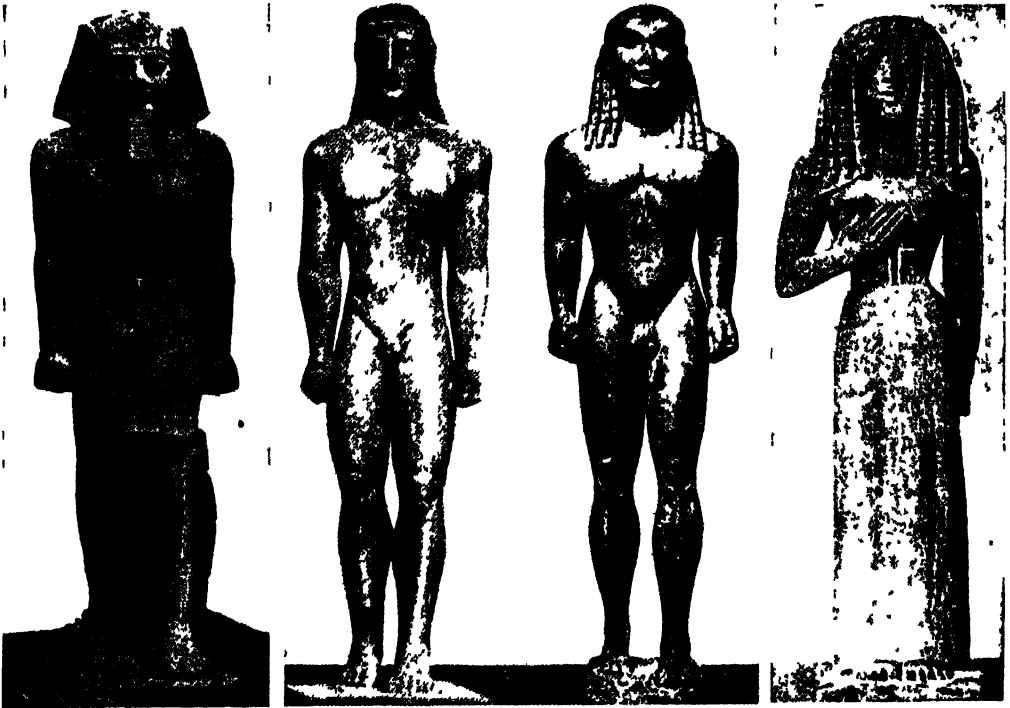
The influence of objects of art, which thus passed from the Middle East along the trade routes to the coast of the Aegean, was not the only channel by which oriental influences reached the Greeks of Asia. Goods are accompanied by merchants, and commercial intercourse necessarily involves an aggregate of individual personal contacts. With the derivative cultures of Lydia and Phrygia most Ionian merchants must have become personally familiar, and a few must have ventured to the fountain head and have witnessed the wonders of the cities of Mesopotamia.

Again, the excellence of Ionian and Carian fighting men was early appreciated by the great powers of the East, and many an adventurous spirit responded to the attraction of mercenary service at an Eastern court. Lydia, of course, employed Greek troops, but Ionians served farther afield than this. Thus at the beginning of

the sixth century, the lyric poet Alcaeus writes a congratulatory ode to his brother, who had taken service with the king of Babylon and had been presented by him with a sword of honour.

Earlier, in the middle of the seventh century, when Psammetichus I of Egypt threw off the Assyrian yoke, the backbone of his military forces consisted of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, who remained a permanent corps under his successors. This contact was followed up by commercial enterprise. Naukratis was made a chartered port for Greek trade in Egypt, and here the Ionians continued to hold almost a monopoly. From Egypt, amongst other things, the Greeks derived the idea of making life-size statues in the round, and there is no doubt at all of the Egyptian ancestry of the early Greek statues of male athletes, sometimes called Kouroi.

In fact, the ultimate result of the Ionian Migration was to put the achievements of the ancient civilizations at the disposal



EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF GREEK MONUMENTAL STATUARY

Statues such as that of Rameses II at Luxor (left) obviously inspired the art that produced the huge Apollo from Sunium next to it—the first masterpiece of Attic sculpture—and also the adjacent statue from Delphi of one of the sons, Cleobis and Biton, of the priestess Cydippe. Egyptian influence is equally obvious in the statue of a woman (right), a specimen of the early sculptural style of Greek Crete, whence tradition says monumental sculpture was introduced into the Peloponnese.

*Athenæ and Delphi Museums ('Fouilles de Delphes')*

of the Greek genius. This was fortunately too virile and original merely to echo the lessons of its elders or to reproduce a pale imitation of the products of Eastern art and learning. It used what it took as material for its own purposes. In fact, it was the Greeks, particularly the Greeks of Ionia, who not merely created new forms of artistic expression under the inspiration of oriental art, but by approaching the accumulated results of eastern learning in a new spirit, thereby created what we mean by science.

In Egypt the patience of generations had worked out by rule of thumb a practical system of land measurement, the necessity for which had been dictated by the annual inundations of the Nile. This the Ionians took, and made of it the science of geometry. Similarly the Mesopotamian civilizations had collected over centuries the results of careful observation of the movements of the heavenly bodies, but it was the Ionians again who, by seeking the universal principles which lie behind the particular manifestations, founded upon these empirical data the science of astronomy (see chap. 48).

Enjoying advantages denied to the mainland Greeks, and earlier and more directly placed in contact with the older art and culture of the East, the Ionians took the lead in the development of Greek civilization. Why then did they not retain it? The answer is not difficult to find. Their geographical circumstances

inevitably placed them at the mercy of the political power which controlled the hinterland, for the Hermus and Maeander valleys afforded as easy a passage to armies as to the caravans of commerce. If this power cared to assert its might, the small Greek states of the coast, divided in sentiment and separated geographically from each other by lateral mountain barriers, were not in a position to maintain their independence against its larger battalions. Their sole chance of liberty lay in the undisputed control of the sea behind them.

In the middle of the sixth century Persia, a far more systematically organized imperial state than Lydia or Phrygia had been, conquered Asia Minor. At the beginning of the fifth century the Ionians rebelled, and though the terms of settlement imposed after the failure of the revolt were not upon the whole vindictive, the power of Miletus, 'the glory of Ionia' as she was called, was broken, and a portion of her inhabitants were transported to Ampe on the Red Sea. This unsuccessful bid for freedom had also involved the destruction of the shipping of the maritime states. The Ionian Revolt in fact cleared the way for Athens, at the close of the Persian Wars, to step into the place of Miletus as the premier maritime power in the Greek world and the acknowledged leader of Greek civilization. But these later events are the concern of Chronicle IV.



**ART IN ASIA MINOR: GRAZING DEER ON A LYDIAN BAS-RELIEF**

Although the Lydians, one of the principal peoples whom the Greek colonists found in Asia Minor, were accomplished potters and jewellers, they have left few specimens of their sculpture, largely perhaps because in their architecture they mainly used brick. This marble bas-relief from Sardis shows skill but savours of archaism, the figure recalling the rows of animals depicted on Greek archaic vases.

British Museum

# EGYPT IN THE BRILLIANCE OF DECAY

How she revived under the Saite Pharaohs and influenced surrounding Peoples down to Roman Times

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**I**N earlier chapters the great part played by Egypt in the ancient world has been described, and the influence of her peculiar culture on the development of other civilizations has, from time to time, become apparent. However, it is not perhaps till the period of her decadence, to which we have now come, that this influence can best be appraised. Time had told, and the cumulative effect of the constant stream of culture-influence that for three thousand years had flowed from the Nile on to the surrounding lands now shows itself. Egypt was one of the permanent states of the ancient world. Her peculiar geographical position, the difficulty of attacking and occupying her, the remarkable idiosyncrasy of her people and their civilization, which made it impossible for a conqueror, did he establish himself in the Nile valley, to deflect the nation from its traditional path, far less to destroy or to absorb it into his own people, maintained her isolation from other centres of civilization. At the same time Egypt influenced all who came into contact with her.

Egypt still retains her characteristic isolation. The facts of geography do not alter, and the long river valley, with its identity of climatic and agricultural and other conditions of life throughout a great part of its length, and the protecting sea to the north and deserts to the east and west, are the same now as in ancient days. The people is still the same: it lives still in its old way. The peasants of to-day live as they did in the age of the pyramid builders, and but for the difference of language and religion a reincarnated Egyptian of the time of Khufu

would find himself amid surroundings perfectly familiar, with little to tell him that five thousand years had elapsed.

Of no other nation in the world can this be said except possibly, to some extent, of China, and China is not so old as Egypt by two thousand years. Like China, though with much greater difficulty for the attacker, Egypt has been conquered and occupied by foreigners from time to time, and, like her, has known how to absorb the conqueror. Like the Huns, the Turks, the Mongols and the Manchus in China, in Egypt Libyans, Greeks and Arabs have all in their turn invaded, conquered and been absorbed. They, like the conquerors of China, settled Egypt and in the land and their absorption her invaders was inevitable. A difference from China is observable in the fact that all China's conquerors did settle in the country. It was impossible to hold China without doing so. The very different geographical conditions of Egypt have made this possible in her case for a time only. A conqueror who could seize her by the throat, so to speak, at Memphis (Cairo), at the apex of the Delta, could hold her down for a time, until weakness compelled him to relax his hold, and the native race, taking the opportunity, could rise in revolt and expel him.

This happened in the cases of the Hyksos (Shepherd Kings), the Assyrians and the Persians. The Roman domination was different, again, and peculiar. It was exercised really through the Greeks, settled in the country for centuries and so mixed with the natives that the Graeco-Egyptian people of the towns,



venerating Egyptian gods and for all purposes of life intermingling with the pure natives of the countryside, did not feel themselves under any foreign domination at all. Rome was expelled finally by a fortuitous and sudden new Persian attack, the effect of which vanished in a very few years before the final conquest by the Arabs of Mahomet, who actually settled in the land and succeeded after many centuries of domination in effecting what no other conquerors had ever been able to do—a change of the language of the people to their own.

This only happened because Christianity had already made the great change of Egyptian religion. And having changed

her religion once, Egypt  
**The two Egyptian** now did it again, but  
**religious changes** not so completely, becoming predominantly, but not wholly, Moslem. In both cases fierce Semitic religious conviction demolished the feebleness of religion to which it was opposed, and in the case of the Arabs the iron resolution and single-mindedness of the followers of the Prophet effected the final change of both creed and tongue. Such revolutionary changes would not have been possible in earlier days. They were possible now only on account of the decay of the native civilization. Christianity in Egypt won its victory after a long struggle, not fully consummated in the south till less than a century before the Moslem conquest, *pari passu* with the final decadence due to the solvent of Greek settlement in the land.

When Alexander founded Alexandria with the set purpose of breaking down Egyptian isolation from the outer world he builded better almost than he knew. When Rhakotis became Alexandria the death-warrant of old Egypt was already signed. But she was an unconscionable long time a-dying. So strong was the native individuality that even when reinforced by the authority of Rome the Hellenic heaven took many centuries to work effectively. And so long as the old native religion survived Egyptian civilization remained Egyptian, albeit deformed and contaminated by foreign ideas in a way unthinkable before the coming of Alexander. But when Christianity came

and finally triumphed under a Christianised Rome, and the weakened and emasculated cult of the old gods departed, Egypt suffered a change which, though it had been gradual, was unprecedented in her history. And, once such change effected, the further change was possible.

Changed though they were in language and religion, however, the Egyptians remained yet the same in fundamentals. The valley, the river, the deserts, the seasons and the crops, remained the same as in the days of the pyramid builders. The individuality of the nation continued and continues, and if, as seems possible, in years to come the authority of Islam declines, and the modern religious link with the neighbouring Asiatic nations weakens, it will tend to reassert itself. Egypt will always be Egypt. While remaining herself, however, she will now never influence others as she did in the ancient days of her complete cultural independence. Rome and Roman Greece borrowed nothing from her but some exotic religious cults, regarded at Rome at least more or less as humbug. Only at one or two moments of the Moslem dominance, in the Middle Ages under the Fatimids and in the days of Saladin and the great Mameluke Beys, has she influenced others greatly since Alexander's time, and then only because she was for a time strong and conquering. In modern times only under Mehemet Ali, when Egyptian armies reached Anatolia and occupied Crete, has she conquered for a moment, but no superior civilizing influence accompanied this evanescent burst of activity, due to no Egyptian but to an ambitious Albanian Turk.

We must go back to the days before Alexander to see Egypt exercising real influence over the civilization of others. This **When Egypt most**  
 influence, which had **influenced others**  
 started even with the beginnings of the development of Egypt itself, in days before the time of the pyramid builders, became cumulative and reached its height in the centuries immediately preceding the conquest of Alexander, when in fact the seeds of decay had already been sown, to bear fruit under the later Greeks and Romans.

It was the brilliance of decadence that made the cumulative influence of Egypt so great a cultural power under the Saite Pharaohs. She impressed Greece because she was old and Greece was young. She had preserved her individual civilization through millennia, whereas the Greek civilization which she had known a thousand years, nay, two thousand years or more before, had long ago perished, gone up in smoke and flame, and its heroes had trodden the dusty ways of death down to Hades. The re-born Greeks who knew her again under the Saites had but confused traditions of those old days of the heroes, of Knossos (Cnossus) and of Mycenae, of Minos and of Agamemnon. They deemed themselves but a few generations removed from the gods, while the priest of Thebes could tell Hecataeus that he could trace the list of his predecessors back for three hundred and forty-five generations (an enormous exaggeration, of course), and each of them was a man and the son of a man. The Greeks had no continuity with the past, or none that they realized. They were deeply impressed by that antiquity of Egypt in which the Egyptians themselves now took an almost senile pride.

Persia, too, was impressed in her own way, either to the point of Cambyses' berserk rage against the witch-gods of Egypt, or that of Darius's interested care for the preservation of her culture.

Babylon alone could stand aloof, grumbling over her money-bags, scribbling on her clay tablets as she had scribbled in the days of the Sumerians. As old as Egypt, perhaps older, and with the same continuity with the past, she alone had no need to be impressed. She never had been. Perhaps, and indirectly, she had in the past influenced Egypt here and there; alone of all ancient peoples could she say that she herself had never listened to the blandishments of the serpent of old Nile. Assyria, her child, now perished or on the point of perishing, equally had owed nothing, directly, to Egyptian civilization during all the centuries in which she had fought her and defeated her.

But with Phoenicia it was otherwise. In the beginning of time she had admitted

Egyptian influence to her narrow shores with an Egyptian political domination that began in the time of the pyramid builders and was still reasserted, with her connivance, even now, when opportunity offered. Her art had always been a clumsy mixture, a compost of caricatures of the arts of the great nations surrounding her, but more especially of that of Egypt. Characteristic Imitative art Phoenician productions show of Phoenicia a mixed art in which Egyptian motives dominate, on the whole, and are naturally most accentuated at times of active Egyptian interference, as in the Saite period. And when we find Egyptianising objects of art in Assyria, as we do in the famous ivories found at Nimrûd, and now in the British Museum, we know that they are of Phoenician, not Assyrian, production, and were only exported to Assyria. The native artists of Assyria had their own style, which owed much to Babylonia, but nothing to Egypt.

We really know so little of the material culture of the Israelitish and Judæan kingdoms that it is impossible to say how far their art, for instance, was Egyptianised. We know nothing of their art except the wonder-tales of Solomon's temple, which, having been the work of Phoenician artists probably exhibited many Egyptian ideas at second hand. Jewish religion undoubtedly had borrowed from Egypt many externals, such as the Ark of the Covenant. And the Golden Calf and Brazen Serpent were Egyptian deities; the one being simply Hathor, the cow goddess, under whose protection the Sinaitic peninsula was supposed by the Egyptians to be, the other possibly the Delta goddess Buto, the snake Uazit. Egyptian influence on Israel had no doubt been considerable at the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos, which, as Josephus thought, was probably the historical original of the Exodus; the Hyksos had lived for many generations in Egypt, and had certainly imbibed much Egyptian culture.

Under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, when Egypt held Palestine with her governors and her garrisons, Egyptian influence must have been great. And under the Saites, when Psammetichus

and Necho ruled, there is little doubt that it was dominant. Yet we find but few traces of it beyond the style of a few tombs, at Silwan (Jerusalem) and in the south at Petra. The ancient Jews were apparently an inartistic race. Puritans never show much liking for the arts of civilization, and those of the Jews who were not Puritans could merely imitate, more feebly even than the Phoenicians, such things as the cult images of the far more highly civilized nations around them. More feebly indeed than the Phoenicians, for at least the latter showed a feverish productivity, and traded the imitative wares that they produced even at the remotest ends of the Mediterranean.

Of Egyptian influence on the Hittites and other peoples of the north we cannot now speak. Just as the Assyrians were now going down to Sheol, so the Hittites had gone down long before.

On the other side Egyptian influence found no ground to develop. The Sahara was no site for a native but receptive culture nor indeed for any culture at all, and none seems to have arisen on the unpromising coast till the Greeks came to Cyrene in the eighth century B.C. The Libyans were barbarians in comparison even with the Palestinians. Such culture as they had was no doubt from the earliest times affected by Egypt but we know nothing of it. These barbarians



#### MOTIVES OF EGYPTIAN ART REPRODUCED FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

Objects of Egyptian form have been unearthed in Assyria, but these were manufactured by Phoenicians and imported, not fashioned by native artists, above we see four such copies in ivory, found at Nimrud. The bearded man's head, the king who wears the uraeus and carries an enormous lotus and the two personages raising their arms in adoration of the sun god are comparatively faithful if unimaginative imitations; but the sphinx has Assyrian as well as Egyptian features.

British Museum

seem to have entered Egypt in force after the expulsion of the Hyksos, apparently in peaceful wise. Under the Nineteenth Dynasty the pharaohs, who now lived in the Delta, resisted their infiltration and succeeded, apparently, in expelling them, but only for a time. By the Twenty-first Dynasty they were in again, and a power in the land farther south than the Delta; and finally in the Twenty-second Dynasty they gave a royal house to Egypt. They were then Egyptianised, but how far Egyptian culture spread from them into the west is unknown. When the Greeks settled in Cyrene, however, they soon found that they could not escape the ambit of Egypt, Egyptian ideas were powerful in the African colony, and Cyrene and Barka served as means of communication between the new Greece and Egypt hardly less than the treaty ports Naukratis and Daphnae.

To the south, the lands of the Ethiopians and negroes had been Egyptian colonies, slave-raiding grounds and goldfields from the time of the Old Kingdom. That of Egypt had naturally been the only foreign influence known there. By Saite days it had resulted in bringing about the existence of an independent but derived native Nubian culture, strongly Egyptian in all its characteristics, using to write its native language a script developed from the Egyptian, worshipping Egyptian



**NUBIAN CULTURE EGYPTIANISED**

Although alien conquerors, the Nubian pharaohs of the Twenty-fifth dynasty held to Egyptian custom; thus, the funerary figure of the negroid Taharka (right, reigned 689-686 B.C.) is of conventional type, as is that of Aspalta, king of Ethiopia c. 561 B.C., from Gebel Barkal.

*Mus. of Fine Arts, Boston, and courtesy of Professor Reissner*

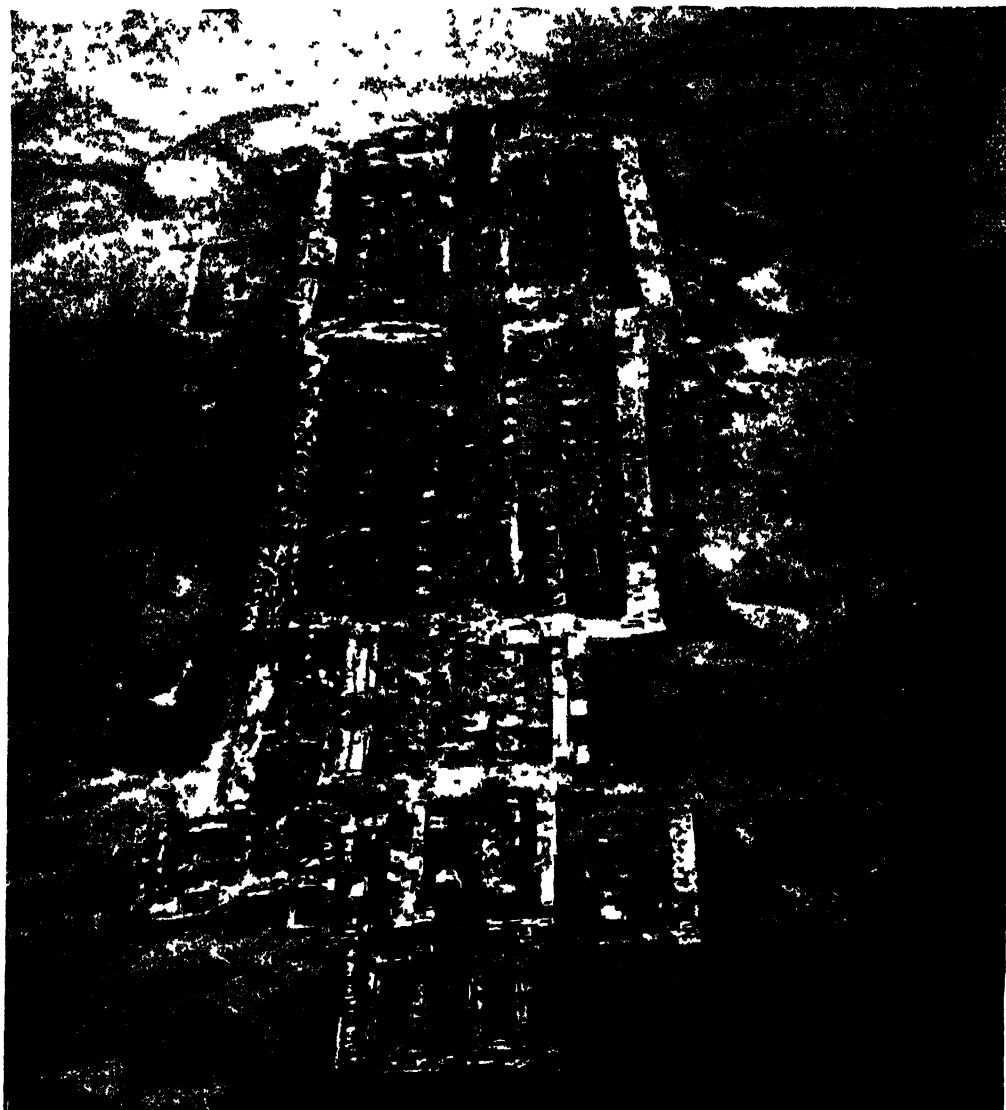
gods beside its own, and burying its kings in pyramids imitated from those of the ancient pharaohs. This remarkable



**PYRAMIDS THAT COMMEMORATE THE PROSPERITY OF NUBIA**

Even when Nubia was independent of Egypt and was administered from Meroë, the capital of southern Ethiopia, its civilization seems to have remained predominantly Egyptian. Its kings and notables, for example, were buried beneath pyramids which, though small and usually of perishable materials, were plainly erected in emulation of the great tombs of the pharaohs; above we see the typical steep-sided pyramids of the northern and southern cemeteries at Meroë.

*Courtesy of Professor G. A. Reisner*



#### REVERENCE SHOWN BY A NUBIAN MONARCH FOR AN EGYPTIAN GOD

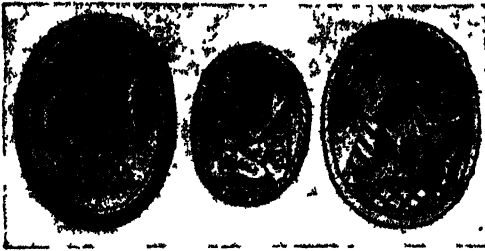
The worship of the gods of Egypt together with native deities throughout Nubia indicates the extent to which the younger civilization was permeated by Egyptian ideas. At Napata the great temple of Amen whose impressive ruins are shown here was first built by Egyptian administrators of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when Nubia was a colonial province of Egypt but it was rebuilt by the Ethiopian king Piankhi when Nubia was not only independent but dominant over most of Egypt.

*Courtesy of Professor G. A. Reisner*

colonial derivation from Egypt remained true to old Egyptian ideas longer than Egypt itself, and long formed a southern barrier impassable first to Christianity and then later when at last it had accepted Christianity to Islam. In Abyssinia it subsists mingled with South Arabian elements, and with languages of South Arabian Semitic origin, as an island of ancient Christianity to this day: a

Christianity that uses in its services such things as the sistrum a kind of rattle, directly descended from the pagan worship of Egypt.

The Egyptian influence that percolated southward into Africa from the earliest days undoubtedly affected the civilization of the native tribes, and is it a fantasy if we see traces of it among the Bahima of Uganda at this day?



**EGYPTIAN ART AT SECOND HAND**

Found in Sardinia, these scarabs are of Phoenician manufacture, but their designs—a sun disk between two uræi, a kneeling figure of Thoth and a conventional representation of a warrior smiting his foe are patently derived from Egypt

*From Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia*

I have said that the effect of Egyptian culture on the surrounding nations in the days of Saite decadence was cumulative. The Egyptian heaven had been working for three thousand years, sometimes slowed down for centuries almost to a full stop, at other times working comparatively rapidly, till in the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries B.C. it broke forth, profoundly modifying the nascent art of Greece, and so strongly re-stamping its impress on Phoenicia that all nations from east to west who received Phoenician goods received also Egyptian art at second hand.

We find Egypt in relation with the surrounding nations at the very beginning of her history, in spite of her characteristic isolation. She was isolated in a sort of geographical 'island,' as we have seen, but this isolation served to keep foreigners out; it did not prevent her from influencing them. It is a fallacy to suppose that the Egyptians were an untravelled people and, for instance, no seamen. Their Delta-folk were excellent seamen, as they proved at Salamis, and had shown seven centuries before when they navigated the ships that bore the native and mercenary hosts of Rameses III to battle with the Philistines in the marshes of Lake Serbonis. They regularly navigated both the Red Sea and the Mediterranean from the earliest times; they

had established a colony at Byblus in Phoenicia long before 3000 B.C., and they habitually voyaged to the land of Punt (the Somali coast) in search of the gums, spices and rare beasts of that land, and, for aught we know, even farther. Similarly, the Babylonians seem to have voyaged around Arabia into the Red Sea at a very early period and, in search of hard stones, visited Sinai and the west coast of Egypt, where they seem to have come into hostile contact with the local desert-coast dwellers, who appear to have been akin to the predynastic Egyptians.

Again, the Egyptians were from the earliest days great land-travellers; they took caravans through Libya right into central Africa in the time of the Sixth Dynasty (c 2600 B.C.) and no doubt before. Their Mediterranean sea-activity brought them into contact with the Early Minoan tribes of Crete and the Aegean, who indeed may not impossibly themselves in great part have come originally from Egypt and Libya; they were probably racially akin to the Nilotes and Libyans, who originally were no doubt closely related, though very early immigration from Syria and even farther north rapidly differentiated the Egyptians from the



**USED IN ANCIENT AND MODERN RITUAL**

The externals of Egyptian religion were freely adopted by the Nubians—we have (left), for example, a conventional 'ankh,' the symbol of life, dedicated by Taharka. And the rattle (centre) used to-day in Christian services in Abyssinia was derived, through the Nubians, from the Egyptian sistrum (right).

*British Museum*

**PRINCE'S SEAL**

Egyptian phrascology is used in this scarab to give the title of Yanet, the Phoenician prince of Byblus, c. 2000 B.C.

*British Museum*

Libyans. To this immigration, the coming of the 'dynastic Egyptians,' was due, it would seem, the development of civilization that brought about the founding of the Pharaonic kingdom c. 3400 B.C. These people brought the seeds of civilization with them from Syria, which may

In Phoenicia we see the colony at Byblus with its Egyptian gods and Egyptian temples at least as early as the days of Sneferu, c. 2900 B.C. So ancient was the connexion that Byblus had its place in Egyptian religion: it was there that the body of Osiris was washed up, and where it was coffined in a wooden chest. Sneferu sent great ships to Byblus to bring back the cedar and pine wood of Lebanon, not only for his building works, but also no doubt for making chests; and this commerce continued throughout the ages. Under the Middle Kingdom it was specially noteworthy, for it was from the Lebanon that the Egyptians got all

have been the focus from which Babylon also derived her culture.

The establishment of the kingdom was followed by overseas activity. We find definite proof of strong Egyptian influence in Crete from predynastic Egyptian days to the time of the Sixth Dynasty (second Early Minoan period). Then under the Twelfth Dynasty (Middle Minoan I and II, c. 2000 B.C.) we see the Egyptian influence even stronger, but now taken over and skilfully adapted by the Minoans. Then under the Thirteenth (Middle Minoan III) Crete has reached her apogee, and Egypt has little more to teach her; in fact under the Eighteenth Dynasty (Late Minoan I and II, c. 1600-1350 B.C.) she has much to teach the Egyptian artists. Then comes the decadence of the culture called Late Minoan III, and then the catastrophe. Egypt is attacked by the sea-rovers whom anarchy in the Aegean had called into being; she loses all connexion with and knowledge of the now barbarised Greece till, in the time of the Saïtes, Hellas, at first slowly and painfully, then **swiftly**, raises herself again out of her mire with Egyptian help.

**DEVELOPMENT IN CYPRIOTE ARTISTRY**

Until Egyptian influences made themselves felt in the island, towards 550 B.C., the level of art in Cyprus was very low. Examples of early workmanship—puerile figures of a priestess and a groom with a horse—are here contrasted with more virile productions of artists acquainted with Egyptian ideals.

*British Museum*

the great timbers that they used for the making of the large rectangular wooden coffins of the time. The native Egyptian wood was so bad that all the good wood the Egyptians used was brought from Phoenicia, as it is now brought from Europe. The princes of Byblus under the Twelfth Dynasty, who were natives, must have derived considerable revenues from this wood trade; and we see that they were buried in great state in the regular Egyptian style of the Middle Kingdom. In the British Museum we have a scarab of one of them, Yanet by name, whose title is inscribed in Egyptian phrase as if he had been an Egyptian. This connexion with Byblus, and through it with Phoenicia, continued down the ages.

Under the Eighteenth Dynasty we find the Phoenician cities, traditionally loyal to Egypt, used as the local base of the Egyptian sea power when Thothmes III, wishing to subdue northern Syria, and redoubting the long and difficult march through Palestine, boldly transferred his base of operations to the Phoenician port of Simyra, and brought his troops thither from Egypt by sea; so far as we know the earliest example of the influence of sea

**Egyptian relations with Phoenicia** power in history. At the end of the dynasty we hear the tragic story of the betrayal of Phoenician loyalty by the foolish idealist and pacifist Akhnaton to the greed of Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites, and his Lebanese tools, the princes Aziru and Abdashirta. Egypt lost her position in Phoenicia for many centuries. Seti I and Rameses II could restore her supremacy in southern Palestine and could build fortresses at Bethshan and elsewhere; but Phoenicia was lost, and under the Twentieth Dynasty the Egyptian ambassador Wanamana or Wenamon was so evilly entreated there that it was evident to all that Egypt had paid the price of the treachery of the 'criminal of Akhetaton' in total loss of her oversea dominion and prestige.

It was not till the time of Psammetichus I and the Saites that this position was in some measure restored. Though first Assyrian and then Babylonian opposition put an end to actual Egyptian political



#### INSULAR SPIRIT IN PAINTING

The craftsmen of Cyprus were extraordinarily faithful to local traditions. Hence, while the general effect of this animated vase painting is reminiscent of Assyrian work, the execution and most of the details are undoubtedly Cypriote.

*British Museum*

control except sporadically and ephemerally, culturally it is evident that Egypt was supreme again, as she had been in ancient days. And it was no doubt to mark this re-establishment of the ancient religious and artistic relations that in the year 593 B.C. king Psammetichus II undertook a solemn pilgrimage to Byblus, accompanied by a suite of priests bearing 'the wreaths of Amen' as gifts to the ancient Egyptian shrines.

The island of Cyprus in the fifteenth century B.C., before the reign of Amenhotep III in Egypt, had received the Minoan culture (probably from Rhodes and the Greek mainland rather than from Crete, now declining). It had retained a debased form of this culture very late, including its script, which it had modified to express the sounds of the Greek language brought by the Arcadian invaders of two or three centuries later than the Mycenaean invasion. We have no proof that the Mycenaeans, any more than the Minoans, spoke Greek, nor is it at all probable that they did; the Achaeans, who first appear in the thirteenth century, were, it is arguable, the first Greek speakers in Greece. The Greek element in Cyprus (a half-Cretan 'Mycenaean' element overlaid by true Greeks from Arcadia) was strong, and the Phoenicians were never able to gain much foothold in the island, their definite occupation being practically confined to the city of Citium



(Kition), whereas the Greeks had many cities, from which they ruled the native population of Anatolian descent.

When Assyria dominated Phoenicia, during the eclipse of Egypt, Sargon the king in 709 B.C. received the submission of the Greek and Phoenician dynasts of Cyprus which was henceforward tributary to Assyria till her fall. Then, fifty years later, as Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon made no sign of asserting any lordship over the island, Amasis II of Egypt signalled his accession to the throne by the conquest of Cyprus (effected probably by peaceable methods, as we hear of no fighting), which for another forty years (c. 565–525 B.C.) followed exclusively in the wake of Egypt, until the Persian conquest gave her another orientation. The effect of Egyptian control is clearly seen in the Cypriote art of the time, which gives clear signs of Egyptian influence, of great interest and importance in the history of Greek art.

The Greeks came anew into the orbit of Egypt first by the establishment of the Cyrenaic colony and then by the foundation of Naukratis. The establishment of the pan-Hellenic treaty-port on the western arm of the Nile was partly due to Egyptian political conditions, partly to the nearness of Cyrene, where the Greeks could find a near refuge in

case of disaster, whereas farther east there were no Greeks, but unsympathetic Asiatics as neighbours. The political reason was the fact that close by was Sais, the home town of the existing rulers of Egypt, Greek settlers the Psammetichi. Here the at Naukratis Greeks were surer of royal protection than elsewhere, a protection readily extended because the Saite kings, or their deputies, were themselves probably among the chief traders with Greece and to some extent middlemen between the Greek merchants and their subjects. The Pythia recommended the Greek colonists to go to Libya, 'rich in fleeces,' and the sheep of the western Delta, on the Libyan side, provided a great export of wool. The flocks were either the royal property or, when they were not, we can well imagine, paid a considerable royal toll on export. And the corn of the Delta and Upper Egypt, which Greece had no doubt imported in Minoan days, now again found its way into Greek ship-holds by the royal route of Sais and Naukratis, as did also the Delta olives and wines, for Egypt in ancient days was a land of grapes.

The position of the royal city on the north-western border of Egypt was due to the historical fact of the Libyan origin of the royal family. We have already seen



#### ELABORATE ORNAMENTATION BELOVED OF THE POTTERS OF NAUKRATIS

Earthenware utensils were manufactured in large quantities at Naukratis, the great Greek trading depot on the Nile, and exported to Greece and Italy. The Naukratite artificers were not affected by their environment: the decoration on their vessels, though orientalised, is not Egyptian but borrowed from Rhodes, another centre of the pottery industry. That they were highly skilled is demonstrated by these beautiful specimens of their work, adorned with typical friezes of conventionalised animals.

British Museum



#### MASTERPIECE OF MOCK-HEROIC PAINTING

The Ionian manufacturers of so-called 'Caeretan' ware not only derived part of their technique from the Naukratie potters, but often show intimacy with Egypt. Thus, although caricatures, the Egyptians in this humorous painting of Heracles slaying the Pharaoh 'Busiris' and his followers are admirable. The Pharaoh (lying on his nose!) wears the uraeus crown.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

that after the expulsion of the Hyksos, c. 1580 B.C., the north-western nomes of the Delta seem to have been depopulated and occupied by Libyan settlers. Under the Nineteenth Dynasty, three centuries and a half later, the fall of the Minoan or Bronze Age civilization of Greece and the movements of populations that accompanied and followed it (resulting in Greece in the final predominance of Indo-European Greek-speakers from the north), brought to the coasts of Libya and Egypt marauding sea-tribes who made common cause with the Libyans and sought to conquer the central and eastern Delta, even threatening Memphis. The Egyptians, whose Nineteenth Dynasty (the first Ramesid) sprang from the north-eastern Delta, where Tanis was their capital, were now more interested than they had been under the Eighteenth Dynasty in the affairs of the Delta. They repelled the invaders, and maintained the pharaonic authority in full, but the Libyans remained in the land, and some of their noble warrior-families seem to have been given fiefs even in the Upper Country south of Memphis, where Hininsu or Hnes (the modern Ahnas or Ehnasya, Greek Heracleopolis) became the great centre. They were known as the 'Great chiefs of

Ma,' a shortened form of their national name Mashauasha or Meshwesh, the 'Maxyes' of the Greeks. Though Egyptianised, they maintained certain of their national peculiarities, much as the Manchus did in China, including their Libyan names.

At the end of the division of Egypt between the priest-kings of Thebes (Twenty-first Dynasty) and the more legitimate descendants of the Ramesid kings who ruled at Tanis in the north-eastern Delta, a Libyan family of the Ma, who had intermarried with the Theban family, assumed the royal power, founding the

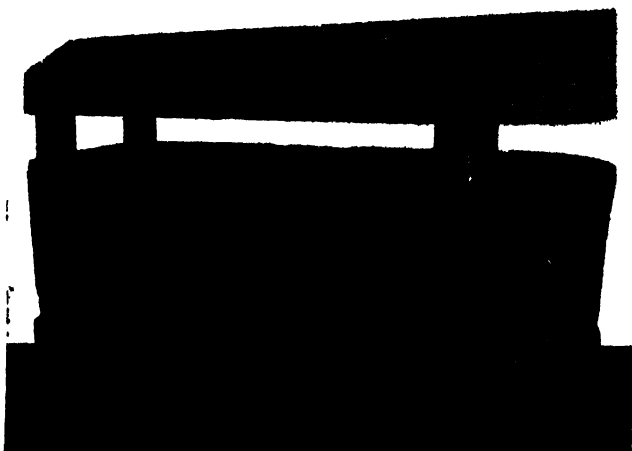
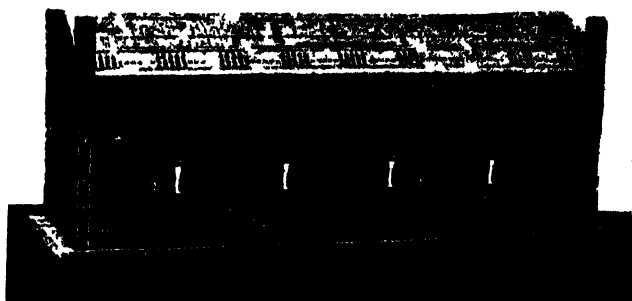
Twenty-second Dynasty under Shashank (Shishak I), c. 947 B.C. The Libyan families now became more and more important to the state, and the kings henceforth up to and except Amasis were of Libyan blood, even the Ethiopian kings being themselves ultimately of Libyan origin. In the seventh century the most powerful princely family of the Delta was that of the Libyans of Sais, who became possessed of the county of Mendes also. Niku, their head, was the chief man in Egypt at the time of the Assyrian conquest in 663, when Thebes was sacked by Ashurbanipal and the Theban principedom of Montemhet was wrecked. Niku and his son Psammetichus ruled Egypt as Assyrian viceroys till the gradual weakening of Assyrian control enabled Psam-



#### CAPTIVES OF THE ASSYRIAN CONQUEROR

At the time of the invasions of Egypt by Ashurbanipal (667-3 B.C.) princes of Libyan origin ruled the Delta, where they had been settled in force for many centuries, and proved incapable of resisting the Assyrians. Above is an Assyrian relief representing a string of captured 7th century Egyptians.

*British Museum*



#### EVIDENCE OF FRESH IDEALS IN ART

The artistic revival which is one aspect of the recrudescence of Egypt in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. is illustrated by the increased elaboration of funerary ornaments. The decorations of these sarcophagi—the upper is painted wood, the lower carven granite—are executed with a true sense of dignity.

*British and Berlin Museums*

metichus to become independent king of Egypt in name as well as fact.

He was now in reality the richest and most powerful of earthly monarchs, and after the fall in 612 of Nineveh (which, being still a loyal ally of tottering Assyria, though completely independent of her, he vainly strove to avert by arms), he seemed to be in his old age without any rival. And his successors in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty succeeded to this primacy, which, however, the defeat of the Pharaoh Necho (Niku) at Carchemish in 604 by Nebuchadrezzar was very soon to challenge. But Nebuchadrezzar never attacked Egypt, though we hear of a clash with Amasis fifty years later, when he was an old man, which apparently led to nothing. Necho, Psammetichus II and

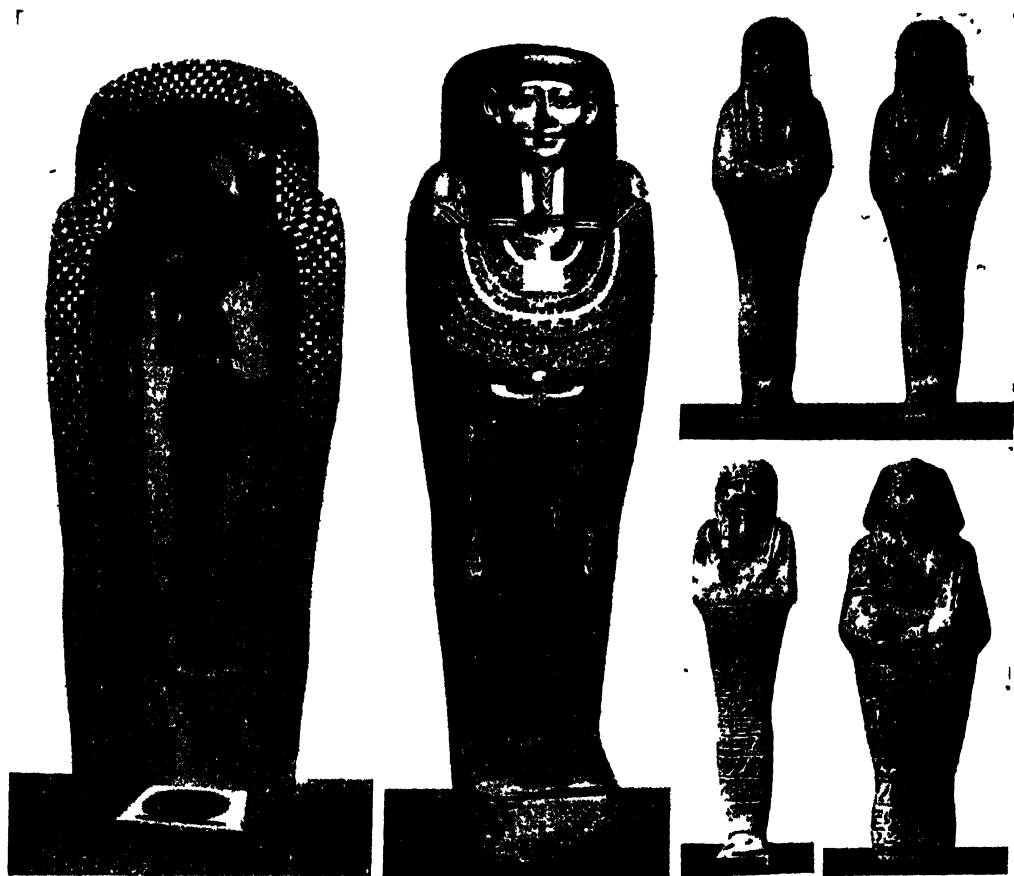
Uahibra (the Hophra of the Hebrews and Apries of the Greeks), ruled in magnificent state as pharaohs of a resuscitated Egypt whose glory seemed to rival that of ancient days. It was unable, however, in face of the greatness of Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, to reassert the ancient power in Asia except intermittently and, so to speak, by stealth.

Phoenicia still preferred Egypt to Babylon as overlord, and attempts were made to revive Egyptian authority there and in southern Palestine, but were foiled by Babylon. Hophra failed so signally that the Egyptian attempts were finally given up, and if Amasis had any idea of profiting by the weakness of Babylon after the death of her mighty monarch he soon abandoned it. And then in 538 Babylon was taken by Cyrus, and Egypt was too deeply concerned by the possibility of Persian attack on herself to provoke it by stirring up antagonism to Persia. Her turn came in 525, after the death of Amasis, when Cambyses conquered her and held her down with a stronger

hand than that of the Assyrians, who had never made themselves formally kings of Egypt, as the Persians did. The Assyrians had been concerned merely to keep her weak in the interest of their own power in western Asia, by tribute-exaction through local princes nominated by Assyria, varied by punitive expeditions when a national king (though an Ethiopian) tried to reassert control; they had not attempted completely to annex her to their empire, as the Persians did. This was really a subjection to foreigners more complete than any Egypt had previously experienced; for even the Hyksos ruled in Egypt, not from outside, and the Libyans were Egyptianised; while the Assyrians, though dominating from outside, never actually ruled the country directly.

This conquest brought to an end the Saite independence, but Egypt under the Persians can still be regarded as Saite. The characteristic Saite culture continued, and still exercised its influence over the surrounding civilizations, notably that of Persia herself. For, though the Saite kings could not impose their rule on Asia, Egypt under their rule was such a hive of wealth, of industry and of artistic production, that her cultural influence then attained a development which it had not reached for centuries, and was even greater perhaps than at any former period. It was the culmination of the process that had begun even before the days of the pyramid builders. Egypt had never absolutely

Egyptianised any culture-folk: only in the case of the uncivilized Ethiopians, and the Libyans settled in Egypt, had this happened, though probably the Libyans outside Egypt, did we know anything of them, would show strong traces of Nilotic culture. The Phoenicians, though they adopted Egyptian artistic motives and even some traits of Egyptian religion, remained Phoenicians. And in the case of the other Asiatics in direct contact with Egypt, this was more definitely so. But the influence of Egyptian civilization is at all periods clearly visible among them and never more than now. In Cyprus, and in the new Greece, as we have said, it was now specially prominent.



#### TANGIBLE SYMBOLS OF THE RENEWED PROSPERITY OF EGYPT

The richness of objects used for funerary purposes affords some indication as to the wealth of Egypt during the reigns following upon that of Psammetichus I (663-609 B.C.). 'Ushabti' figures (four are shown above) were less natural than those of a thousand years earlier, but more finely carved and more carefully finished. Coffins show marvellous workmanship the example (centre) with gilded face is covered with figures and texts minutely painted; the interior of the other is lavishly adorned.

British Museum



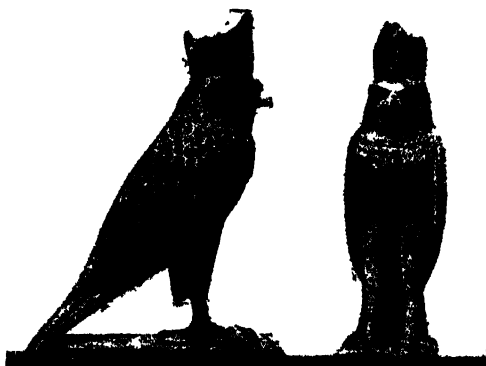
#### WEALTH OF THE PHARAOHS DEVOTED TO SPLENDID TEMPLE BUILDING

Under strong despots like the kings of the Twenty-sixth and Ptolemaic Dynasties, the wealth of Egypt was immensely increased, and this national prosperity was reflected in the growing magnificence of public buildings devoted to religious purposes. Remarkable for the richness of its architectural style is the temple of Horus at Edfu, built by successive Ptolemies between 237 and 57 B.C.; above we see a corner of its great court and the west pylon, with reliefs of deities and pharaohs.

*Photo, Donald McLeish*

As in the days of Amenhotep the Magnificent, and Rameses III, the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, five centuries and more before, Egypt was now again the wealthiest country in the world. Economic causes which we can hardly fathom, above all the loss of Asiatic dominion, had reduced Egypt under the later Ramesids and the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties to comparative poverty. But now again internal peace under strong kings had restored her wealth, although no tribute from Asia filled her coffers. Her wealth then, as now, was derived from her agriculture, supplemented by the gold of Nubia. We see the tangible result of its possession in the renewed building of stately temples and the renewed making of beautiful works of art. This prosperity continued under the Persians in spite of revolts (the Persian hold on Egypt was chiefly maintained because Egypt was the richest province of the Great King's empire), and reached its height under the Ptolemies. All neighbouring nations now looked to this resuscitated Egypt of the decadence as the chief abode of wealth, amenity and art.

The art of the Saïtes, being due to a renaissance, is sharply differentiated from that of the former period. Then Thebes was the centre of the kingdom, and all culture and art were of a special Theban



**EXQUISITELY MODELLED CHARM**

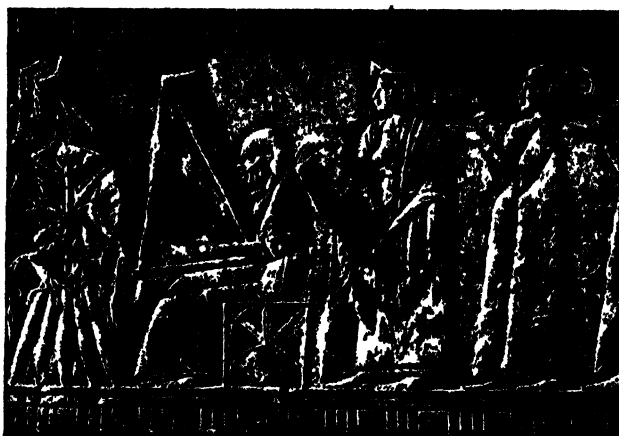
The extraordinarily delicate craftsmanship of the Saïte artists is perhaps nowhere better exhibited than in the jewelry which they produced. The miniature falcon seen here in two aspects is a masterpiece in gold and silver inlay-work.

*Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo*

character which continued from the time of the Thirteenth to that of the Twenty-second Dynasty, a period of over a thousand years. Now, when the national centre of gravity had already shifted back to the north (as in the more ancient days before the Twelfth Dynasty), even before the actual destruction of Thebes by the Assyrians, the art of the Saïte renaissance had naturally taken on itself a specifically Memphite character. We can in fact speak of a specially Memphite art-revival in the eighth century, which was not long before it gave the tone to the whole trend

of art-development in the resuscitated states. The chief characteristic of this revival was a conscious archaism, a deliberate harking back to the art ideals of the ancient days of Memphis and the pyramid builders before the Theban dominance. The art of the Theban imperial age, which had degenerated terribly during the period of poverty, was now discredited with all the rest of the apparatus of the Ramesid culture, and men looked to the archaic monuments of the Old Kingdom, which they saw all around them at Memphis, for inspiration and guidance.

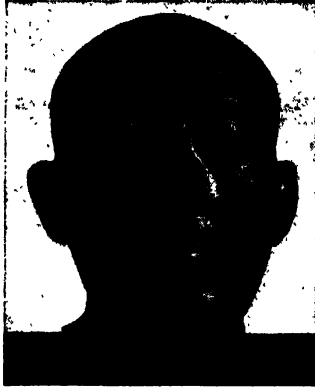
Conscious imitation of the art of the Old Kingdom



**DELICACY OF SAÏTE SCULPTURE**

Although Saïte art, based upon the ideals of the remote past, is naturally archaic in spirit, it is distinguished by its harmonious refinement and precision. The delicately and vividly carved figures of musicians on this limestone relief from a grave at Memphis also show signs of nascent Greek influence.

*Alexandria Museum*



#### TRIUMPHS OF PORTRAITURE IN STONE

Although they would seem to have been preoccupied with decorative art, Saite and Ptolemaic sculptors were capable of powerful realistic work. The most conscientious fidelity to nature makes these studies of a complacent prince and an elderly Ptolemaic priest, pre-eminent examples of Egyptian portraiture.

*British Museum and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

became the vogue, and went so far that statues for instance were often made in exact imitation of the style of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Only the circumstances of their finding, their inscriptions, and, when this evidence is lacking, a

certain indefinable quality of archaism and imitation, betray their real date. But more often the archaic influence shows itself in a modification or adaptation of the ancient models. This is the case with sculpture, and necessarily in smaller art, of which models of the time of the Old Kingdom were no doubt hard to come by. Indeed, in some branches of small art the archaistic influence is invisible, and the Ramesid tradition is followed. In others the Saite artist has obviously gone as far back as he could in search of ancient models, but finding none of the Old Kingdom, has

been contented with Twelfth Dynasty prototypes to imitate. We see this in scarabs, which did not exist under the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Here the Twelfth Dynasty often supplied ancient models, though the Saite scarab-maker



#### STUDIED REALISM AND ARCHAIC CONVENTION NICELY COMBINED

As in their reliefs so also in their statuary the Saite sculptors copied ancient forms in their own peculiar fashion. Hence they succeeded in giving their works a strength which no incidental element of affectation could impair. The archaism of the central figure does not prevent it from being vigorous nor detract from its effectiveness and value as a portrait: the fine torso, indeed, bears comparison in the quality of its modelling with any similar study.

*British Museum*

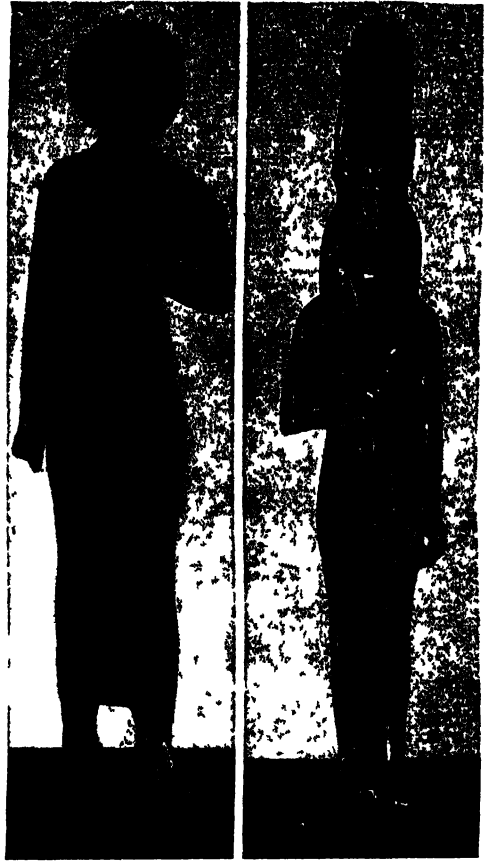
also evolved a new delicate style of his own which is typical. This delicacy is quite characteristic of all Saite art, and is emphasised under the later pre-Ptolemaic native dynasties, the Twenty-ninth, and Thirtieth. So even when archaism is so accurate as often nearly to deceive, a greater fineness and delicacy of execution betray the Saite origin of the piece. Saite art was characteristically delicate, *recherché*.

With the establishment of the rule of Psammetichus I at Thebes, about 650 B.C., the fashionable archaism was adopted at the southern capital, now rising out of the ashes of the Assyrian sack into at any rate a religious centre of the first importance again. We see it in the tombs of the Theban grandees of the time, which are often adorned with reliefs impossible to tell from those of the Pyramid Age but by this quality of delicacy in execution. In one of these tombs, that of a certain Aba, the reliefs of an ancient Fifth Dynasty Aba in a tomb at Deir el-Gabrawi were carefully copied for his Saite namesake.

Interest in archaeology was evidently keen, but only in that of the Old Kingdom. When Herodotus's priestly informants in the fifth century instructed him respecting Egyptian history, they gave him a sketch which unduly exalted the importance of a Khufu (Cheops) and a Khafra (Chephren), and totally ignored a Thothmes and a Rameses. Only of

Rameses III (Rhampsinitus) did Herodotus know, and that through a folk-tale. For him and his informants the great kings of the Twelfth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties did not exist. No proof can be more definite of the curious way in which the Saite Egyptians set themselves to ignore the Thebans on whose polity and art they had turned their backs. They had started on a new course, which should have as little as possible to do with the old imperial ways that had failed.

Archaism is visible in other things besides art. The outward state of the Saites also took after ancient Memphite models. Not only ancient names, but Old Kingdom titles of dignity and Old



FORMAL STUDIES OF WOMEN

The formality of Saite art is well illustrated by these two portraits of women. Their figures are exceedingly stiff and unnatural; only in the treatment of their faces is capacity shown.

*Athens and Berlin Museums; left, photo Alinari*

Kingdom priesthoods, fallen into desuetude for two thousand years, were revived. It was as if an England of the future, deprived of the Empire and confined by circumstances to the dominion of a single island, tired of vanished imperial pomp and of all that the imperial age connoted, were to disuse the terms and titles of to-day and revive those of the Anglo-Saxon period. Nay, we have seen an actual example of such archaism in modern times in Ireland. When the postal authorities of Saorstát Éireáinn, for instance, on their postmarks call Dublin 'Baile Átha-cliaith,' a designation that nobody has used for seven centuries, they are doing precisely what the archaeologically minded Saite Egyptians did long ago. In the case of Egypt such archaism.



was in its way a mark of decadence. It meant a certain artificiality and a lack of originality, which in fact we find in the state and in its art. The only thing characteristic of Saite art that we can deem really natural to the time, and neither a

portraiture, unknown to the Babylonians and Assyrians at any age. We see this at its best under the Fourth the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties. The tradition persisted in spite of eclipse from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-second, and



#### NOBLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHARACTERISTICALLY EGYPTIAN GENIUS

Throughout the history of ancient Egypt portrait sculpture was the one branch of art in which transcendent skill was repeatedly evinced. The work of the Saite sculptors, for example, was of a very high order; and these heads illustrate the even greater genius of Theban artists under the preceding Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The dignity of old age is wonderfully expressed in that on the left, while Prince Montemhet is represented with uncompromising sincerity

*British and Cairo Museums*

pastiche of archaic models nor naturally developed from debased Ramesid art, is the quality of delicacy of which we have spoken. It was often finikin, over-refined, merely pretty. And this, too, is a mark of decadence. It was the brilliance of decay. When we compare this ultra-refined and delicate art of the Saïtes with the great contemporary art of Assyria under Ashurbanipal, we are still more struck with its artificiality, as we are when we compare it with the great art of its ancestors under the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties, in which there is neither artificiality nor archaism nor decadence, any more than there is in the Assyrian art of the seventh century. Both were the great art of imperial ages: that of the Saïtes is parochial in comparison with them.

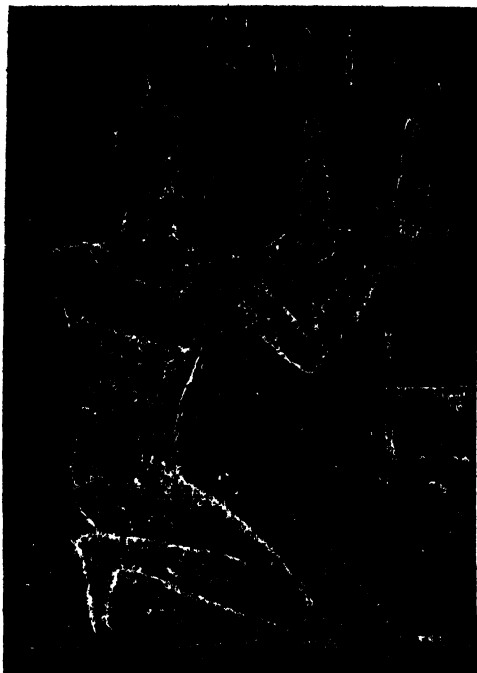
Yet we must not depreciate Saite art unduly. It is often very beautiful. One of the great characteristics of Egyptian art was always its power of personal

in the eighth century it was revived in a series of magnificent portraits, among the best of which are the Montemhet at Cairo and the wonderful head of an unknown old man in the British Museum, in some ways the finest example of Egyptian sculpture in England. These splendid portraits, giving every characteristic of the sitters' faces, continued to be made till the end of the sixth century or later, and the art revived for a moment under the Sebennytite kings of the fourth, but without the old vigour. We see an accurate, characterised portrait even in the little head in sunk relief, only an inch or so in size, of Psammetichus I on an inter-columnar slab in the British Museum. He was exactly like the famous Lord Brougham, nose and all! And we must not depreciate the remarkable powers of the Saite sculptors in cutting hard stones, which the old Thebans rarely attempted. They produced beautiful results in soft limestone, the Saïtes in basalt. And the

delicacy with which sculpture in basalt was achieved is incredible.

It was to this later art of Egypt, artificial, pretty, in great part mere pastiche, yet capable of wonderful portraiture, and amazing in technique and mastery of material, that the 'archaic' Greeks of the eighth to the sixth century were introduced. When they visited Naukratis (and, later on, the Greek settlement of Daphnae, or Tahpanhes, founded by Necho on the eastern border of the Delta as a barrack for the Greek mercenaries, the 'brazen men,' whom his father Psammetichus had hired to support his independence from Assyria), they came into contact with an art that took direct inspiration from that of days before even the art of the Minoans was born.

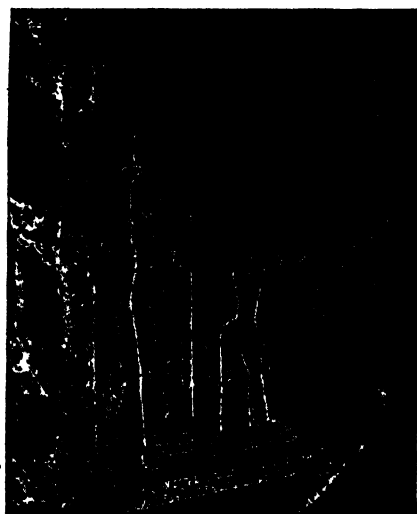
This art could represent men really exactly as they were in life, and could use its materials in a way of which no Greek then had the slightest idea. It was nothing remarkable that tales of these wonders brought back to Greece should bring not only philosophers to Egypt, but also artists, as eager to copy and learn as they. We need not doubt the stories of direct Egyptian inspiration in the work of some of the earliest Greek



**PHARAOH AT HIS DEVOTIONS**

Although conventional, the art of the seventh century B.C. certainly did not lack vigour and sincerity—qualities remarkable in this portrait of Psammetichus I, making offerings to his gods, on a slab from the temple of Temu at Rosetta.

*British Museum*



**BAS-RELIEFS CUT WITH AMAZING DELICACY FROM UNYIELDING GRANITE**

The refinement of Saite and post-Saite carving is astonishing when we realize that the artists usually worked in basalt, which is very much harder than the limestone in which their ancient Theban models were wrought. In these delicate reliefs of the fourth century B.C. we have an example of mastery over granite. While the divine figures are represented strictly according to type, the treatment of the hippopotamus of Smeti and the hawk of Horus suggests observation of nature.

*British Museum*

sculptors of the new age, or that the first Greek makers of bronze statues, for instance, actually learnt their craft in Egypt. The proof is in the Greek statues and reliefs of the seventh and early sixth centuries, which are undoubtedly inspired by Saite models. Clumsy though they may be at first, the well known Apollo statues, and friezes of victors in the games (also commonly called 'Apollons,' apparently solely because they too have long hair, which all Greeks wore till the fifth century), are simply imitative adaptations of Egyptian statues of the Saite period. And in early reliefs we see less unequivocal but still recognizable traces of Egyptian and specifically Saite influence. Small bronze



#### SAITE ARCHAISM

Best known example of Saite archaism. The figure is accurately copied from a Fifth Dynasty original, and but for the inscriptions we should never know that it was not of that date.

figures follow the same Egyptian model as the larger ones of stone, and the skilled technique of bronze working, lost during the dark age following the Mycenaean, may well, as tradition says, have been re-learned by the Greeks in Egypt.

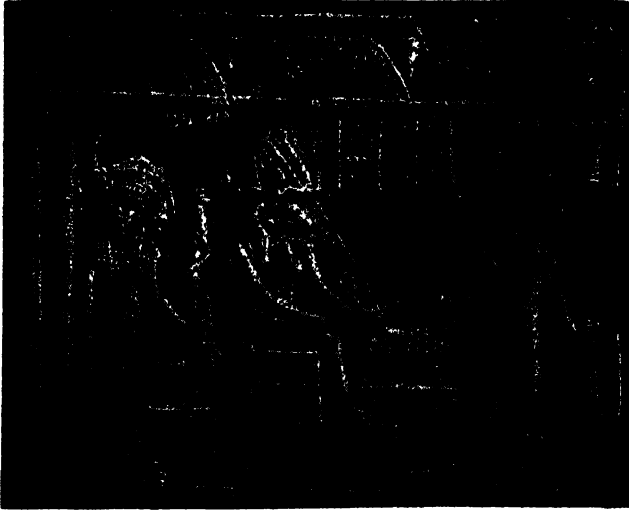
There is, however, one characteristic of these Greek figures that is sometimes set down to Egyptian influence, because it is also found in Saite figures. That is the well-known 'archaic smile.' But it should be noted (for this is an important point) that the archaic smile in Egypt is a characteristic only of later, not earlier, Saite art: of the sixth century, and probably the latter half of the sixth century, not of the seventh. And it persisted in Egypt



#### INSCRUTABLE SMILE THAT BECAME AN ARTISTIC CONVENTION

Towards the end of the Saite period sculptors were no longer conscientious in their characterisation, and a type was evolved in which the features were regular and the mouth curved in an enigmatic smile. This standardised expression is seen in the faces of the two statues shown here—the kneeling figure (centre) and the priest holding a statuette of the moon god Khons (left) as early as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty; in the bust we have an example of the 'Ptolemaic smile.'

British Museum



#### DEGENERATE ROMANO-EGYPTIAN ART

Under the Ptolemies classical ideas had a marked influence upon Egyptian art, eventually producing an individual but degenerate style. It was florid and affected in character, as is demonstrated by this relief, of the period of Roman domination, representing a Caesar before Khnum and Hathor

*Hildesheim Museum*

right down to the Ptolemaic period and the third century, whereas in Greece it disappeared at the beginning of the fifth, having begun with the earliest classical Greek statuary in the seventh. I unhesitatingly therefore regard it as a trait of Greek origin in Egyptian art, adopted deliberately by Egyptian sculptors in the second half of the sixth century in imitation of archaic Greek art, which must have been by then well known to them at Naukratis and had been so at Daphnae before its destruction by Amasis. It may very well be that the actual introduction of this strange Greek convention (due in the first place to unskilfulness) was a result of the conquest of Cyprus by Amasis.

In this new possession the Greek inhabitants were found making figures all of which had this characteristic smile, which was then introduced into Egypt as a fashionable and pleasing oddity. Realistic portraiture seemingly began now to go out of fashion; it certainly declined during the reign of Amasis, and these simpering faces, previously unknown to Egyptian art and just like those which the Greeks had known no better than to make came in to persist till the days

of the Ptolemies, whereas the Greeks dropped them so soon as they did know better.

This is the first instance of the return influence of Greek art on Egyptian, which, after the Greeks in the fifth century had at a bound become the foremost and truest sculptors of all time, became naturally more and more marked, till in the fourth, at the end of the native monarchy and the beginning of that of the Ptolemies, we find most engaging and quaint examples of Greek influence on tomb reliefs; in fact, what is becoming already a mixed Graeco-Egyptian art. Under the Ptolemies the mixed art came into full being, and we see its deplorable results in Roman Egypt, in those terrible composites of all that was bad in both now decadent

arts, which in the eighteenth and even well on into the nineteenth century were regarded as typically Egyptian.

The Egyptian occupation of Cyprus (c. 565-525 B.C.) resulted naturally in a considerable introduction of Egyptian art-forms into the island, and more than in any other part of Greece we find direct imitations of Saite art, even to Egyptian details of costume, coiffure, etc. Kings, for example, are represented wearing the Egyptian royal waist-cloth with pendent uraei.

Some Asiatic influence through Phoenicia is, of course, also visible in Cypriote sculpture, but not much. Bearded heads that have been taken to be Assyrian are in reality as Greek as



#### CYPRIOTE WORK

Egyptian influences are clearly seen in this limestone statue from Cyprus, particularly in the dress and coiffure.

*From Perrot and Chipiez*

they can be, even to the characteristic detail of the absence of the moustache, which the Greeks often shaved, but the Assyrians and other Asiatics always wore. In any case Phoenician influence would not tend in any way to diminish Egyptian elements in Cypriote art, since in Phoenicia itself we find this the heyday of Egyptian parodies, worse than ever before.

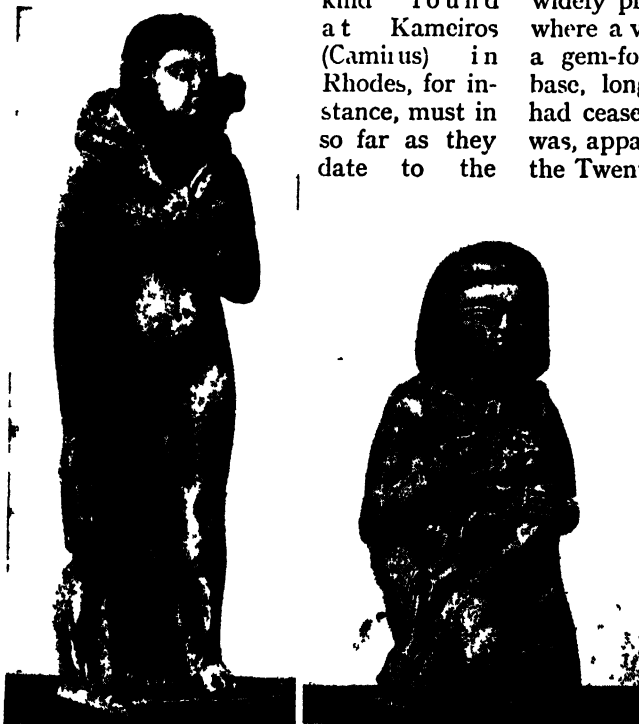
Considerable resemblance can be traced between the products of Egyptianising art in Cyprus and the Egyptian and semi-Egyptian productions of Naukratite. There the Egyptian art of making objects in faience (glaze-ware) was exercised by Greek potters, with characteristic results—Egyptian in form, but by no means always Egyptian in spirit—which are readily distinguishable from native Egyptian works of art of the time, but not always so easily to be distinguished from similar things of Phoenician origin. The earlier Egyptianising objects of this

kind found at Kameiros (Camirus) in Rhodes, for instance, must in so far as they date to the

ninth or even eighth century be of Phoenician, not Naukratite workmanship, though they look very like Naukratite products. We cannot, however, claim anything as Naukratite before, at earliest, the middle of the seventh century. On the whole the Naukratite work is truer to Egyptian models than the Phoenician. The latter had imitated Egyptian faience from very early times, probably. The Naukratite objects are mostly of faience; the Phoenician of all materials.

Naukratite or Phoenician, these imitation Egyptian objects, whether of faience or of stone, were exported all over the Mediterranean world, from the Greek colonies in the Crimea and on the banks of the Dnieper to Tartessus in Spain. Phoenician imitations of the Egyptian scarab found ready purchasers in Sardinia, to judge by the discoveries at Tharros. And the imitative type became widely prevalent in Italy and in Greece, where a variety in hard stone persisted as a gem-form with Greek intagli on its base, long after the seal or bead scarab had ceased to be made in Egypt, which was, apparently, shortly after the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, though purely funerary scarabs were used till Ptolemaic days.

The Phoenicians were great ivory carvers. This had been one of their older industries, it is plain. A fine example of their earlier work, probably dating to about 1100 B.C., is perhaps to be seen in the draughts-box from Enkomi in Cyprus, with its carved reliefs of a stag hunt in which a Philistine warrior, with his feathered head-dress, takes part; it is now in the British Museum. The style is an imitation rather of Assyrian than Egyptian work as might be expected from its date. Work of the ninth and eighth centuries is to be seen among the famous ivories from Nimrud in Assyria, already mentioned, which are also in the British Museum. Here,



LATE SAITE FAIENCE FIGURES

These two faience figures of women are examples of Egyptian art of the period of the last native monarchy, or somewhat earlier. The figure on the left shows undoubted Greek influence. Such figures were made earlier by Greek craftsmen at Naukratis and were often imitated with qualified success by Phoenicians.

British Museum

as we might expect again, we find the Egyptian tradition re-established, and the caricatures of Egyptian work that are so typical of Phoenician work in the Saite period already beginning. The Phoenicians had returned to their first love, and Egyptian pastiches are characteristic of their art, now as in early days.

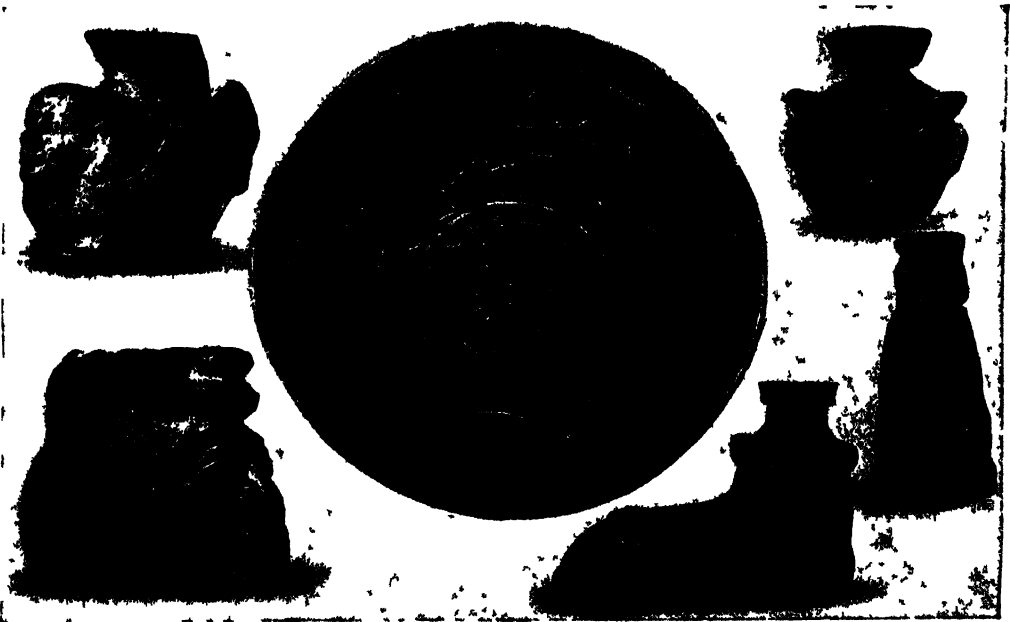
There is very little in it that can be considered native Phoenician at all. When it is not Egyptian it is Assyrian, or rather Syro-Mesopotamian in inspiration, with an occasional touch of the old Syro-Hittite style, that survived at Carchemish till the eighth century. And these pastiches are not, properly speaking, adapted at all, nor are they made to agree or blend with one another; we find an Egyptian and an



#### PLAGIARISM IN PHOENICIAN SCULPTURE

Phoenician imitativeness is again clearly exemplified in these two sarcophagi, that on the left being Egyptian of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, that on the right local Phoenician work. The general design and the details of the latter are clearly copied from Egyptian models, but it is little better than a parody

*British Museum*



#### INFLUENCE OF EGYPTIAN FAIENCE ON FOREIGN POTTERY

Both Greek and Phoenician craftsmen were much indebted to Egyptian potters in their production of articles of glazed ware, of which the bowl (centre) is a good specimen. Similarity of form is also noticeable in these 'aryballoi,' small faience vessels used for carrying oils to the baths. That in the shape of a warrior's head (bottom left) and the harpy-shaped vessel (top left) are Twenty-sixth Dynasty Egyptian. The others, from Kameiros in Rhodes, are of Graeco-Phoenician manufacture.

*British Museum*

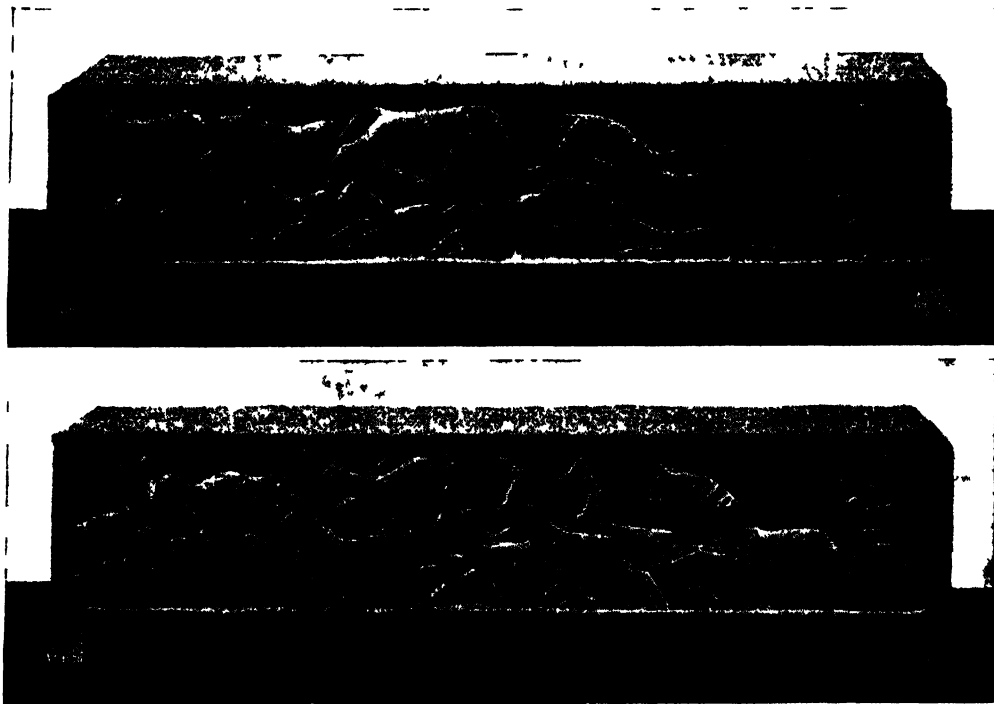
Assyrian scene imitated on the same silver embossed bowl, for instance, without any attempt to connect them in any way. There were apparently stock subjects, chiefly of Nilotic origin, such as winged scarabs, a solar deity in a boat, a king in his chariot, a hunting-scene, girls playing on harps, and so forth, with which were adorned Phoenician works of art that were turned out by the gross.

The Phoenicians were in fact the inventors of 'mass production,' though they invented little else, being one of the most unoriginal races under the sun. Among the wares that were found most profitable were, apparently, great silver embossed bowls, imitated from Egyptian Saite patterns that were themselves derived from similar bowls commonly made in Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty. The assiduous Phoenician imitator, however, combined non-Egyptian with Egyptian scenes on his productions. And it is characteristic of the Phoenician indiscriminate imitation,

that his Egyptian pastiches were often scenes that were in Egypt peculiar to the walls of temples and of tombs and would never have been used for the decoration of a silver bowl. These bowls were extremely popular, especially in Etruria and in Greece, and must have returned many a shekel to their producers.

We find the same artistic 'macédoine' on all other subjects of Phoenician workmanship, such as seals. It is often difficult to tell the average Phoenician Egyptianising object from a modern Arab forgery, if its material or other evidence does not guarantee it. In both cases we have unintelligent imitation, with like results.

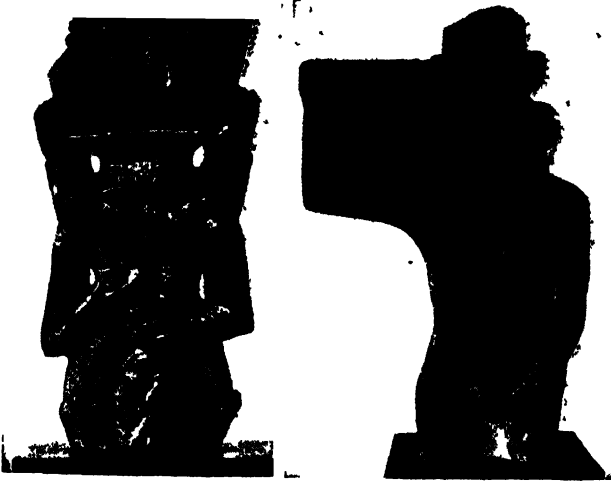
I have said that Egyptian art, whether transmitted direct or through the distorting medium of Phoenicia, never had any particular effect upon that of Babylon or Assyria. Although genuine Egyptian objects of the Saite period, such as scarabs, are not seldom found in Mesopotamia, they are frankly exotics, and may usually be



#### EARLY MASTERPIECE OF IVORY CARVING FROM CYPRUS

This ivory draughts-box, of which the two side panels are reproduced here, was found at Enkomi, in Cyprus, and dates from about 1100 B.C. It is not of pure Minoan-Cypriot style and is in all probability the work of a Phoenician carver of the best type. The stricken bull in the upper panel, the fleeing stags and the straining hounds show much of the animation and truthfulness to life that distinguish the best animal studies of the Assyrian sculptors.

*British Museum*



#### SCULPTURES OF THE DWARF GOD BES

Symbolising laughter and war, Bes is shown (left) wearing plumes and (right) as Baal, with weapon raised to strike. Possibly originating in Babylonia, he was naturalised in Egypt, in the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty; his qualities also endeared him to the Greeks, who adopted him as Silenus.

*British Museum*

regarded as the stray possessions of some Egyptian. At Carchemish many Egyptian objects of this time were found; they are demonstrably relics of Necho's garrison. Nothing shows the least Egyptian influence in late Babylonian art. Nor were the Egyptians any more ready to accept Babylonian ideas. They did not even, in their archaistic ardour, revive the use of the cylinder-seal, which had been characteristic of the Old Kingdom; this was probably on account of its ordinary contemporary association with the rival civilization of Mesopotamia, where it had always been used. It is true that the god Bes, who was so popular in Saite Egypt, was possibly of Babylonian origin, but he had come to Egypt to stay long before, in the days of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and was thoroughly naturalised. The Egyptians handed him on to the Greeks, and as the Silenus or Satyr he figures on hundreds of Greek vases.

Persia owed her art-tradition to Assyria and Babylon, but already under Darius we see it developing in its own way. And the conquest of Egypt brought Egyptian elements into it, such as had never been admitted by the Mesopotamians. We see this definitely in the ruins of Persepolis, where Saite Egyptian architectural forms

and motives are employed. And in Egypt we see Darius putting up a bilingual monument on which a somewhat Egyptianised Persian art appears side by side with the purest Egyptian style. The Achaemenids were tolerant of foreign religions and foreign arts, and we can see that as Egyptian physicians and soothsayers were prominent at the court of Susa, so also no doubt were Egyptian artists, in the fifth and fourth centuries. At any rate, the Persians appear to have been more susceptible to Egyptian than to Greek artistic impulses, although Greeks thronged at the court. The contrast of this receptivity with the absolute aloofness of the Mesopotamians is interesting.

Of Israel, Judah and Elam we have already spoken, and of the scantiness of information as to their material culture. At Petra the Saite Egyptian influence on the earlier tomb façades is clear, and did we know more of the monuments of Arabia no doubt we should also see it there. Egyptian influence in Ethiopia needs no further reference.

So we find the Egyptian art-influence spreading round the ancient world at this late and decadent time to a far greater distance than ever it had been able to



#### IMITATIVE COMMERCIAL ART

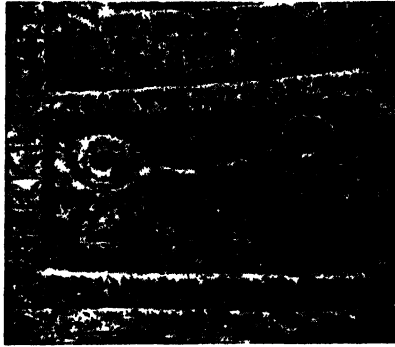
Assyrian and Egyptian subjects were used indiscriminately by Phoenician artisans. The winged animal and Nilotic solar deity with an oar, from a Nimrud bronze bowl, are totally unrelated—a design typical of Phoenician lack of originality.

*British Museum*



reach before, thanks largely to the pushfulness of intelligent Greek and unintelligent Phoenician artistic middlemen. Its most positive achievement is its influence, direct through the Greek artists, indirect through the Phoenicians, on the development of the 'archaic' Greek art of the renaissance in the seventh century, and also on that of Italy through the Greek art of the Etruscans. Here indeed the Saïtes builded better than they knew, for Egypt in their time can indeed claim justly to have been the foster-mother of Greek classical art.

The Mesopotamian art-centre can also claim its influence on budding Greek artistic energies. So great an art as that of Assyria in the days of Ashurbanipal could not fail to impress enormously those Greeks—and there were some—who reached Mesopotamia in the seventh century, if they ever saw it. But in any case the Assyro-Babylonian art-influence had modified the course of art in Syria and Anatolia so profoundly, and had



#### SURVIVALS IN COPTIC ART

This Coptic gravestone of the seventh century A.D. shows a combination of pagan and Christian emblems—the 'ankh' or symbol of life and the cross—thus illustrating the survival of ancient Egyptian motives.

*British Museum*

supplied so many pastiches to Phoenicia, that its peculiar character was as well known to the Greeks through the medium of Ionia and Lydia as was that of Egypt via Naukratis and Phoenicia. All the same, we do not recognize the same debt as that which is evidently owed to Egypt in the case of the oldest Greek statues, and which is warranted by Greek tradition. Greeks who travelled far east in the early days of Greek art were chiefly isolated warriors, not artists and

artisans, whereas at such a trading mart as Naukratis or at such a garrison city as Daphnae artists would be many and artisans very many indeed.

The Egyptian art of the decadence mingled, as we have seen, with the Graeco-Roman, producing a debased, mixed art, characteristic of Roman days in Egypt. Mesopotamian art, properly speaking, did not. When Hellenism supplanted the ancient culture of Babylon, out went the light of its art like a suddenly extinguished candle. There is no Graeco-Babylonian mixed art like the Graeco-Egyptian. There is only a debased Hellenistic art in Mesopotamia. Only in Persia did the old tradition survive, much mixed with Egyptian elements, and possibly may have had some effect on the Graeco-Persian Sassanid sculpture. But elsewhere there is nothing. In Syria, he would be a bold man who would claim that the art of Palmyra, for instance, had any connexion with the old Syro-Mesopotamian art even in spirit.

That art died. But Egypt's rose again in Roman decay under Christian auspices in its Coptic guise, in which there is much of direct old Egyptian tradition and character. And this Coptic art not only spread to Asia, but eventually succeeded in so strongly modifying the local pseudo-Roman styles as to produce the art which we generally know as Byzantine. In death, Egypt still lived.



#### EGYPTIAN ART TRADITION SURVIVES

This Ethiopian limestone relief from Meroë enshrines the spirit of the ancient art. The king, victorious, slays his foe, his hound assisting; behind is the 'winged victory' sheltering its protégés in the traditional manner.

*From Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

# GREECE ON THE EVE OF HER GREATEST GLORY

The Material and Intellectual Growth of Hellenic  
Culture to its Flowering in Fifth Century Athens

By STANLEY CASSON

Reader in Classical Archaeology, New College, Oxford ; Author of *Ancient Greece*

**I**T is not until the name 'Hellene' has appeared in the records of history that we can say that we are at last definitely in touch with that peculiar development in the world's history for which Greece is responsible. Before the Hellene appeared there was the strange barbaric world of the Achaeans, in whom we see, if not the other characteristics, at least the personality and the enterprise which stamped their descendants (compare Chap. 28). Achaeans seem to have been known to and respected by the Hittites under the name of Ahhiyava and, perhaps, to Egyptians as Akaiwasha. Hittites accepted them as feudal allies and admitted their influence in Pamphylia and Cyprus as early as the middle of the thirteenth century B.C., but the centralised Achaean power was in the Peloponnese. Amongst the ingredients that went to form the Hellene these Achaeans must have formed a very large part; and it will therefore not be out of place briefly to summarise the pertinent facts about them, though the ground has been covered in earlier chapters.

Crete by 1600 B.C. (see Chap. 25) had gained commercial and perhaps political control of Greece as far north as the plains of Doris and the foothills of Pindus. In addition, the islands of the central Aegean had long been under her suzerainty. But even if her princes and agents were in control, the population of the mainland was in no sense Minoan by race, and perhaps only partly 'Mediterranean.' One of the most recent of archaeological conclusions is that the Bronze Age inhabitants of the mainland were of a stock which at that time covered the whole of

the Balkan peninsula and was, in immediate origin, northern rather than southern. The double origin of the Greek is thus derivative from the most ancient times.

But as the insular power of Crete waned and her mainland strongholds at Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes and Orchomenus and in Elis, Attica and Aegina grew stronger, the inhabitants of Greece, whose northern connexions were almost forgotten in the misty past of a dim Neolithic age, were reinforced by new elements who penetrated southwards towards the glamour of the golden Mediterranean cities, just as, nineteen centuries later, Goths, Huns, Avars and Vandals again pressed south to seize the treasures that lay there for the gathering. Minoan culture from 1400 onwards is on the defensive. About this time city walls and forts increase and multiply in Minoan settlements. Some new ferment is at work in the Central Sea, and new folk are pressing down from the Danube basin and the rich plains of central Europe, where they had already achieved a richness and diversity of culture which owed nothing to other regions.

Under the name of Achaeans we can group all these penetrative peoples whose presence is detected in Minoised or Mycenaean Greece by a new orientation of method and culture rather than by sudden catastrophes. They seem to have arrived like Normans in medieval Sicily, or Varangians at Byzantium, as mercenaries, in tentative expeditions, in bands or in small groups. That they were warriors rather than traders is suggested by the extreme paucity of their remains and by the fact that they seem to

have introduced at first nothing new in commerce, in pottery, in ornament or in architecture, but only in weapons.

As regards those, their presence is clear, and not only their presence but their place of origin. Small round shields, small leather helmets, broad-bladed spears and, finally, long swords that slashed (unlike the Minoan which only stabbed) are found in fact or represented in picture. This is a northern panoply; these spears were made in the Balkans centuries earlier; the slashing swords were one of the great inventions of the Bronze Age in the Danube basin (see page 911). Throughout the Mycenaean world these northern elements appear soon after 1400 and then in increasing quantity. The swords in particular are found as far afield as Cyprus, and even in Egypt (where one, perhaps a trophy of war, is stamped with the seal of Seti II, c. 1205 B.C.), as though to illustrate the Hittite and Egyptian chronicles.

Perhaps the newcomers were welcomed as allies or accepted as mercenaries in the old Mycenaean strongholds, just as the invading Etruscans were accepted by the natives of Vetulonia and Caere in Italy, or as Greeks were accepted by the Spaniards of the city of Empurias, where a wall divided the Greek from the Spanish part of the city. But the Minoan world was decadent and the mainland colonies had sapped its strength. The pressure from the north became too much for a civilization that had launched no new invention in war since it had first organized a navy. The Minoan world had become static. The semi-northernised states of the mainland were probably reinforced by more northern blood and at last the peaceful penetration from the north ceased to be peaceful.

Between 1200 and 1150 B.C. the old cities of Mycenaean Greece 'all by fire and slaughter. The warriors of the slashing swords have come at last in strength. The Minoan princes and their northern mercenaries are overwhelmed by hostile northern armies, some of whom had begun to learn the use of iron. A new age is ushered in, an age of burning cities with the conquerors bivouacked in the blackened ruins of old palaces. The great

palace court of Mycenae was littered with the rubble huts of the new conquerors.

For nearly three centuries after the collapse of the Minoan and Minoised culture of Greece there is profound darkness, lit only by occasional flashes of discovery. It was an age of war and voyaging, not of commerce. The Homeric poems describe the conditions of its earlier years; they are not quite the age of Iron. They show the mercenary bands of Achaeans and their successors now masters of wide and rich territories, firm-rooted for fully three generations in Greek soil. The poems have the Minoan world as background, sometimes dim, sometimes clear and sharp.

But the history of these early years soon fades into the obscurity of disorder. New hordes of barbaric Dorians (see Chap.

32) swept the remnants of the Minoan world away. **Superiority of Whether Mycenae and the the Invaders rest of the Mycenaean** world was first ruined by the last men of the Bronze age or by the first men of the Iron Age, by late Achaeans or by early Dorians, we do not know. Nor does it matter profoundly. Achaeans and Dorians are names that imply a difference of degree rather than of kind. The essential point for the purposes of this chapter is that Greece was now fully northernised through the medium of a people—the 'Achaean-Dorians'—who possessed supreme advantages over the Minoans. They were armed—at any rate by the tenth century B.C.—with the most efficient weapon the world had yet seen, the iron slashing sword. They knew the rudiments of military discipline; before the walls of Troy it is always the Achaeans and rarely the Trojans who stand 'helm to helm, shoulder to shoulder, like a battlement.'

Rhythm of step, as of verse, and rhythm and repetition in art mark the people of this new age. The ornaments and decoration of the Iron Age in bronze or pottery show a capacity for exact repetition that reveals a highly standardised, though dull, mentality. The artists of the rightly called 'Geometric pottery' (see page 995) and of the countless small bronze ornaments of this culture possess an abstract capacity for exact linear design that is unrivalled in the history of art. They

paint and model like inspired drill sergeants; they seem to have inaugurated what almost amounted to an industrial age in art, which lasted with little or no variation for the best part of two centuries. Can we doubt that a people so mentally equipped had not also invented the new toy of military discipline?

Further, we can be certain that the tongue now spoken almost universally in Greece was an Aryan tongue, as is shown in various dialects of early

**Excellences of Greek.** We can be as **Aryan Speech** certain that the language of the Minoans was not Aryan. And between all Aryan tongues and all non-Aryan tongues there is a deep gulf. The Aryans tend to simplify thought and statement, to place words and ideas in the order in which they are normally arranged by the logical mechanism of the brain. Semitic, Turanian and other languages of the main non-Aryan groups are but clumsy vehicles of thought and expression in comparison. Nor do they accommodate their sounds to the shape of lip and tongue as easily as do the Aryan.

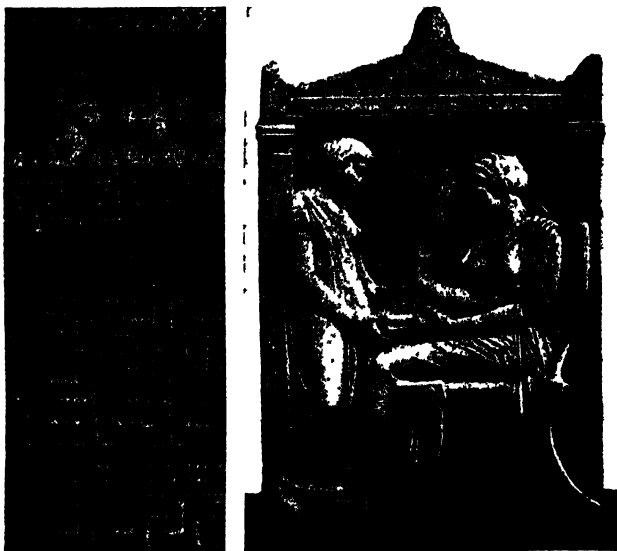
They have more the appearance of haphazard growth like barbaric 'agglutinative' languages. It is not, then, mere coincidence that no peoples in history developed so rapidly as the Aryan, or to the accompaniment of so many original inventions and methods. And of all the Aryan groups those who penetrated the Italian and Balkan peninsulas showed more resource and vigour than any of the others.

In the midst of this age of discipline and incipient organization appears the name Hellene. According to Herodotus they were originally a small tribe who lived in the north of Greece in Phthiotis. Their founder (or patron saint) was Hellen, and he had a son Doros. Dorians, then, in legend at least, were a development of the main Hellenic stock and not its founders. Soon the name Hellene came

to be applied to all who had the same speech and origin. 'The Hellenic race,' says Herodotus, 'has never, since its first origin, changed its language.' By 900 or 850 B.C. we can say that the first founders of Hellas are already in harness for their first great strides.

The chief ingredients that go to make them are this fine northern stock—Achaean-Dorian in the main—blended with the native 'Helladic' and 'Mycenaean' stock, itself largely of ancient northern flavour but impregnated with Minoan attitudes of mind by the agency of Minoan religion and culture, and climatically assimilated to the universal Mediterranean stock, which tends always to reassert itself and absorb northern characteristics. Here and there, no doubt, as in the Argolid, in Boeotia or in the islands, actual Minoan stock was strong and the Minoan tongue was spoken. But the value of Minoan survivals has been much over-estimated.

The outlook of the Minoan was, in essence, wholly different from that of the early Hellene. It is true that we know nothing of Minoan literature—in fact, we



#### SEED-TIME AND FLOWERING OF HELLENIC ART

The Greek artist of the Geometric Period drew as a child draws—witness the warriors (left) from a Dipylon vase. By the fifth and fourth centuries he had learnt accurate observation, as we realize from the Attic gravestone (right). But something of the same spirit runs through, producing the subjective decoration of the one and the idealised figures (not portraits) of the other.

*From British Museum and Athens; photo, Mansell*

have no particular reason to suspect its existence—and little or nothing of Minoan language. But artistic remains, if rightly interpreted, are almost as expressive of national outlook as literature. Minoan and Mycenaean art has an indefinable quality about it which places it on a level above Egyptian or Assyrian, and certainly above Hittite art. Yet the difference between Minoan and Mycenaean and the earliest phases of Hellenic art is so profound that one would hardly have suspected that they had both been created in the same region. The difference is psychological. The Minoan artist was observant of nature and interested in all

that he saw. He had an  
**Subjectivity of** objective outlook and a  
**Hellenic Art** clear keen eye, so he drew  
 what he saw or else designed

on a basis of what he had seen. The Hellenic artist from 900 to 700 B.C. drew from mental images, in so far as he drew at all, and designed wholly in the abstract. He drew figures of men and beasts as he thought they ought to be, not as he remembered to have seen them. His earliest drawings of human figures were thus of a type that might have been drawn by a child of six, while his drawing of design was more perfect than the achievements of a skilled mathematician. He had all the childishness of genius. And it is this abstract and subjective quality which underlies the best Greek art down to 350 B.C., when for the first time artists cut portraits.

So profound was this intellectual side in Greek art that the old Minoan realism would not have survived even if it had had the chance, since it was alien to all Hellenic ideas. The last phases of Mycenaean painting, the gradual transformation of old Minoan naturalistic designs, (of flowers, sea-shells and plants) into almost unrecognizable schematic designs, show the influence of the first of the new ideas that were swamping the old Minoan world. Late Mycenaean art is often described as decadent Minoan; in effect, it is embryonic Hellenic.

The dark period that followed the fall of Mycenaean power is hard to reconstruct. The Homeric poems show us a world of wandering and adventure, but, though

they were composed almost certainly after the Mycenaean collapse, yet give us no hint of the drama of destruction. They belong to the old days when Achaean heroes had supplanted the old Minoan potentates but before the invading and more barbaric hordes of Dorians and others had blotted out the old culture. For the years of destruction and the ensuing period of resettlement we have nothing but the evidence of archaeology. From this we learn that the uniform culture of the Early Iron Age in Greek lands had not only occupied all the chief Mycenaean sites, but had spread and multiplied in every direction. In some cases the new settlers started afresh near but not on the old sites. Tiryns has little or no history after its fall, but Asine, a few miles to the south, seems to have replaced it. Sparta of the Iron Age is a mile away across the Eurotas from Therapne, its Mycenaean predecessor. Thebes the Minoan and Mycenaean is resettled, while Orchomenus and the lake-city of Gla near by are abandoned. Mycenae and Athens, however, continue to be inhabited. But many new settlements arise that had no earlier history. From Sunium in Attica to the great Iron Age settlements in Thessaly at Pherae and Phthiotic Thebes the trail of Iron Age settlements can be traced along the high-road of continental Greece from south to north; farther north, Macedonia is full of the towns and graves of the Iron Age people. Here they had concentrated before their descent upon Greece.

Early these Iron Age folk took to the sea—a feat that was, in itself, a marvel of adaptation, for they came from far inland behind the northern ranges that screen the Aegean from **Seamanship in the Iron Age** the north. They even reached Crete and the Cyclades, Troy and the Ionian coast, and one group, perhaps, settled even so far afield as the bay of Naples. By the middle of the eighth century they were painting pictures of their ships on vases and a little later we find a marine masterpiece carved in ivory at Sparta (page 999), and a bronze relief of a ship in Crete. They were the precursors of the main body of Greek colonists who left their homes a century or so later. In a

century the small ships of the early drawings, hardly large enough for more than twelve men, had given way to larger vessels that could sail across wide stretches of open sea.

Soon afterwards they ventured the long and dangerous route to Spain, where they entered into rivalry with the old-established trade of Tyre and Sidon, who already exploited these wealthy shores. But with the precursors of Greek commerce at the end of the dark ages we have reached the beginnings of recorded history. Cumae, near Naples, was reputed to have been founded in 1050 B.C.—a date probably too early but whose very exaggeration indicates that it was a 'record' in early enterprise. In any case archaeological evidence confirms its extreme age. In Sicily Naxos is founded in 736, and Syracuse in 735. The farther extension to Spain and the French Riviera takes place in the ensuing century.

Meantime in Greece proper Sparta is the centre of Greek culture and the accepted leader of the peoples of Greece in relations with the outside world. Her history is known to us from the evidence of excavations, which have revealed the successive strata of her development.



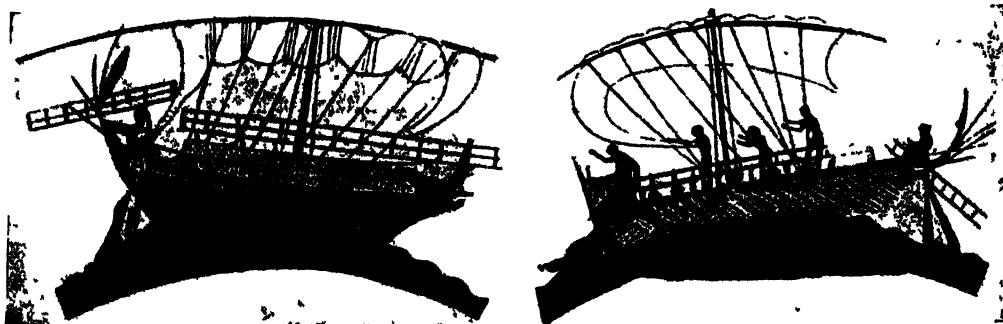
#### DIVING FROM FISHING BOATS

Diving for oysters was practised in Homer's time, and an early Greek diver is here depicted about to take the plunge. Due, probably, to the fact that the prow was shaped like an animal's head, eyes were a prominent decoration on Greek ships, and indeed still survive on Mediterranean fishing boats.

*British Museum*

From the primitive settlement of the tenth century, when the Iron Age intruders sacked the Mycenaean town and built a village on a neighbouring hill, we can trace the swift growth of enterprise and culture.

By 700 B.C. the city had ceased to be a barbaric village in a mountain valley and begun to achieve organization sufficient to allow her to meet on equal terms the kingdoms of Lydia, the cities of Ionia and the empire of Egypt. Spartan life was luxurious and elaborate. Some of the earliest of the post-Homeric poets were



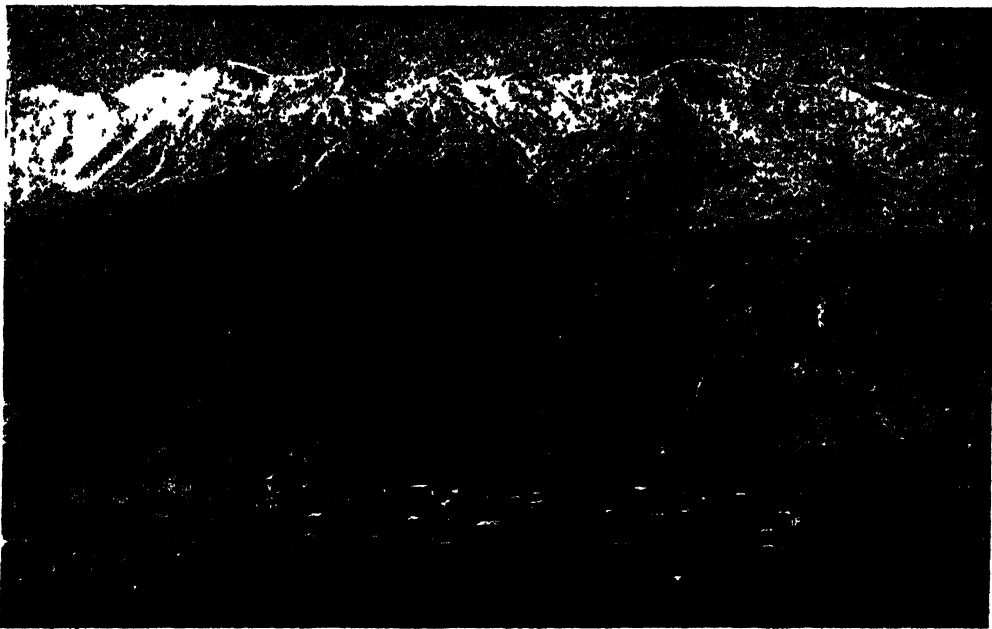
#### EARLY GREEK MERCHANTMEN AND MEN OF WAR

On a cup of the late sixth century B.C. we have this very clear representation of Greek merchantmen and battleships of that early period. In addition to sails, the battleship (right) is propelled by two banks of eleven and twelve oars and has a formidable ram. The merchantman has no oars but depends entirely on its sail and has a much higher built hull, adapted for stowing cargo. Both were steered by a man with two oars and carried a ladder at the stern for embarking and disembarking.

*British Museum*



At one time the most powerful city state of the Peloponnese, Sparta was built at the north end of the central Laconian plain, on the right bank of the river Eurotas. Strategically its position was admirable. It guarded the only passes on the north and west through which an enemy could penetrate into Laconia from the land side, and was immune from attack by the sea, 27 miles away.



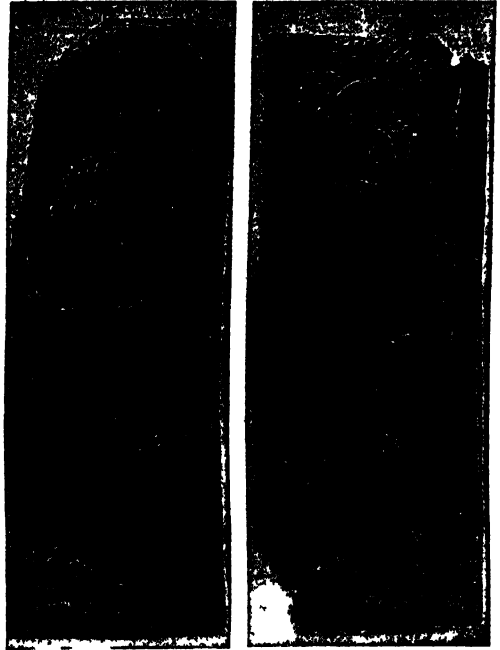
Part of the site of ancient Sparta is occupied by the modern town, complete excavation by archaeologists thus being rendered impracticable. These photographs—above, of the Eurotas seen from the Menelaion and, below, of the modern town—show the formidable nature of the mountain barriers that prevented the political fusion of the ancient individual city states into a single nation and also, no doubt, greatly influenced the development of the stern and unyielding Spartan character.

#### **SPARTA, MOUNTAIN CRADLE OF STERN MILITARY VIRTUES**

*Courtesy of British School at Athens*

its citizens, and their verses tell us of a life of quasi-oriental fullness, and the picture they draw has been substantially confirmed by excavation. By 600 B.C. Sparta was one of the centres of Greek art, and was rivalled only by Corinth and the rapidly growing village of Athens. But Athens rose as Sparta declined in culture. Somewhere about 550 B.C. Sparta experienced something in the nature of a puritanic revival, perhaps through realization of the danger from rebellion of her subject population. This risk became intensified the more devoted to luxury she became. So Sparta reformed, the city became militarised and the suppression of art and luxury gave a new and sinister meaning to the name 'Spartan.' There was an almost complete cessation of art in Laconia after 550 B.C.

Perhaps the most characteristically Hellenic quality in the people of Greece made itself evident at the very start. Diversity of method together with a uniformity of aim was always at the basis of Greek life. Freedom in politics and art and literature had many forms. It made no difference how greatly one district or school or group differed from another as long as the main objects, Truth and



**VIRILE SPARTAN RELIEF WORK**

Perhaps votive offerings, perhaps the panels of a wooden box, these bone plaques were found in a tomb near Sparta, and are excellent examples of early Spartan art, before the 'puritanical revival' of the sixth century B.C.

*From Journal of Hellenic Studies*



**HELMET OF AN EARLY SPARTAN WARRIOR**

Individuality of style and great boldness of treatment characterise this sculpture of a Spartan warrior. This helmet is of the early Attic type, a cumbersome covering for the whole head and neck, with large cheek pieces. The lines of hair and eyebrows were often rendered in embossed or engraved patterns.

*British School at Athens*

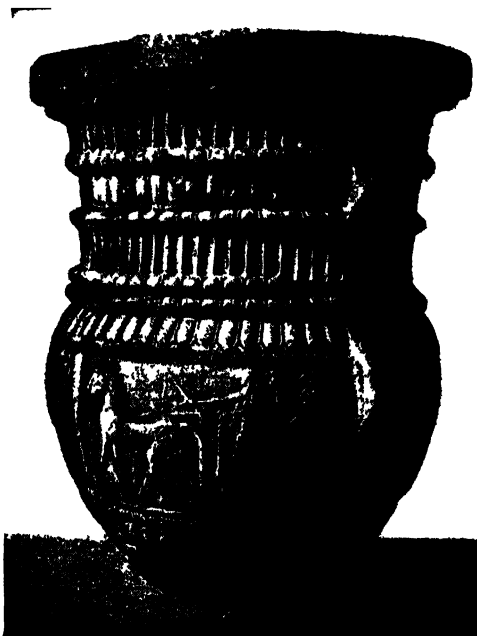
Beauty, were always kept in view. Philosophers, poets, sculptors and painters never had a national stamp and they never wrote or thought or carved or painted in any way other than as citizens of a particular city state. They were not drilled in one regiment like the artists of Egypt, whose five thousand years of art cannot produce more than relatively faint variations in style and originality or more than indistinct hints of inspired individual work. Each Greek was his own master where art or philosophy or literature or science was concerned.

There was no Greek creative type as such, except in so far as the creator was untrammelled by law or force; that was the only quality in common. In so far as Greeks



ever achieved any frame of mind remotely resembling what we understand by a 'national' spirit they did so solely by contrasting their own state of freedom with a state which they summarily called 'barbarian,' in which men could not create as they liked but only as they were told. That they lumped together the highly civilized empires of Persia and Carthage with half savage communities like Thrace and Illyria and Ethiopia into the term 'barbarian' is an indication that to the Greek the common quality of all barbarians was the reign of arbitrary force over the freedom of the mind; whether this force was a Royal King of Kings or whether it was a savage environment or a reign of superstition made no difference to the general classification.

This essentially Hellenic growth of diversity made itself felt at a time when the newly fledged Hellenes had just emerged from a period of uniformity of culture. The Dark Age already described that extends from 1150 to 800 B.C. shows us the Greeks as yet hardly diversified.



#### EASTERN NOTE IN SPARTAN ART

In the chariots, horses and men carved in relief on this archaic pithos there is distinct evidence of the oriental taste of the early Spartan artists whose inspiration came largely from Asia Minor

*Special permission of British School at Athens*



#### GRAVESTONE OF A SPARTAN NOBLE

Archaic though it is, this grave stele showing a man and his wife guarded by the protective serpent-spirit is a great achievement. Yet it comes from Sparta; thus showing how de-liberate was the later Spartan neglect of art.

*Berlin Museum*

They had a simple and uniform culture to whose artistic aspect the name 'Geometric' has been given. But by 800 the seeds of diversity were already firmly planted. Sparta was the metropolis of mainland Greece and yet there was no other town that at all resembled her by 700. Athens up to this date had been a flourishing village of Geometric culture with its fortress built upon the old Mycenaean citadel. Yet soon after 700 Athens and Sparta hardly seem to have a single thing in common. In Sparta from 700 to 600, as has been said, taste was oriental to a marked degree. Local artists carved and drew in styles that owed their inspiration largely to Asia Minor. At Athens, on the other hand, art is indigenous from the earliest time and oriental influences are few, despite the proximity of Corinth, which was closely in touch with the East. Sparta was a great centre despite its remoteness, Athens hardly more than a provincial townlet (as late as 600) despite its accessibility.

The earliest variation on the common 'Geometric' style which is perceptible in

early Attic art is strongly local. The so-called 'Proto-Attic' art of 700-550—principally vase-painting—shows a great advance on the earlier art without any pronounced stimulus from outside. By 600 Athens was becoming an art centre of the first importance and it was about this time that men other than artists began to realize in Athens that Sparta was not the only city of Greece.

Just as conditions favouring the independent growth of art were different in all towns in Greece, so conditions affecting political life differed also. The Spartan lived as a member of an army of occupation in a recently subdued land. Messenians waited on his frontiers for any sign of weakness; the defeated natives, Helots or Perioikoi, belonging as they did to the race that had preceded the Dorians in Laconia, waited their chance, hoping to seize their opportunity when it arose. These conditions may be considered as largely responsible for the

puritanical revival of the sixth century, which sought, in the face of danger, to diminish luxury and reassert the military traditions of the past. It was little wonder that art went by the board. Sparta was the prize for three separate enemies, and the Spartans strove to make every effort to prevent the prize being awarded.

In Attica the conditions of growth had been different. Unfortunately our knowledge and records of the earliest Attic history are scant and meagre. But by the seventh century, at least, there was a landed aristocracy and a serf population. The country had an organization not unlike the Spartan, but without its dangers. There was no recorded history of violent occupation or brutal subjection. The Athenians at all periods looked on themselves as of one indigenous stock. But the ruling families, nevertheless, were of varying origins, and few of them, strictly speaking, of Attic origin. Messenian stock, curiously enough, was prominent

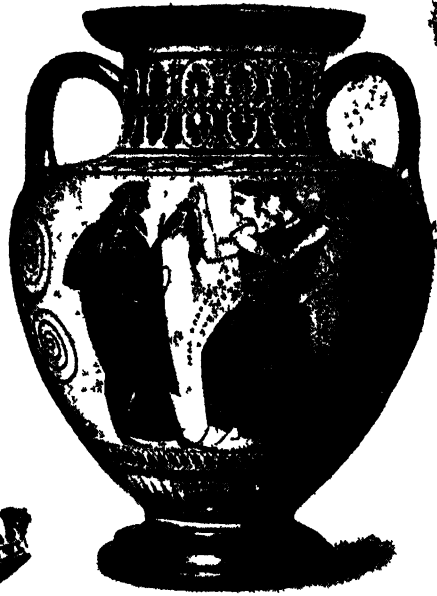


**GAUNT MEMORIAL OF THE WEALTH THAT TRADE ONCE BROUGHT TO CORINTH**  
Corinth, by reason of its sea-borne trade, was as closely in touch with the East as Sparta and became a centre of orientalising influences. Incidentally, therefore, it is strange that Athens, so near at hand, was so little affected by foreign art. This view shows the majestic citadel-hill of Acrocorinthus frowning over the seven remaining columns of the temple of Apollo, a seventh-century building, as their early Doric style and close-set arrangement prove.

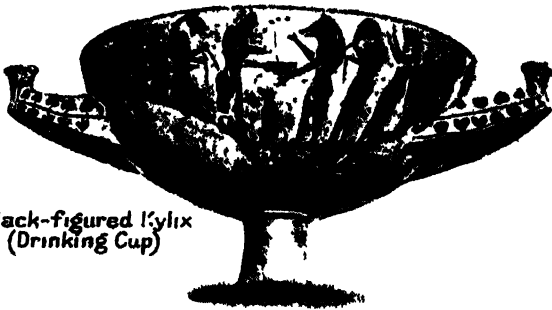
*Photo, Autotype Co.*



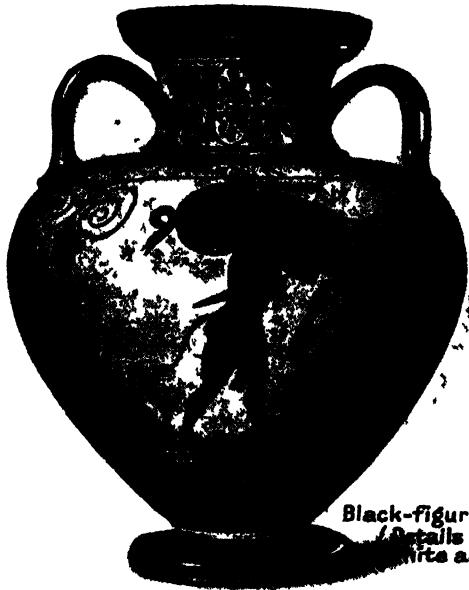
Black-figured Amphora



Black-figured Amphora



Black-figured Kylix  
(Drinking Cup)



Black-figured Amphorae  
(Details added in  
White and Purple)



### MASTERPIECES FROM THE HANDS OF ATTIC POTTERS IN THE MID SIXTH CENTURY

In symmetry of form, richness of decoration and perfect balance in design Attic pottery of the older black-figured style has never been surpassed. The first quality is immediately apparent in all these specimens, the last is manifested in the arrangement of the figures in groups of equal numbers or so distributed that they occupy equal space. The amphora (top left) is notable for the large use of landscape, but, in all, the figures are accompanied by purely decorative elements.

Top left, photo, Alinari; top right, Boston Museum; centre and bottom left, British Museum; bottom right, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

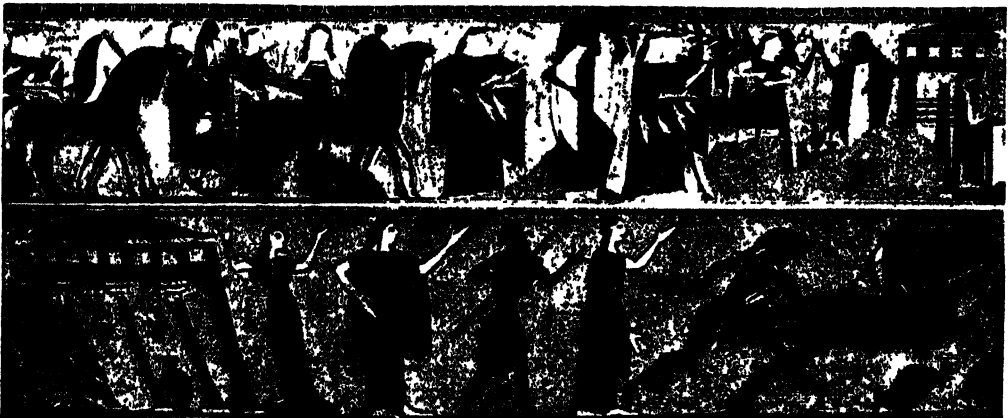
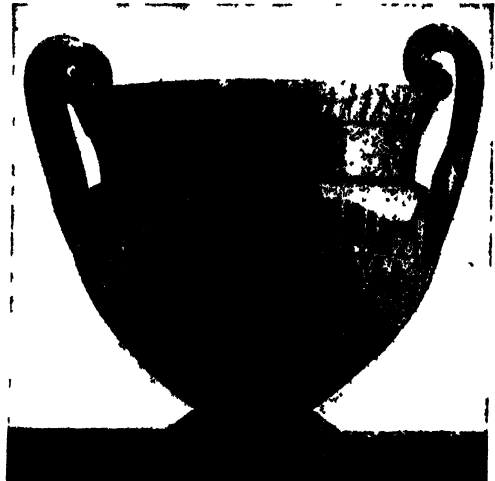
among the various family trees that were known. These Messenians were largely strangers who seem to have arrived rather as refugees from Peloponnesian disturbances than as invading conquerors. They were what the Greeks called 'epe-lydes,' immigrants rather than victors. But whether the naively blameless origins of the Attic families hide a story of invasion and enslavement, or whether an inrush of comparatively wealthy refugees created out of itself an aristocracy, we cannot tell with certainty. The result, in any case, was the same. Attic peasants were reduced to serfdom and quasi-slavery.

One good result of the highest importance emerged from this otherwise unsatisfactory development of society. Codes of law were drawn up to meet the new conditions of inequality. In the old days justice was administered by a council of nobles. Even as early as Homer we find depicted on the shield of Achilles not the administration of justice by the King or Prince, but by a group of elders :

Two men were striving about the blood-prize of a man slain. . . . and heralds kept order among the people while the elders were sitting in the sacred circle ; and before the people they rose up and gave judgement, each in his turn.

It was a form of justice which could be relied on by the poorer people, since the nobility had little wealth and consequently could well afford to be impartial. After

all, the brothers of Andromache, Princess of the Trojans, were neatherds, and later Herodotus tells us that 'in early times princes were no richer than other men.' Where justice was untainted, codes of law rigidly drawn up were hardly necessary. But by the eighth century the nobles were rapidly becoming wealthy, partly because of the comparative peace of the times and partly because of the improved methods of farming and olive growing. The poorer people, meantime, remained as poor as before, because they were rapidly becoming the virtual serfs of the rich. Hence arose a demand for the codification of the laws because the poor no longer trusted the rich. It is at once an illu-



**FINEST EXAMPLE OF ATTIC POTTERY : THE FRANCOIS VASE**

Attic ceramic art reached its zenith in this vase fashioned by Ergotimus and painted by Clitias about the middle of the sixth century B.C. and named after its finder. The shape is finely modelled and the decoration marvellously delicate. The top strip here—the principal frieze on the vase—depicts the procession of the gods to the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, the lower one the pursuit of Troilus by Achilles. The uppermost strip, Peleus hunting the Calydonian boar, is reproduced in page 988. •

*Photo, Alinari ; development from Furtwängler Reichhold, 'Griechischen Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann*



FINE CARVING FROM ATTICA

These grave stelae (right, of Aristion) show the level reached by Attic art in the sixth century B.C., and suggest, what history confirms, that Athens was then ceasing to be a backward village and becoming an important art centre

Left, Metropolitan Museum, New York; right, photo, Alinari

mination on the social conditions of the time, and upon the indestructible genius of Greek peoples for asserting their political and social freedom.

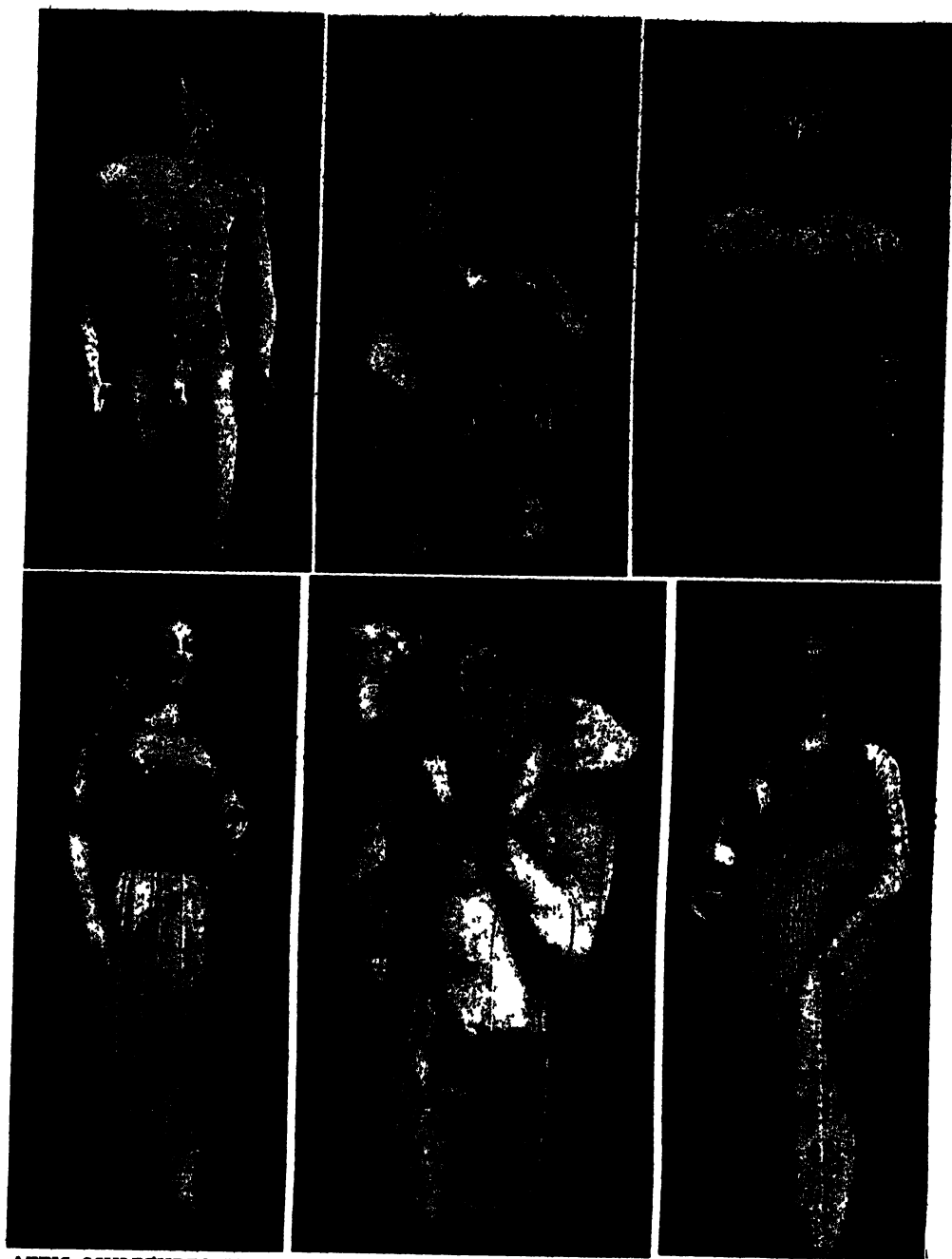
The early codes of laws of Draco, Zaleucus and others exhibit in all its baldness the injustice of the times, but show at the same time with absolute clarity the reaction which prevented that injustice from becoming permanent. Greek political life has always this astonishing resilience. As traditional justice fails through mutual distrust, so the will of the majority effects a readjustment; as a tyranny ceases to be beneficent, so it is replaced by a democracy or an enlightened oligarchy. The apparent instability of Greek politics was its very safeguard. The static economy of an oriental despotism was avoided.

Solon represents the first great reaction of the body of Attic citizens against the new economic conditions (see Chap. 36).

As a representative of the unobtrusive middle class or bourgeoisie of Attica, he made evident the weakness of the state fabric to such an extent that political reforms were carried out with the least possible upheaval, except perhaps from the point of view of the old Attic families.

The Athens that emerged during these Solonian reforms was a city that showed in rough outline the glories that she later fulfilled. Before Solon the great Attic families had cared more for their estates than for the city itself. The only family that ever contributed on the grand scale to the glories of Athens, the Philadae, lived at its doors in the parish of Laccidae. Perhaps the wealthiest and greatest of the landowning families was the great family of the Alcmaeonidae, who were mortal opponents of the friends, policy and person of Peisistratus. Their neighbours were the family of the Paenonidae, who lived in the parish of Acharnae along Mount Parnes. Each family had its own religious cults and shrines, its own traditions, its own politics, and in some cases, perhaps, its own coinage (see page 1115). Each family had its own coat-of-arms and its own retainers. Attica was divided up among these great landlords and the Attic peasant was their tenant. His condition and individual prosperity meant little to his masters, and their own interests were not necessarily those of the state. In fact, until Solon codified the laws anew, the state as such hardly existed.

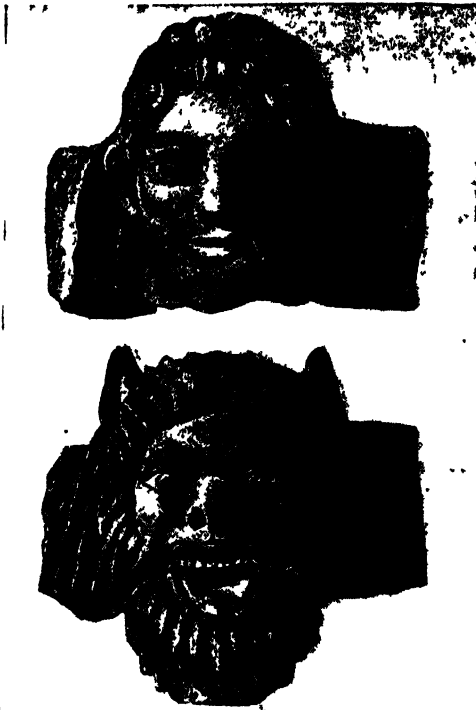
The material remains at Athens confirm this view. From 700 to 600 B.C. Athens as a city of beauty can hardly be said to have existed at all. Her walls, if she had any, and her houses were of mud brick. Attica was When Athens probably cultivated and was a Village populous; Athens was little more than a fortress surrounded by or enclosing a few humble dwellings and a collection of ancient and venerated shrines. The sanctuary of Deucalion—later the Olympieion—where the Flood finally poured itself away into the earth, the holy well and trident-mark of Poseidon on the Acropolis, the shrine of Athena Glaukopis, the House of Erechtheus, the Chasm of the Furies, the precinct of Earth and a host of smaller holy places were all of



# **ATTIC SCULPTURES SUCH AS ADORNED THE ACROPOLIS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.**

Indigenous Attic sculpture had its beginnings in the sixth century B.C., to which time all these statues belong; they are from the Acropolis with the exception of the middle and right figures (top), which are, however, certainly Attic. In the earliest period a soft stone was used and an almost clumsy robustness of form marked most of the figures. This is still visible in the finely designed statue of the calf-bearer (bottom centre) of the transitional period when marble was substituted. Sculpture then attained a naturalness and simple dignity exemplified in the marble figure on the right.

*From National and Acropolis Museums, Athens, and Fine Arts Museum, Massachusetts (top right) ; photos, Alinari*



#### GAUDY TEMPLE GARGOYLES

Remarkable heads of men, women and satyrs appear on the antefixes and drain spouts of the Temple of Apollo at Thermum. They are painted in brilliant colours, and the satyr (below), in particular, is bubbling over with animal spirits.

*From Antike Denkmäler*

great age and veneration. The Acropolis rock had not been inhabited from the early Bronze Age in vain: it was the centre of countless legends. All these were by their nature sanctuaries that required little to adorn them and called for neither sculptors nor architects. There is evidence for the existence of most of

them from the earliest times. But they were shrines of the people, and the land-owning class had little or no interest in such humble sanctuaries; they had their own family ceremonies, festivals, heroes and sacred places.

But Solon saw that Attica, like Laconia, needed a metropolis, and he gave these ancient shrines a new meaning. It is precisely to the time of Solon that the earliest sculpture and the best early architecture of Athens belong. Remains of no fewer than eight small sanctuaries, exquisitely built and admirably adorned, remain on the Acropolis. All date to about 600–580 B.C. They give us our first knowledge of the development of Attic sculpture, and show beyond dispute that the potters who had painted the first masterpieces of proto-Attic art in the preceding century were their artistic teachers. Each was indisputably Attic.

From a comparison of the archaeological with the historical evidence, it becomes plain that the first move in the building of Athens as a city, and consequently the first move in the founding of it as a state, was taken not by the aristocrats, who had held Attica in fee for six or more generations, but by Solon and his friends or party—if indeed he had one. Their interests, if not in conflict with, at least differed from those of the landowners.

But the step taken by Solon was an important one, and the fact that the great Attic families who stood to lose so much by the reforms did little effectively to hinder them, and allowed Solon to live on in the state which he had attempted



#### GENIAL MONSTER FROM A TEMPLE FRONT IN ANCIENT ATHENS

This singular monster, compounded of three human bodies merging into a serpent's tail, formed part of the brightly painted pediment of one of the early temples on the Acropolis at Athens. Although crudely modelled, the monster, a protective daemon, is a vigorous piece of work, with not a little suggestion of humour to modern eyes, and reveals originality of conception on the part of the sculptor responsible for it and also great skill in accommodating design to available space.

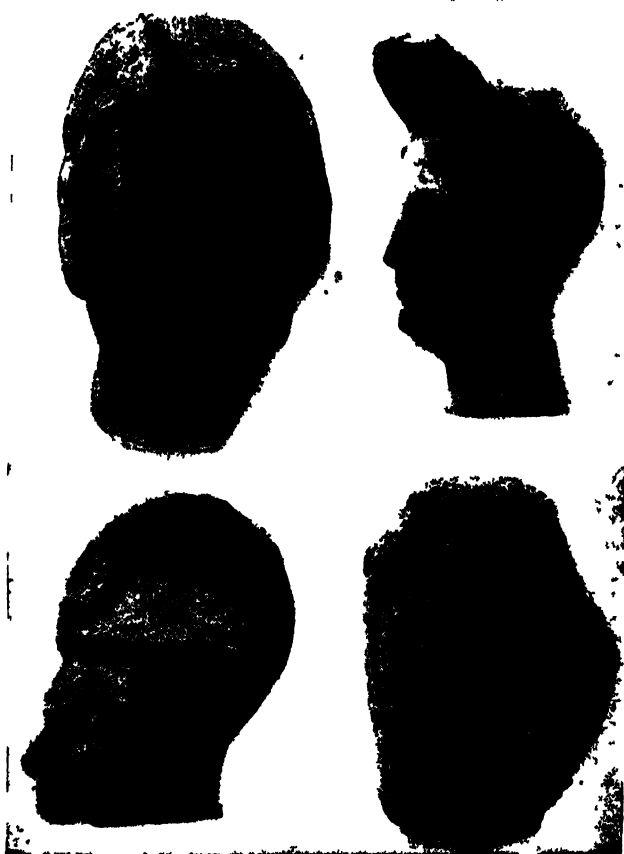
*Photo, Bruckmann, Munich*

to reform, suggests that there were many who supported him, and that the landowners were not supreme. From Solon to Peisistratus was an easy and natural transition. Solon had acted in peace and by tact. His work was rapidly undone by his enemies also in peace and by tact. Peisistratus, his disciple, with more perception but less honesty, understood the future sketched for Athens by his master, but also knew the power of combination and evasion possessed by the aristocracy. Himself connected with two old Attic families, but otherwise an independent citizen, he saw the weakness and strength of both sides, but finally espoused the cause of the state against the landowners. He perceived also that force was essential to his success, or he would fail brilliantly like Solon. By a coup d'état he made himself supreme head of the state. His subsequent history, which belongs to a later chapter, is a record of bargaining and cross-bargaining with the old landed families in order that he might have a politically powerful majority on his side. Twice he failed and was driven out, but he finally established himself and his sons in power.

In Athens we can see in outline the early history of any average Greek city. Sparta was too specialised, its history too individual, and its citizens too self-centred to allow of its serving as our pattern, nor was it in fact ever a city state; it was a mere cluster of villages. No two city states had identical histories, but that of Athens most closely resembles the average—a long and undistinguished period of landowning aristocratic control followed by a democratic or quasi-democratic upheaval which was itself preceded or followed by an individual dictatorship or 'Tyrannis.' The 'Gamoroi' or landed aristocracy of Syracuse held the reins of government from about 600 to

500 B.C. They were succeeded by tyrants. The aristocracy of Megara and Miletus rose to power and fell from it in the same way. The only cities that consistently maintained an unbroken record of democracy (at any rate as far as we know) were the wealthy cities of the Thracian coast of the Aegean. Here no tyrants and no aristocracies are heard of. (For further elaboration of the politics of the Greek City State, see Chap. 36.)

Once the standard of city life had been set on the mainland it was a comparatively easy matter for colonists to launch forth and, with the assistance of a surplus population, found replicas of the mother city. The first big movement of the kind, as we saw in Chapter 32, had already



GREEK HEADS FOUND IN AN EGYPTIAN STUDIO

Found in the studio of a fifth century sculptor at Memphis were portrait studies (see also page 35) of varying races, Greek and others, who were, then roaming the known world. Sir Flinders Petrie identifies the upper heads here as Greek and the lower heads as Carian (left) and Halicarnassian.

Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie





#### MAGNIFICENT EXAMPLE OF SCULPTURE OF THE IONIAN SCHOOL

The monument known as the Harpy Tomb stood at Xanthus in Lycia. It comprised a sepulchral chamber set on a high rectangular shaft, with external reliefs on the four sides representing enthroned figures, perhaps the heroised dead, receiving various offerings. On the north side (centre) the so-called 'Harpies,' probably kindly ~~gnautes~~ <sup>gnautes</sup> of death, carry off tiny figures symbolising the souls of deceased persons. While the work lacks ease, it is a fine example of the sixth-century Ionian school.

*British Museum. photos R. B. Fleming.*

sent the quickly accumulating surplus of mainland Greece over to the shores of Asia Minor, called from very early times Yavan or Ionia. The generally accepted Greek belief that the Ionians were one of the races of Old Greece who, bit by bit, were forced from the mainland to the Asiatic shore by the sheer inability of the mainland to support them, is not strictly accurate. It seems that a variety of Greeks of different races were forced by the turmoil of recent invasions and displacements to leave their homes soon after about 1000 B.C. (a date,

in fact, earlier than that usually given in antiquity to the establishment of the Greek cities in Asia Minor). On arrival on the Anatolian coast they adopted the name of Ionian which, from earlier ages, had been given to the peoples of this coast.

Once established, the Greeks found that prosperity was to be reached with more speed and more ease than in the mother country. The climate and soil of Asia Minor, its mineral wealth and natural fertility, were such as to raise to prosperity in a short space of time the first settlements of the Greeks. Ionian soon became a synonym for culture and later for luxury; by the Persian Wars it had almost become the equivalent of effete, and Ionians, by their hardier brethren of the mainland, were thought of as 'bred in the shade,' and not capable of enduring the heat and burden of the day.

But the very causes which later weakened the stamina of the Ionian served at first to develop his latent genius. While Sparta was plodding slowly ahead and while Athens was but a rustic townlet, science, art and literature were fixing their roots firmly in Ionian soil. The earliest results of observational science and of experimental mathematics were obtained on the Ionian shores. Thales in



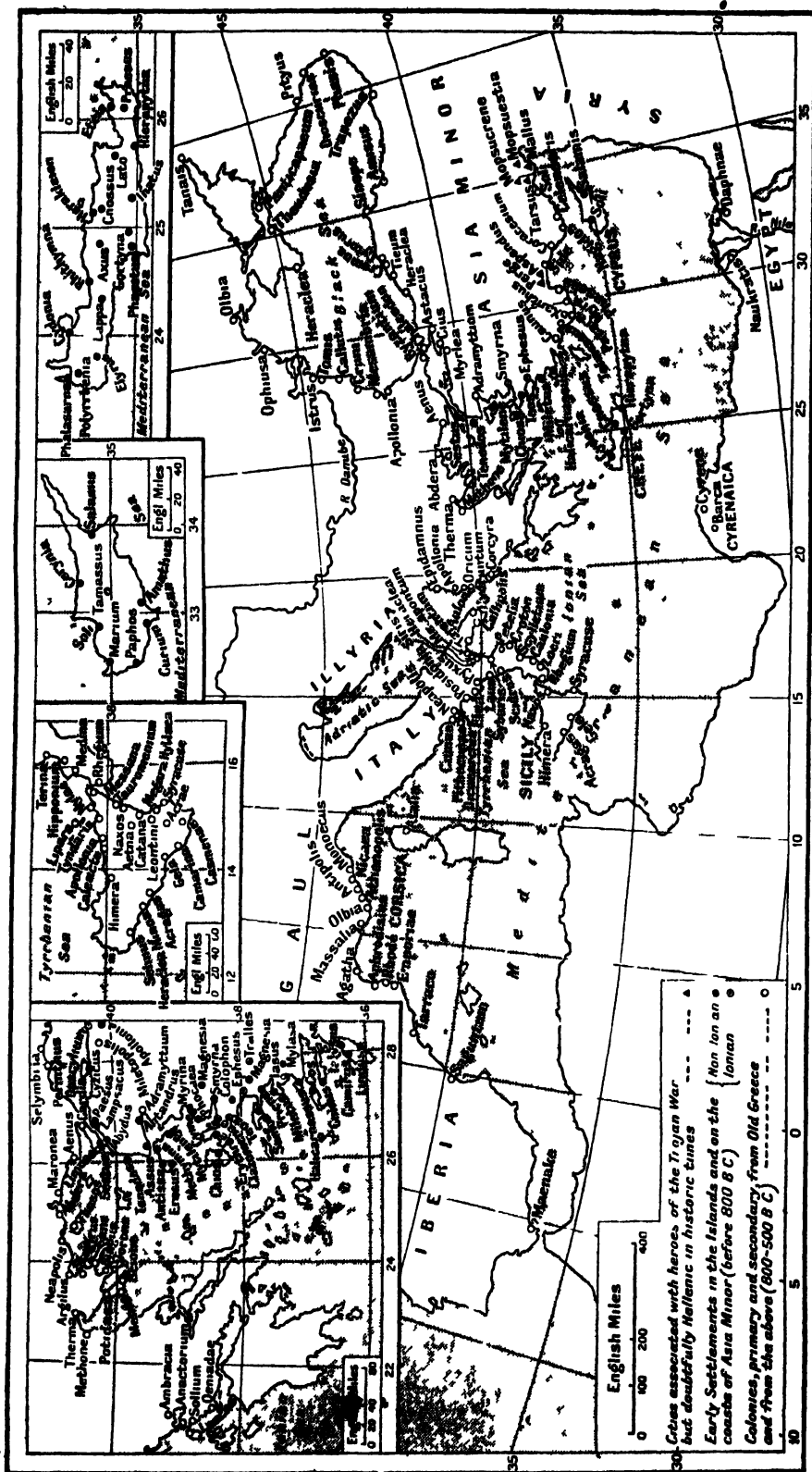
IONIAN DELICACY

The grace and poise of this little statuette of a knight show the essential delicacy and fineness of touch that characterised the Ionian artists  
*Athens Museum; photo, Stanley Casson*

the seventh century virtually founded geometry and astronomy, Anaximander drew the first map and founded the science of geography; and there were many such. In art Ionia showed the way in sculpture, but soon lost the lead. In painting she never achieved much, and the school of Sicyon on the mainland was the founder of this branch of art. In literature, on the other hand, Archilochus, Alcaeus and Sappho are names which indicate a greater wealth of culture in Ionia than could be shown for the mainland by the earlier poets Tyrtæus and Alcman of

Lacedaemon. Both Alcæus and Sappho were inventive artists; the metres to which their names are given were contributions of deep significance to the growth of literature. Tyrtæus was but the poet laureate of military Sparta, and Alcman, although he has given to Greek literature some of its most lovely lines, was never wholly independent of the state he served. Although, however, the mainland lagged a little behind Ionia, its natural vigour was soon to give it the leading place.

In the types of their cities the Greek genius for diversity is most clearly illustrated. Cities grew and multiplied as sea power became more organized and piracy decreased. Piracy, Colonies and as Thucydides has explained, city building drove cities inland away from the dangerous coasts. The gradual suppression of piracy led the old cities of the inland type to feel their way towards harbours. Athens did not begin to use Piræus till the very end of the sixth century; the same tendency later in the fifth century made Athens, Megara and Argos build Long Walls. The colonies and later settlements not only avoided the hinterland and clung to the sea, but perched on the very end of promontories and even on coastal islands, as if it were



### PRINCIPAL OF THE SWARM OF GREEK COLONIES THAT SETTLED ON THE COAST LANDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Greek colonisation was almost confined to the centuries 800-500 B.C. Earlier than that the Aegean Islands, Cyprus and the coasts of Asia Minor had been sown with settlements, often on previously uninhabited sites, that cannot be called colonies in the strict sense (see Chap. 32) and that subsequently participated in the colonising movement on an equal footing with Old Greece Colonies in their turn sent out daughter colonies, here not distinguished. It should be noted that Lampsacus, Cyzicus and Abydus are included among the early settlements though later recolonised from Ionia; and that Sirs and Metapontum in Italy are not, because the legends of their extreme antiquity are too obscure.

the sea that was their defence against the land. This paradoxical reversal is one of the most important products of the dim and all too little known period between 850 and 650. During this time the Greeks found that the sea was their natural medium of movement and communication and that it would prove to be the basis of their future prosperity.

The first rude hordes of invading Dorians or adventurous Achaeans had seen no ocean before they reached the Central Sea. They were landsmen born and bred. It says much for their inborn genius, therefore, that almost at the very outset—certainly soon after 900 B.C.—they built themselves ships and pushed across into the mazes of islands and away to those distant shores that were sighted from the mainland peaks. They drew pictures of their Viking vessels for us, vessels sufficiently strong to weather Aegean storms although their only previous knowledge of ships was learnt on the

Danube—a river that, after all, demands no trivial boat-building. Once on the sea the Greeks never left it. Gradually they spread their fleets and their commerce until by 750 voyaging must have been reasonably safe. Unfortunately, we have little record of the struggle against piracy and their ultimate suppression of it in these early days. But it must have ceased to be a menace by the seventh century or we should hear more of the failure of colonising expeditions. Instead we hear of thrust after thrust from the central peninsula to every point of the compass and from Ionia to the coasts of Thrace and the Black Sea.

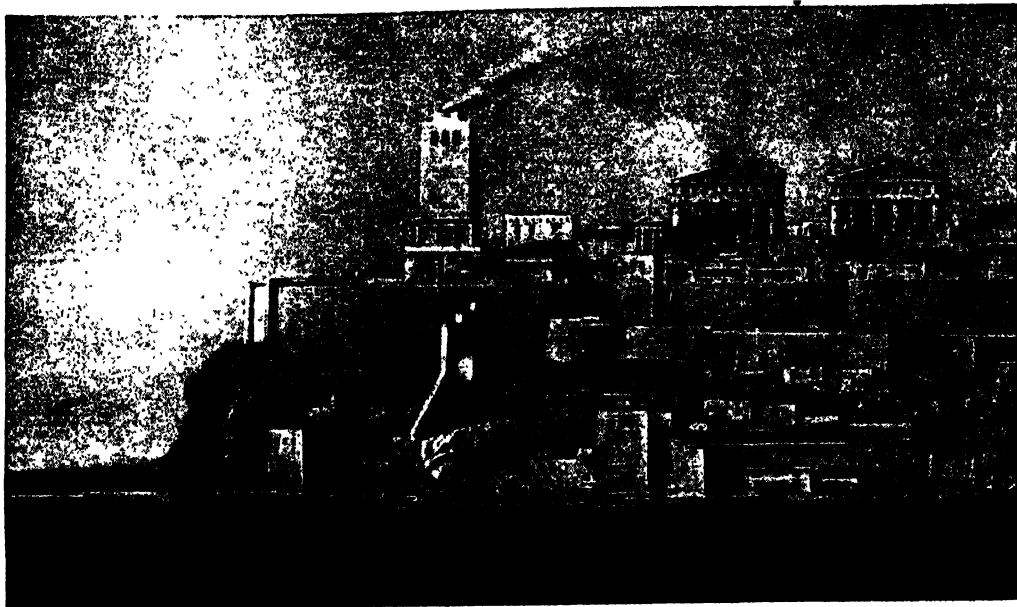
The turn of the tide in the safety of the seas is marked by a change in the type of cities, in the change from the inland rock citadel to the promontory settlement. This change is an important one, for it marks an entirely new theory in the methods of communal life. The old inland cities had been primarily refuges from



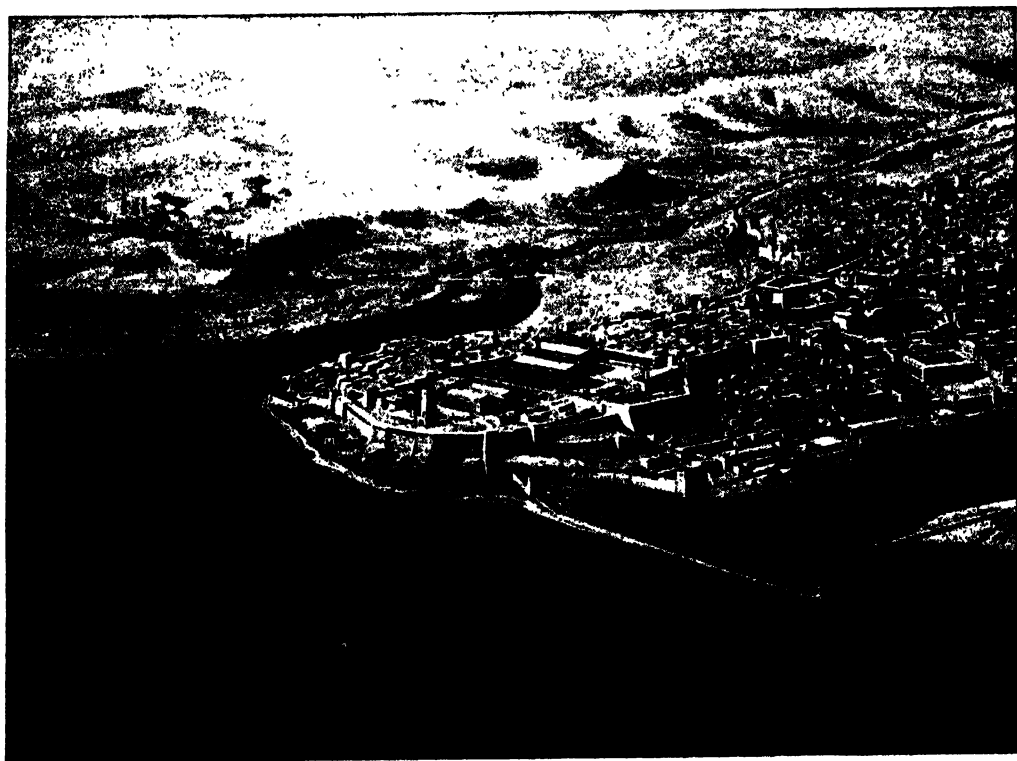
**A TYPICAL GREEK PROMONTORY SITE AT SELINUS**

Early Greek towns—a good example is Athens—were built at some distance from the sea, whence danger was to be expected. In the days of colonisation it was from land that danger threatened the new cities, which were accordingly built on promontories affording easy access to the sea and good defence against the natives. Selinus in Sicily is typical; the citadel, shown here, had all its main defences (see page 1052) on the land side; whence its destroyers, the Carthaginians, ultimately came.

*Photo, National Museum, Palermo*



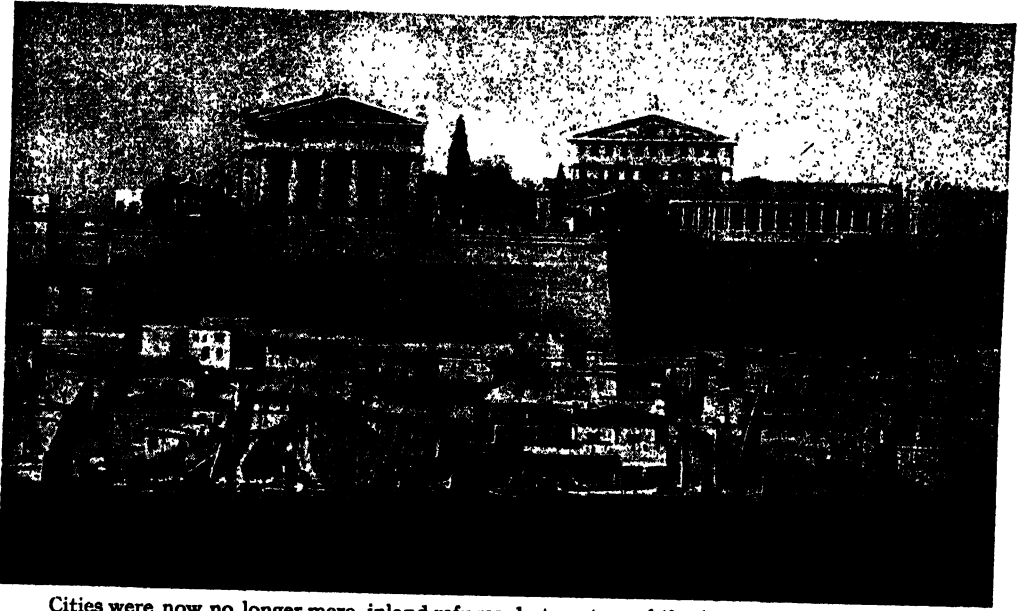
Much of the splendid appearance of the new type of Greek city that arose in the colonisation period is recaptured in these restorations of Selinus in Sicily. Above is a view of the citadel that occupied the seaward end of the promontory and was the nucleus whence the city spread.



The portion of Selinus reconstructed at the top of these two pages is the citadel at its seaward end, as it might have appeared from the right-hand mole protecting the harbour mouth; it is included, immediately above, in this panoramic view. The tower was probably a lighthouse. Such sites were easy to defend on the land side by a wall across the neck of the peninsula.

**RECONSTRUCTED SPLENDOURS OF THE FLOURISHING COLONY AT SELINUS—**

*From Huld-Fougères, 'Selinonte'*



Cities were now no longer mere inland refuges, but centres of the 'good life' that was a Greek ideal. Trade flourished, and the new wealth flowered in the architecture of temples such as these; their patron deities are not recorded, but they may be recognized in the plan in page 1032.



But in spite of its strong landward defences, a town like Selinus would have been poor and useless unless the safety of the sea had been secured for trade, communications and, in the last extremity, flight. The farthest of the three isolated temples in this page was dedicated to Apollo, the nearest to Hera; the central one, whose patron deity is unknown, is the oldest.

**-ILLUSTRATING THE CHANGE FROM ROCK CITADEL TO PROMONTORY SITE.**

*From Hulot-Fougères, 'Selinonte'*

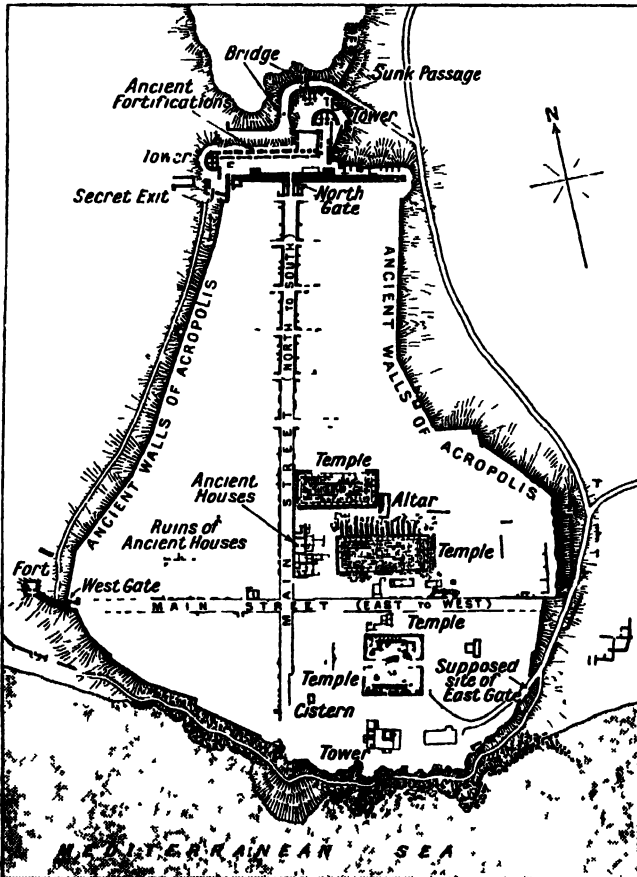
attack; the new cities are to be centres for the creation and interchange of goods, of culture and of ideas. The old cities were emergency groupings which might or might not persist after the emergency had passed. The new were associations for the purpose of living life in a new way—of starting what the Greeks always called 'the good life' in the place of a mere haphazard existence from hand to mouth. Athens, Sparta, Megara, Corinth, Argos, Larissa and all the ancient cities of the mainland lie inland, and reach the sea by a journey that varies from an hour to a day in length.

In other words, the ancient inhabitants had notice varying from an hour to a day

in length in which to prepare their city against sea raiders, provided that a watch was well kept. The citizens could see from their citadel with their own eyes, or learn by fire signals, that pirates had landed. So they closed their gates and mobilised at leisure, and then sent messages to their allies for help.

But the new settlements of the colonists were based on a wholly different theory. The expedition set out from the mother city—say Corinth or Megara—after all due ceremonial; it crossed the high seas, where that was necessary, and coasted where it could. In the bays and inlets it met stray pirates and no doubt sank them at sight, for colonial expeditions were reasonably large. It arrived at the chosen land and searched for a suitable site. In many places, certainly in Sicily and Spain, earlier colonies of Phoenicians were already in occupation. Sometimes, as in Sicily, they were expelled and their settlements seized. Phoenicians preferred islands or peninsulas with very narrow necks. The Greeks largely followed suit in their choice, either approving the wisdom of the Phoenicians and copying their example, or because they had seized Phoenician settlements. But in many cases the Greeks preferred the ends of rocky promontories, a type of site not popular with Phoenicians.

The simplest and oldest of Greek trading stations—the germ of the colonial city—were formed by merely building a wall across the neck of a rocky cape. In the wall there was a gate, and trade could be carried on with the natives through that gate. If the barbarians stormed such a humble post the gate closed and the colonists dropped into their waiting ships and sped for home. One such post, of the early fifth or late sixth century, remains almost intact on a barren spur of land near the modern Kavalla



CITADEL OF A PROMONTORY TOWN

Selinus shows a Greek colony arrested at the end of the first stage of development, for it never recovered from its destruction by the Carthaginians in 409 B.C., and, unlike Syracuse, did not spread far inland from its original promontory. The reconstruction at top of pages 1050—51 shows the eastward view of this citadel.

From Hulot-Fougères, 'Selinonte'

in Thrace. It was one of the trading stations planted by the Greeks of Samothrace. Here, as in most colonies, the enemy was the barbarian on the hinterland, not the pirate on the sea. The little trading post near Kavalla could hardly hold more than thirty men, yet it was an embryo Hellenic city. Selinus and Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, Abdera in Thrace, Cnidus in Asia Minor—in fact the majority of Greek colonies—were of this type. Their inhabitants faced the enemy, and yet retreat was safe, or as safe as might be.

For this reason few, if any, Greek cities were built on great inland harbours. We can search the mighty harbours of Melos, Lemnos and Scyros in vain for Greek cities. There are none. Their cities were all on the open and stormy coasts, and if they used the harbours they still did not live on them. The reason is obvious: an enemy could close their narrow-necked harbour with a small force, cut off their escape by sea, and then storm them by land. Two apparent exceptions to this rule are Syracuse and Halicarnassus. But in each of these two cases the city is not in the harbour or at its inmost

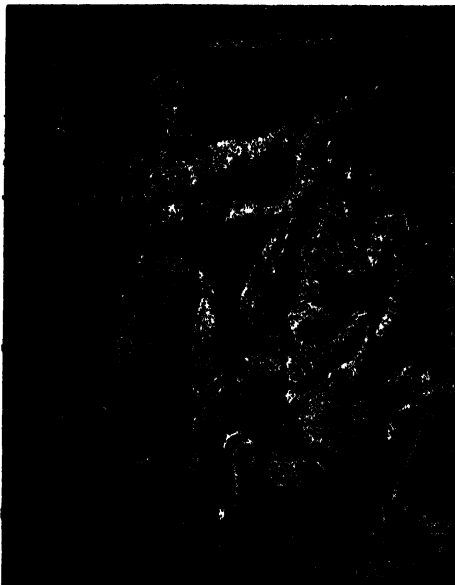


#### HOW THE GREEK CITY GREW

Syracuse was a development of the promontory-town, with the city spread to the mainland (the original site is shaded). It is on a harbour, which most early settlements avoided; but the north side of the promontory faces the open sea

recess, but on the promontory which makes one side of it. If an enemy were to close the harbour mouth the citizens still had the outer foreshore with its bays to escape from; and nobody could invest this side of the city because it is on the high seas, where ships cannot be kept at anchor with any safety even under modern conditions. These two apparent exceptions to the rule are really cities on promontories of which one side only faces the open sea, while the other faces the inner harbour.

The most remarkable feature of all this colonisation from our own modern point of view is that it was carried out without the least trace of what we know as a desire for territorial expansion. Once the colonists had chosen their site they were content with the ground they had seized. To expand would but have been to court danger, and the essence of the city state was always to be self-sufficient and not dependent upon wide-stretching domains. The fever for annexation never heated the cool brains of Greek pioneers. They knew that their salvation was within their own walls. Friends and allies and kinsmen they might have in neighbouring cities for help in times of need, but if they attacked neighbours it was not so much to annex their land as to eliminate their competition.

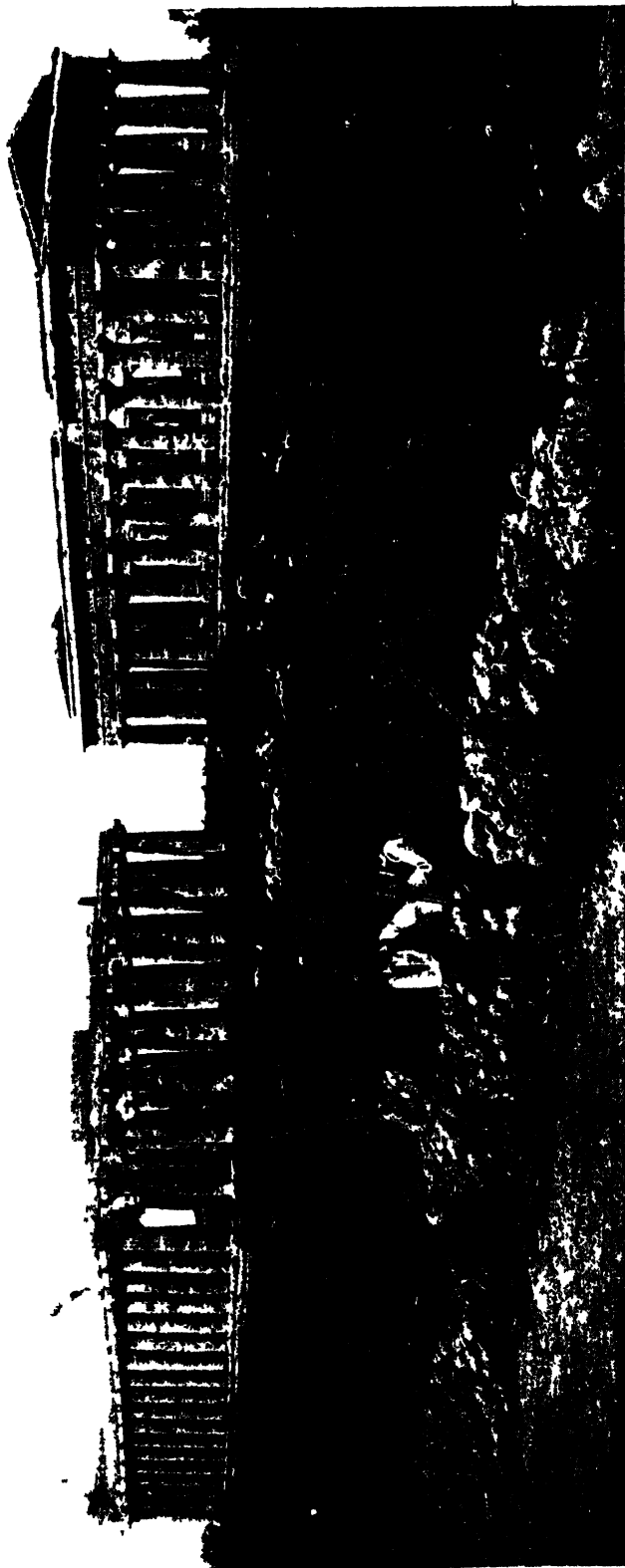


#### ARCHAIC ART ON SICILIAN SOIL

The metopes from the oldest temple at Selinus (c. 600 B.C.) occupy an important place in the history of Greek art. The subject of this one is Perseus beheading the Gorgon Medusa—an archaic but ambitious piece of composition.

Palermo Museum





#### TWO OF THE THREE IMPOSING TEMPLES THAT SURVIVE TO MARK THE SITE OF POSEIDONIA

Poseidonia, or, as the Romans came to call it, Paestum, was a Greek colony founded in about 600 B.C., as an offshoot of Sybaris, on the Italian coast south of Salerno. A group of three majestic Doric temples is all that remains of the pre-Roman town. That on the left here is the 'Basilica,' so called because of its unusual width and its central row of columns, forming two aisles—it was probably dedicated to two deities. The 'Temple of Poseidon' next to it is a later and more mature structure, dating from the days when Greek temples had acquired the perfect canon of form which they retained to the end.

They aimed at making the most of their opportunities within the limits they had set themselves.

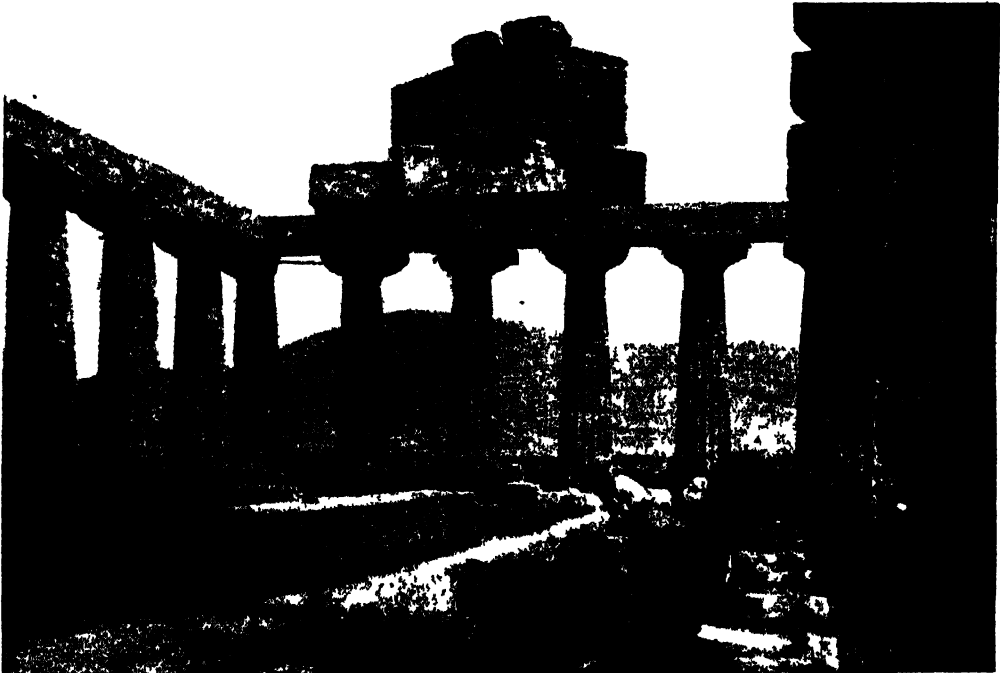
The colonists were like sea birds that perch on the ultimate tongues of rock and then fly off when affrighted. So the citizens of Phocaea fled

Colonies planted from their city as Har-  
on promontories pagus the Mede breached  
its walls, and migrated to  
the far west. Left unattacked, a city  
grew and expanded. Its only means of  
expansion was to press farther up the  
promontory. Thus Byzantium, which is  
of all Greek cities the most typical in  
form, pushed its walls farther and farther  
forward until in Christian times the old  
Megarean ramparts of the founders (which  
must have crossed the peninsula on  
which the city stood somewhere near S.  
Sophia) became the mighty battlements of  
Theodosius that held the Turks at bay and  
preserved behind their strength the culture  
of Europe. The intermediate stage was  
formed by the walls of Constantine.  
Byzantium, indeed, was the last logical

development of the Greek city state, whose  
earliest form had been the rock-perch  
among the waves. Phocylides, a poet of  
the fullest period of colonisation, sang what  
was the song of the true Greek colonists :

A tiny city perched upon a cliff edge and  
living in wisdom is better far than all the  
folly of Babylon.

The period 750 to 600 may thus be con-  
sidered as the great formative period in  
which the essential Greek character was  
forged. The varied life of the sea, the  
encounters with barbarians of every type  
and description and the spirit of adven-  
ture that infused all their doings gave  
vitality anew to a profoundly vital race  
and developed every tendency to origin-  
ality and freedom of action. Not least  
among these formative influences was  
that of the barbarians among whom  
the Greek colonists lived and traded, or  
from whom they wrested their rocky  
citadels. From the wooden stockaded  
towns of the half-Hellenic fur-trappers of  
Gelonus in the Caucasus, of which Hero-  
dotus gives us an authentic account,



**TAPERING COLUMNS OF THE SO-CALLED 'TEMPLE OF CERES' AT PAESTUM**

These columns—six at each end and thirteen on each side—erected on a ground plan measuring 108 by 47 feet, bear witness to the majesty of fifth-century Greek architecture in the Sybarite colony of Poseidonia. Each has a base 4 feet and a top 2½ feet in diameter. They belong to the third of the three surviving temples, a small but beautiful structure midway in date between the other two.

Photo, Ewing Galloway



Cyrene was built in a region of great beauty and fertility, and its prosperity lasted far down into late Roman times hence most of the excavated ruins above ground to day are of that date. The foundations for instance in the foreground of this upper strip are the Thermae or Roman baths.



Only on the coast of Africa, it appears, had Greek colonists little to fear from the natives of the hinterland and their city thus reached the final stage of development, retiring inland through lack of danger to a site such as the ancient cities had occupied for protection. But the process took time and the first settlers in the region were as timid as any others in the site they chose.

#### EXCAVATIONS THAT BEAR WITNESS TO THE WEALTH OF AFRICAN CYRENE—

*Courtesy of Professor Halbherr and Italian School of Colonial Archaeology*



That portion of the baths marked by still standing pillars is the Frigidarium or cold swimming bath. In the strip below, the stepped base with broken columns in the left-hand page is all that remains of the Capitolium or Temple of Jupiter; in the foreground stretches the market-place.



When in the sixth century colonists from Thera coasted the Libyan shore, they only dared to settle on an island like their Phoenician predecessors in those parts. They soon moved to a mainland site, but, even then, prosperity shunned them until friendly Libyans invited them to an inland valley of abounding resources: and there, eventually, grew rich from her flocks the city of Cyrene.

—A GREEK COLONY THAT WAS PLANTED INLAND AMONG A FRIENDLY FOLK

*Courtesy of Professor Hajjeh and Italian School of Colonial Archaeology*

Etruria, both 'barbarian' in Greek eyes, resented this westward push of Greek enterprise. At the naval battle of Alalia, in Corsica, Etruscan and Carthaginian navies together taught the Greeks a lesson and virtually gained the command of the sea. From this date onward Greek voyagers to Marseilles ran the gauntlet of hostile fleets—which were not merely piratical—that lurked around Corsica and Sardinia and the north-west coasts of Italy. Tartessus and its silver fell to Carthage and the Phocaeen settlements of southern Spain dwindled. It was only at these places that the Greek colonists had met their match; but soon the struggle was renewed in Sicily, where Carthaginians came to avenge their Phoenician kinsmen whom the Greeks had ejected in the eighth century. For two centuries the struggle for the island raged and neither side triumphed finally.

Perhaps only in the south did the Greeks have a simple task. Libya was never noted for its hostility to strangers, and the settlers of Cyrene were not only not opposed but were actually helped by the natives. The first settlers ventured timidly to the Libyan coast and, following the wise Greek custom, sought for a safe perch on which to settle. More timid than most, they chose an island off the coast in the old Phoenician manner. The island was called Platea, and was equal in size to the subsequent city of Cyrene. They lived on Platea for two years with but little prosperity. So they moved to the mainland and lived there for six years. The friendly Libyans then came to them and brought them to a spot farther inland which was incredibly fertile and lovely. Here finally they founded the city of Cyrene

The story is an interesting one in that it illustrates for us the whole process of Greek settlement. That the process reached its third and final stage here is due to the fact that the Libyans were so friendly. Elsewhere the colonists did not perhaps get beyond the first stage. The city of Istria, near the Danube mouth, remained where it had been founded, on a small island in a lagoon. Apollonia on the Pontic coast, and Olbia in Scythia, each started on small islands off the coast

#### GREEK ROCK TOMBS AT CYRENE

The design of the tapering columns with over-topping echinus points to sixth-century sepulture. Much valuable internal evidence, however, has been lost in these chambers by their later use as dwelling-houses, barns and stables

to the remote Phocaeen settlement at Maenake, near Gibraltar, ran the extent of the known world from east to west.

Greeks had reached the farthest points, and beyond them was only legend. Northwards they never penetrated far, shut in, as they were, by Alpine and Balkan mountain ranges and deterred by an unfriendly climate and actively hostile natives. We find no Greek colonies in the Adriatic above Epirus until the fourth century, and then they were precarious and had to live mostly off the shore on islands. Illyrian pirates still lurked in the countless islands of the Dalmatian coast and Illyrian warriors on the mainland were famed as the most savage. Westwards, Samians had reached the silver shores of Tartessus, outside Gibraltar in the Atlantic, as early as 630, and traded richly in a land that was friendly and cultured. Phocaeans followed them a few years after (Maenake was founded about 620) and settled along the Spanish coast and up to Marseilles.

Their prosperity, however, was short-lived; the rising power of Carthage and

and then moved to the mainland. But these were dangerous regions where nomad Scythians and Thracians waited to attack settlers. There was none of the friendliness of the Libyans of Cyrenaica.

Little wonder, then, that in such various settings the Greeks developed every variety of character and outlook. And yet one could always tell a Greek from a Barbarian.

One of the most amazing phenomena in the two centuries that preceded the great outburst of activity of the fifth century is the rapidity of growth in art and literature. At the beginning of the sixth century, Greek architecture was fully developed. It had reached a level of excellence which it never exceeded. The great temples of the early sixth century were in technique often better than any Greek temples that succeeded them, and

were as beautiful in form. It was an age of colossal building. The temple of Ephesus, dedicated to Artemis, the sanctuary of Hera at Samos and of Olympian Zeus at Athens, were the largest Hellenic buildings ever erected; and they must have looked the most magnificent.

A Greek temple in those days was a blaze of warm colour. It was built mostly of limestone, coated with a fine creamy glaze of stucco made of powdered marble and picked out in detail with rich reds, blues and greens. Fragments of the early shrines of the Acropolis at Athens may be seen to-day with the colours still vivid. Once the rules of technique in architecture were established, which indeed they were by 600 B.C., there was little change. The Parthenon is a variation of rather than a development from previous buildings. Greek architec-



#### **HOW ARTISTS FROM AN ISLAND STATE ADORNED THEIR DELPHIC SHRINE**

Greek sculpture of the sixth century shows but the approach to the perfect mastery of the human figure which was to come. These are friezes from one of the little shrine-like buildings erected by the Greek states at Delphi and known as 'treasuries'—probably the Siphnian Treasury. The upper depicts Cybele in her lion-drawn chariot, Apollo, Artemis and Dionysus taking part in the legendary battle of Gods and Giants, the lower, an unidentified episode, probably from Homer.

*From Poulsen, 'Fouilles de Delphes, and Delphi Museum', photo, Alinari*

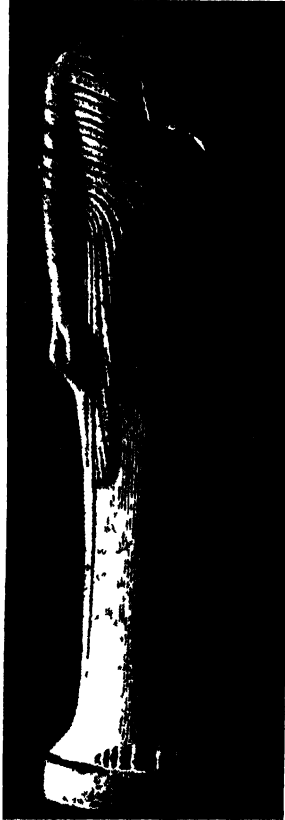
ture remained the same right down to Roman times; it had no new structural invention and no great advance to show. It improved perhaps in elegance and certainly in decoration and adornment, but the Greek temple of the second century B.C. is structurally the same as that of the seventh. It was perhaps the one branch of creative activity in which the Greeks showed less than their usual inventive and adventurous spirit. They were content with their temples at an early date, and they remained to the end conservative architects.

But it was far otherwise with sculpture and painting. By 600 B.C. Greek sculptors had produced nothing that could rank as a masterpiece. Their work was uniform and uninspired. As they themselves said, their statues had not yet learned to walk and move. But fifty years later they had begun to produce masterpieces of creative art such as the world had not yet seen. The sculptures of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, the lovely Maidens of the Acropolis at Athens (see page 1043), and the firmly knit statues of the sculptors of Argos and Sicyon show a genius that has suddenly flared up into a flame of activity. One sees the artist triumphantly breaking down the limitations of material and of tradition, and working untrammelled. He is forcing stone into life with a determination that brooks no obstacle. Fifty years later the fine genius of Greek sculpture is in full flower, and leading the world in art. Thus, in a hundred years, or at most a hundred and fifty, Greek sculptors evolved with an amazing rapidity to a pitch of excellence that has never since been rivalled. They achieved in little more than a century what it took the Middle Ages four centuries to accomplish,

and what Egypt never achieved in as many thousands of years.

Part of the secret of their success was that they never looked backwards and that their art was never controlled by

religion. The Greek of 550 B.C. knew little and cared less for the art of 600 B.C. Pheidias did not trouble his head over the archaic masterpieces of the generation before him. They lay, indeed, shattered and broken beneath the very walls of his own studio on the Acropolis, serving as the foundations of the floor he trod! The Greeks themselves had placed them there after their overthrow by the Persians, when the Acropolis was burnt and sacked. So to the Greeks of the fifth century the paintings of the sixth were childish, miserable works; they were so poor that the artist had to write under each thing what it was: 'this is a cow,' 'this is a woman,' and so forth. In such terms the Greeks derided their own origins; but this very derision showed the intensity of their striving; they were looking always forwards and never backwards. Only in literature is the past respected, because the past was Homer. It is, perhaps, the most amazing proof of the genius of the Greeks that



**WHEN ART LACKED LIFE**

As late as 600 B.C. Greek statues 'had not yet learnt to walk'; this pillar-like figure of Hera from the Heraeum at Samos, one of the largest Greek temples, is typical.

*The Louvre*

their greatest literary masterpiece was produced at a date when their language was the only finished vehicle of expression that they possessed:

For in those days, in the dim time of myths,  
Great nations slowly grew to being, under  
The hammers of the hidden powers, the  
smiths;

They forged them like new swords to cleave  
asunder

The bonds of the old world, and on the blade  
Strange runes of utter loveliness they laid  
To move the hearts of men to wonder,  
To be a song still young while ages flower  
and fade.

# THE ALPHABET: ITS ORIGINS & IMPORTANCE FOR CIVILIZATION

Together with an Account of Man's earlier and more clumsy Systems of recording his Words by Symbols

By E. H. MINNS Litt.D. F.B.A.

Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge ; Author of *Scythians and Greeks*, etc.

THE use of a convenient form of writing generally practised would seem to be the mark of civilized man, just as Man is divided from animals (to whom we must concede some sort of speech) by the use of fire and tools, and the barbarian from the savage by the possession of domestic animals and a certain progress in the useful arts. Civilization certainly rests upon the power to accumulate and use the experience and discoveries of past generations. Without some form of writing traditions may be preserved and practical skill handed on, but the risks of loss and forgetting are infinite, and even people of such high mental endowment as the Maoris came to a standstill.

Matters may be not very much better if writing is so difficult and complicated that its acquisition only lies within the power of a small class which naturally uses it especially for its own benefit, to secure an economic, political or hieratic domination over the unlettered. A society with such a writing works up to a certain level and then comes to a stop: the educated class is satisfied with its position, which is bound up with its knowledge of the past; reverence for the past tends to conservatism; scholarship tends to pedantry which takes pleasure in the complications that it has itself mastered and that render knowledge less accessible to outsiders—it resists the simplifications which will destroy its monopoly. The times of greatest progress have been when there was nothing to bar the expression of speech by easily made symbols.

The least laborious way of making symbols is printing; the swift movement

of western civilization dates from its discovery. Before that time, however convenient the alphabet, writing was bound to be laborious and hard to use for its most civilizing function, the preservation and multiplication of books; knowledge was always exposed to incrustations of pedantry, as the common speech changed with lapse of time and the 'literati' kept to their literary language left behind by the vernacular or even entirely unrelated to it. In most cases writing fell into the hands of priests or lawyers, among whom the temptation to conservatism is peculiarly strong.

We see this to have happened in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, largely in medieval Greece and western Europe, in the lands of Islam to a less extent, since Islam **Writing in the hands of Priests** was on the whole not a sacerdotal religion, to a great extent in India and the countries that adopted Buddhism. In China the whole mass of literates formed a privileged class, entrance to which meant long years of study. Of the countries with a really complicated writing, Japan seems to have succeeded in making the greatest part of its people literate, and Japan, it is to be noticed, has most nearly approached the western world in its readiness for progress.

The besetting sin of a literate class is therefore the peculiar form of conservatism that we call pedantry. It follows that systems of writing are subject to real change only when pedantry has received what may be called a jolt; the commonest form of jolt is the application of writing to a fresh language. Further, a newly-



· ΑΤΤΑΝΗΣΑΡΦΟΝΗΙΜΙΝΑΗ  
ΥΕΙΗΝΑΙΝΑΜΩΦΕΙΝ' ΟΙΜΑΙΦΙΝΑΙ  
ΝΑΨΣΝΦΕΙΗΣ' ΥΑΙΡΦΑΙΥΤΑΓΑ.



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## ALPHABETS MADE BY MISSIONARIES

The needs of religion prompted many alphabetic innovations. Thus Uthlas, c. A.D. 350, worked out an alphabet (top) to express the scriptures in Gothic; Mesrob in 406 did the same for Armenian; and Cyril (ninth century) invented the Glagolitic characters for Slavonic.

introduced system appears to remain for a comparatively short time in a plastic state subject to substantial modification, then tradition establishes itself, a literate class takes charge and only a very gradual, almost insensible, change proceeds century by century

Whenever we can observe them within historic time the substantial changes, the adaptation of a system to a new language, the supplementing, or more often the simplification, of an existing script, have been the work of individuals: Ulfilas who made an alphabet for the Goths, Mesrob who did the same for the Armenians and Georgians, Cyril who devised the Slavonic script called by his name and also most probably the strange Glagolitic alphabet which renders Slavonic sounds in essentially the same manner though the shapes of the letters are different, T'ou-mi who introduced two forms of Indian script and adapted them to Tibetan, Bashpa who adapted Tibetan to Mongol, which had already a good alphabet of its own, Sikwaya who made a syllabary for Cherokee about a hundred years ago—all these are definite individuals more often than not concerned to spread a new religion. So with modifications; the definite adoption in Athens

of the Ionic form of the Greek alphabet in the Archonship of Eucleides (403 B.C.), the formation of a clear book-hand under Charles the Great (c. A.D. 800), the simplification of the Russian alphabet first under Peter the Great (c. 1700) and again under the Bolsheviks—in each case the modification in writing was part of a general scheme of reform.

There is, however, the other process of what I have called insensible change, mostly for the worse. The first point in a perfect system would be that its signs should be as different as possible from each other ; the second, that they should be as simple as may be, so as to lessen the labour of making them ; and, however much we may value beauty in writing, we must concede that it should come third. In practice ease and beauty, though mostly hostile to each other, are still more hostile to clearness.

Hurry has been the great enemy. The stone-mason as he laboriously chisels his characters is not subject to that temptation, nor yet the type-founder who has fixed our letters for all time. These keep to the old models, only modifying them a little to get the two beauties of writing, the beauty of stroke in the individual letter and the beauty of general effect due to the mutual relation of letters in the line and of lines in the whole. But the writer is in a hurry; he makes his letters with the strokes dictated by his instrument and his material; the easy strokes predominate more and more, and with this predominance the letters become more and more alike.

In Arabic the twenty-two letters of the old Semitic alphabet have between them only fifteen shapes in the middle of a word—for instance *b*, *y*, *n* and *t* would be all alike but that they are now laboriously differentiated by dots above and below. His laziness has brought the scribe extra trouble; yet most of us can scarcely afford to gibe at him when we write a word like 'minimum' a little carelessly. Into our degradation has entered the aesthetic feeling of the thirteenth century with its love of close-set, vertical lines and points—**minimum**. In Sanskrit, on the contrary, it is the love of a continuous

horizontal top line that has made the letters so alike ; some always had it, but others have had serifs and joining strokes stuck on to them to bring them into line—a serif is the little cross-line or thickening at the ends of the strokes in most carefully finished styles of lettering. Almost as monotonous is the look of Hebrew calligraphy.

We may perhaps reckon some twenty more or less independent attempts to make a system of recording or communicating. A few are due to savages who have observed the practice of civilized nations : these illustrate the different stages of the more important systems according as their inventors knew more or less of the mechanism of alphabetic writing. There have been three or four cases of what we must regard as a mnemonic system, unintelligible of itself but helping trained memories to reproduce facts : the great example is the Peruvian 'quippu,' knotted strings used mainly for preserving statistical information and kept in the custody of men who knew their meaning. Of the Chinese, Tibetans and Japanese it is said that they kept records by means of cords, and the familiar handkerchief-knot is a quippu—as one looks at it one recalls where and when it was made and, with luck, what one then wanted to remember later. Notched sticks serve equally to keep note of numbers (see the Egyptian use in page 24), and tallies with marks denoting money sums have been used from China to England ; it was due to the official

‘ओ’ नमो नारायणाय ॥ ‘ओ’ यस्परस्मरणमात्रे

॥ जन्मसंसारबन्धनात् ॥ विमुच्यते नमः

स्तस्मै विष्णवे प्रभविष्णवे ॥ नमः सम

אשר הנשלות אשר על-בם ידך ויגלך בדרבך  
תעשה עמך כי תאכל אסורו וטוב לך: אשתה. והנפול  
קרה בדרכי ביתי בצדק בשחלי ויום טובים לשלומי.  
ועתה ברחמי יצוד וגר וא דעה: יברכה ידך מאין

## SYMMETRICAL BUT HARD TO READ

Sanskrit (top) and Hebrew are both instances of a script losing clarity through a passion for symmetry. The former has prolonged the serifs at the tops of the letters into a continuous line ; the latter is monotonously rectangular.

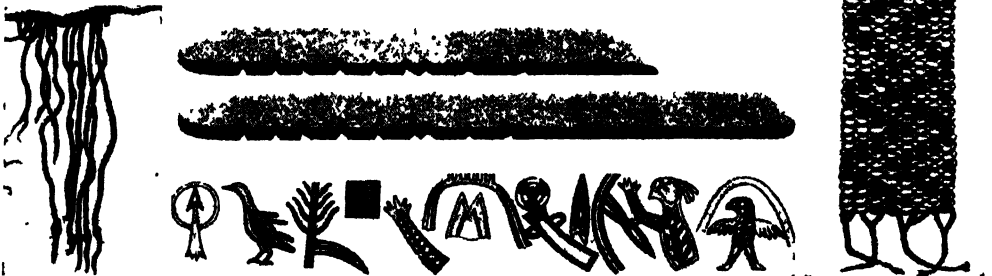
economy of burning in the fireplaces of the old Palace of Westminster the tallies on which the state accounts were largely kept until a hundred years ago that the conflagration started which necessitated the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament.

Perhaps one or two definitions may be useful, but it must be remembered that the various stages run into one another and that the same document may contain signs of different classes :

I. Mnemonic, as the quippus.

II. Pictorial, when the action recorded is graphically represented, by pictures, as far as may be ; this shades into--

III. Ideographic, more conventional than pictorial, but suggesting an idea rather than a particular word : a *man* and an *eye* might equally suggest ' see,' ' look ' or



**MNEMONIC AND IDEOGRAPHIC : WRITING IN ITS EARLIEST RUDIMENTS**

Two of the earliest stages of writing are here illustrated. The mnemonic Peruvian quippu on the left, a series of knotted strings preserving statistical information, is essentially similar to the tallies (top centre) used up to 1826 for keeping accounts in the Palace of Westminster. More ingenious is the wampum belt (right), in which arrangements of beads give the information; but the Red Indians who made use of it had also reached the second stage (bottom), namely picture writing.

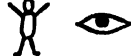


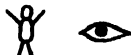




From Faulmann, 'Geschichte der Schrift'

'behold.' Our ciphers are ideograms not dependent upon our language, so we read 2 as 'two' but 2nd as 'second.'

#### IV. Phonetic, in three classes :

a. Verbal, as if different arrangements of *man* and *eye* were by custom appropriated to each of the three words 'see,' 'look,' 'behold': this stage is easily reached. The commonest way of securing the distinction is to add a sign suggesting the sound—e.g., a wavy line ('sea') to make 'see.' Then, as more reliance is placed upon the phonetic principle, we find that several words of the same sound have the same sign, but reinforced by what is called a determinative; if *man* and *eye*= 'see,' 'sea' would be *man* and *eye* + *water* and a bishop's 'see' *man* and *eye* + *mitre*. Most languages admit more than one syllable to the word and we get --

b. Syllabic, in which the word is broken up into parts, usually syllables, each expressed by something which gives the sound and probably was once an independent word; as if 'behold' were expressed by *bee* + *hand holding*: this is also called a rebus. A system of signs giving all the syllables in a language is called a syllabary; when every syllable must end in a vowel, as

CLASS	SIGNS	MEANING
Ideographic		See, Behold or Look
Phonetic (a) Verbal		Behold
		See
	or else	
		See
		Sea
		Bishop's See
	(b) Syllabic	
Alphabetic		Behold
		letter B

#### HOW A WRITING SYSTEM GROWS

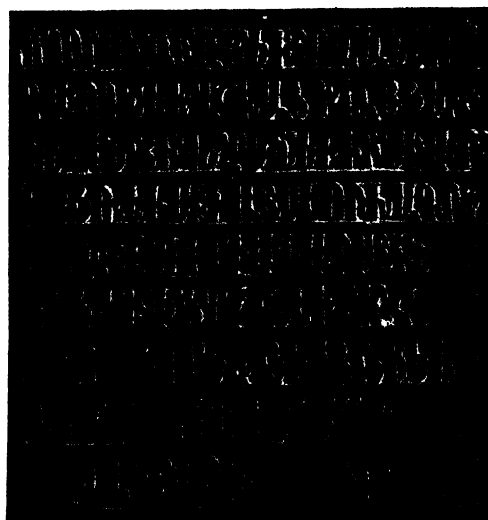
This chart illustrates, in a purely hypothetical fashion, with English as its basis, the stages through which a system of writing might pass. Having arrived at the syllabic stage, it could take the final step and become alphabetic.

in Japanese, it is tolerable; when there are also 'closed' syllables it becomes excessively complex, as in Babylonian. The final phonetic stage is—

c. Alphabetic, when the word is analysed into its ultimate elements and a sign found for each. The number of these is limited, and an alphabet varies between sixteen and fifty signs.

Not far removed from knots and nicks are the wampum belts of the Red Indians, which bore signs and figures in memory of important transactions; the classical instance is the belt which Penn received on making his treaty with the Iroquois. But the Redskins went farther than this and their picture writing serves to make grave-stones, accounts of expeditions and even love-letters intelligible. It is noteworthy that these Redskins with their numerous dialects possess a mutually intelligible gesture language, and it would seem that the figures portrayed in their writing often make gestures which convey ideas otherwise hard to express.

More advanced is the elaborate script of the Mayas, Toltecs and Aztecs of Central America; in it the hieroglyph succeeds the conventionalised sign, and they got as far as the rebus, the expression



#### ARMENIAN LETTERS IN RELIEF

Letters in Armenian inscriptions are so thick that it is less labour to cut away the background than incise the letters. Hittite inscriptions in the same region showed similar characteristics.

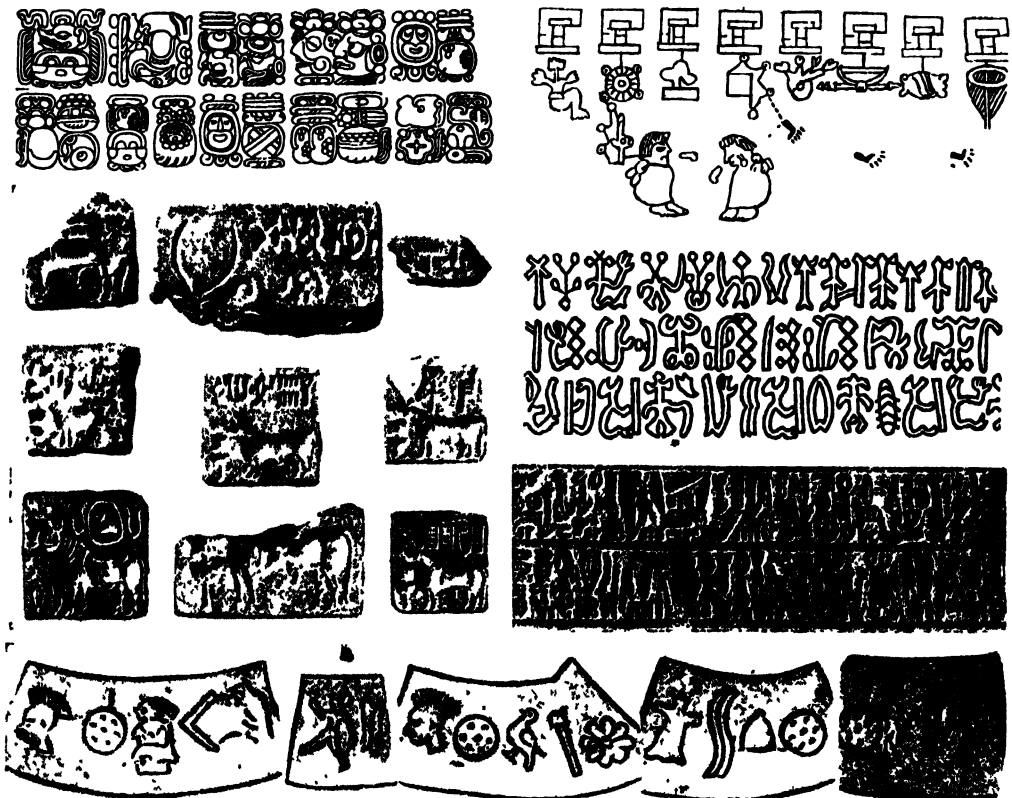
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

of a name by the pictures of things, the words for which made up its sound. Of the mysterious writing tablets of Easter Island, which seem to bear an ideographic script, we shall probably never know the meaning, as the people have died out and the last survivors had forgotten the secret. This last fact is interesting. We are prone to think that, once invented, a script would continue to be kept in knowledge until superseded by a simpler one.

There are other pictographic scripts of which we have not yet the key, but about which we need not be hopeless. Mention should be made of the signs on signets found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro on the Indus (see page 450); they may turn out to be an early or related form of the Sumerian script to be dealt with presently. An interpretation of the

Hittite ideograms might be reached any day, surrounded as they are by monuments, cuneiform or alphabetic, that we can readily decipher. Their peculiarity is that the objects represented are nearly always in relief; only in late and careless work do we find a kind of cavrilievo, or a mere incised outline. It is curious that this love of characters in relief survived in the earliest Semitic inscriptions from the Hattic region in North Syria, though this is a most inconvenient way of carving letters except such as the Armenian, again practised in the same area, which has a monumental script in which the fat letters are set so close together that to cut away the field means less labour than to incise the letters.

There may be some relationship between Hittite and the clay disk found at Phaestus



#### EXAMPLES OF WRITING THAT STILL DEFFY TRANSLATION

All these are representative of scripts that have yet to be deciphered, though a considerable amount is known about the Aztec system, and something about the Mayan. Left, reading downwards: Mayan (Central America), and inscriptions from Mohenjo-Daro (see page 450). Right: Aztec (Mexico), Easter Island and Hittite (page 725). Across the bottom: Selected signs from the Phaestus disk figured in page 607. Characters from the Minoan script are given in the next page.

Permission of Sir John Marshall, Sir Arthur Evans and British Museum

in Crete (see page 607): this bears on each side a spiral made up of representations of objects, and the remarkable thing is that they are impressed from sunken dies and so appear in relief, like the Hittite characters; such a method forbids an infinite number of characters. The heads which recur several times have a look which it is agreed to call Anatolian, and other specimens may turn up in Asia Minor.

Even more than by the Hittite is our curiosity roused by the Minoan script, of which most monuments have been found at Cnossus. It began with pictographs used up to and during part of the Middle Minoan period—say, from 2500 to 1750 B.C.—and appearing in different degrees of clearness, especially upon seal stones. To this succeed two classes of linear script: one, called 'A' by Sir Arthur Evans, the more archaic, is at Cnossus almost confined to Middle Minoan III—say, 1750 to 1600 B.C.—but continues elsewhere in Crete; the other, called 'B,' succeeds it and lasts till the disappearance of Minoan civilization. Its vehicle is the clay tablet scratched with a stylus, a method which makes rather untidy marks. We can decipher the numbers and the meaning of certain evident pictures—the tablets are largely catalogues of stores—but until we get a bilingual further

CRETAN		PHOENICIAN		GREEK	
Hieroglyphic	Linear				
	AA		Aleph ('Ox')	AA	Alpha
	EE		Beth ('House')	BB	Beta
	Δ		Daleth ('Door')	Δ	Delta
			Waw ('Tent peg' or 'Nail')	ΣΥ	Wau, U
			Heth ('Fence')	Θ	(H)eta
			Yod ('Hand' or 'Side')	Ι	Iota
			Kaph ('Bent Hand')	Κ	Kappa
			Resh ('Head')	Ρ	Rho
			Nun ('Fish')	Ν	Nu
			Taw ('Mark' or 'Cross')	Τ	Tau

#### CRETAN THEORY OF THE ALPHABET

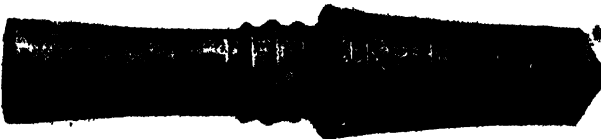
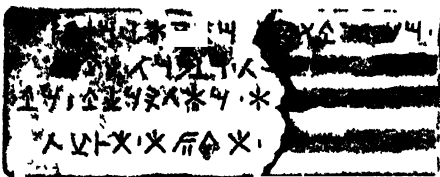
This chapter adopts the Egyptian theory of alphabetic origins (see page 107<sup>(1)</sup>). But the table above shows that certain Minoan signs (of which the value is quite unknown) resemble either the forms of Phoenician letters or the things after which they are named (see Chap. 26).

After Sir Arthur Evans, 'Scripta Minoa,' and E. H. Minns

progress is not hopeful. We want such a bilingual as that from Idalium which rendered possible the decipherment of the Cypriote syllabary of some fifty-five signs, rendering very badly the local

Greek dialect, yet living on side by side with Phoenician and Greek down to the fourth century B.C. It may indeed be ultimately derived from the Cretan, or from some Anatolian script.

The discovery of this Cretan script has introduced a complication into the problem of the alphabet: for one thing, among its many signs are some that are extremely like



#### GREEK WRITTEN IN A SYLLABIC SCRIPT

Writing found in Cyprus is of interest as being in a syllabic script applied to Greek. The inscription above is on a rock near Paphos; that below on a bronze fragment found at Idalium. The signs, perhaps derived from Minoan or an Anatolian script, express the sounds of Greek most awkwardly.

From de Vogüé and de Luynes

early forms of Greek or Phoenician letters ; for another, it explains the later Cretan claim that they knew letters of old and did not learn them from the Phoenicians. But this is quite reconcilable with the later Greeks having taken their historic alphabet from the Phoenicians. If when the Cretan signs are deciphered we find that there is correspondence of shape and meaning with signs of the later alphabet, it will be time enough to reject the ordinary tradition.

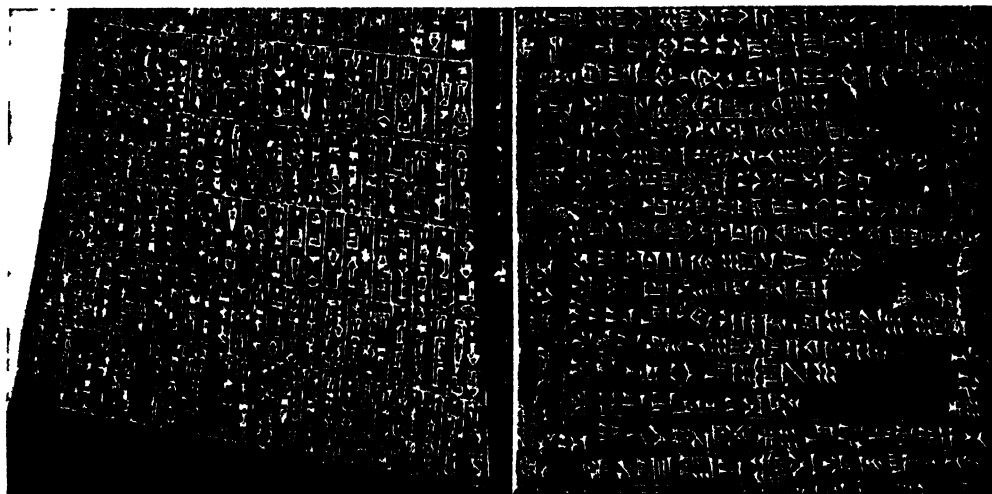
We may say the same of the claims that some 'Mediterranean signary' was the ancestor of the later alphabet ; certainly signs resembling

**Marks of Ownership** letters are found upon pots and stones all over its basin, but many of them appear to be signs of ownership. The idea of such marks certainly existed before writing. The nomad peoples, too, had marks for distinguishing their cattle, and the coins of the Kushans, a northern people who conquered north-western India, and those of the kingdom of Bosphorus, half Greek and half Sarmatian, have queer marks upon them. So, too, the spears of the Goths ; but they have nothing to do with phonetic writing. The latter can make such signs more definite, as when we see

W.D. (War Department) on each side of the broad arrow.

Mention must be made of what certainly look like alphabetic scripts in western Europe. Most startling is the case of certain clay tablets and inscribed pebbles found in 1926 at Glozel near Vichy in France, associated with objects of Magdalenian, that is, Late Palaeolithic, style, but in circumstances which point to Neolithic times ; if authentic they confirm the genuineness of inscriptions and carvings found in 1894 at Alvão in Portugal. It is conceivable that a small priestly caste had developed an alphabetic or syllabic writing, but that when the northern tribes known to us as Iberians, Ligurians and Celts invaded western Europe they destroyed this too narrowly guarded civilization, and alphabetic writing had to be learnt anew from the East. So Dr. Salomon Reinach ; but other authorities deny the early date, or even the authenticity.

There remain the three great systems of ideographic writing : the Sumero-Babylonian or cuneiform, which died out at about the beginning of the Christian era ; the Chinese with its derivatives in Korea and Japan ; and the Egyptian from which in a sense our alphabetic writing seems to come.



**CHANGE BROUGHT ABOUT BY CLAY TABLETS IN BABYLONIAN WRITING**

These two objects, the obelisk of Manishtusa from Susa (left) and a boundary stone of Marduk-nadin-akhe, well show the change that overtook Babylonian writing. First the signs were inscribed downwards in vertical columns, succeeding each other from right to left ; the columns, however, were short, and each series of columns was enclosed in a so-called 'box.' When clay appeared as a writing material this method proved inconvenient, and the whole system was turned round.

• The Louvre and British Museum

The Sumerian writing goes back beyond 3200 B.C.; a stone tablet of that date found by Professor Langdon at Kish (see page 518) has pictographs in appearance not far removed from the Red Indian stage. Its development is interesting on both planes, the physical, so to speak, and the mental. The earliest tablets are of stone, and they and the early inscriptions reproduce some material even more unfavourable to curves than stone. The signs are in vertical columns, each column to the left of the last, but the columns are rather short, so that we get several rows of columns, or 'boxes' as they are called, running leftwise.

Then, like the Minoans, the Sumerians took to using clay tablets, drawing the signs with a stylus. But it was hard to prevent the right hand from spoiling the finished columns on its side, as it moved to the left; and since the pictures were rapidly degenerating, and had ceased to matter as pictures, the whole arrangement was turned ninety degrees to the left so that the downward columns became horizontal lines written from left to right. The boxes were now unnecessary; and when the practice arose of impressing with the stylus instead of scratching, a neater effect was produced more quickly, but the pictures lost all resemblance to objects.

The writing, as practised for nearly 3,000 years, is made up of wedges, hence the name 'cuneiform.' One can get the effect fairly well with a thing rather like a cold chisel, and Langdon thinks that he has found such (see page 518); but the most careful examination suggests that what

**Reed employed to make letters** was generally used was a slip of reed triangular in section and cut off square at the end, for long strokes often show impressions of the fibres lengthwise, not endwise, or else the smooth, slightly cylindrical surface of the reed's hard skin. No wonder that we cannot quite reproduce the effect even with the right implement and material; no European can use a Chinese brush quite accurately.

The mental side of cuneiform is almost tragic. The Sumerians began well; their language was agglutinative, something like Finnish—there is now a serious

attempt to connect it with Georgian—so that their roots were mostly monosyllabic, but ready to take on many suffixes. The roots could generally be expressed by a picture, simple or compound, and they made the great advance of using a root-sign to express a suffix of the same sound as the root; that is, they made for the suffixes a phonetic system. They went on to do the same for those roots that did not lend themselves to symbolic expression but had picturable homophones, and even used homophone-pictures wrongly; for instance, *bur*, an ear, instead of *bur*, a pot, though each had its own picture.

Then came what I called above a jolt, the Semitic intrusion about 3000 B.C.; but instead of leading to a simplification it produced a complicated state of things equalled only in Japanese. The picture of a star had been reduced to four strokes making eight rays; these strokes had become wedges, and finally were reduced to two consecutive horizontal wedges crossed by a vertical one; the Sumerian meaning became 'the heaven god An,' 'god,' 'heaven' and phonetically *an*. The Semites used it for 'the god Anu,' whom they had taken over, for 'god' (read in Semitic *ilu*), for 'heaven' (Semitic *samû*), for the phonetic syllable *an*, as in Sumerian, and for the syllable *il* from its Semitic use: five meanings.

The Sumerian stock of phonetic signs did not suit the Semitic at all well; it could not distinguish *d* and *t*, nor *g*, *k* and *q*, nor the various sibilants or affricates. But its syllabary expressed both vowels standing alone and combinations of vowel + consonant, consonant + vowel and even sometimes consonant + vowel + consonant. This apparatus made it possible in a clumsy way to give the full sound of the Semitic word, and even to distinguish long and short vowels; only the shades of difference in Semitic consonants were lost.

Now all the authorities say that the consonants alone matter in Semitic. But the real fact is that, while, as we shall see, it can be explained historically how it is that nearly all Semitic writing has done without vowels until a very self-conscious stage of development, the consonants, generally three in a root, are as it were

but the skeleton of the word and the vowels its flesh; to regard only the consonants is like shell collectors who do not inquire about the living creature that made the calcareous frame. If we take the Hebrew *šālām*, 'he was whole' or 'at peace,' *šillēm*, 'he completed' or 'recompensed,' *šullām*, 'he was recompensed,' 'whole,' *šellēm*, 'a recompense,' *šālm*, 'peace,' the idea of being 'settled' in various senses runs through; but although the consonantal skeleton is the same it must make a difference even to a Jew whether he pays or is paid. Only long custom has made us believe that the vowels are of no great importance in Semitic. So from the cuneiform *Nabu-kudur-usur* we know that the Septuagint version, 'Nabuchodonosor,' is nearer the original vowels than the Hebrew 'Nebuchadnezzar.'

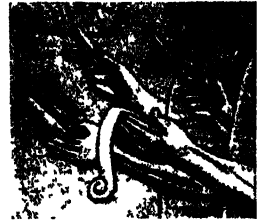
The vowels may then be reckoned as a very good point in cuneiform; but there remain two more complications. Sometimes, relying entirely neither on the ideographic in Cuneiform nor on the phonetic system, they would write a word twice to make sure, e.g., *mātu*, 'land,' written first by a simple ideogram of three small wedges, and then with three phonetic signs, *ma-a-lu*, the double *a* showing the long vowel. Again they used determinatives, that is, an ideogram (unpronounced) telling what sort of thing the word is that it qualifies: the sign for 'man' before names of peoples and trades, for 'tree' before trees, sorts of wood and anything made of wood, for 'place' after names of countries and localities, for 'fish' after sorts of fish. This device recurs in Egyptian and Chinese.

Such as it was, cuneiform was used to write the diplomatic language of western Asia in the fifteenth century B.C., and we find it used by the Hittites and the Canaanites, and even by the Egyptians in correspondence with them.

The Elamites adopted it for their own language. When we first meet this, about 1200 B.C., the writing has a good deal in common with the Babylonian; by the time of the Achaemenian (Persian) kings about a fifth of its signs are still similar. The Elamites reduced the signs to a little over a hundred; they kept a few very

obvious ideograms, but essentially theirs was a phonetic syllabary.

Such simplification has gone even farther in the alphabet (as we may now call it) used by the Achaemenians in their official inscriptions. It contains a sign to divide the words, four ideograms (King, Land, Earth, Ahura-mazda) and thirty-six letters, three being vowels and the rest consonants which are mostly reckoned as having a potential *a* after them as in Indian scripts; there are special forms of *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *m* to go before *u* and of *g*, *d*, *m*, *w* to go before *i*—compare the not dissimilar use of *q* instead of *c* before *u* in English. Exactly how the Persian system derives from other cuneiform systems is not yet clear; it is probably an artificial creation of Darius, and may

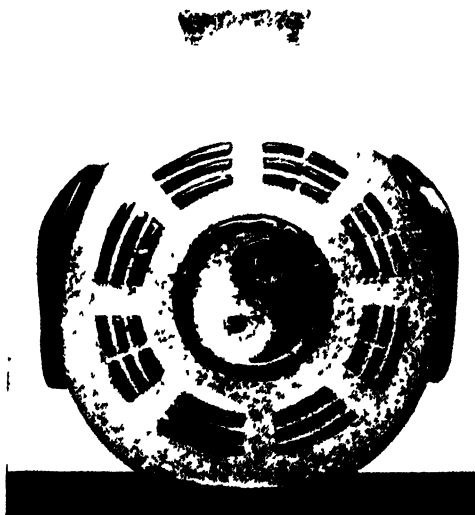


ASSYRIAN AND ARAMAIC SCRIBES

Babylonian cuneiform became international, but as early as the seventh century B.C. the alphabetic system was competing with it. An Assyrian bas-relief shows two scribes: one, bearded, writing cuneiform on a clay tablet, the other Aramaic on a papyrus roll. Above, an enlargement.

British Museum





#### THE TRIGRAMS OF FU-HSI

A Chinese snuff-bottle shows the 'trigrams' said to have been invented by Fu-hsi about 3000 B.C., arranged in a circle. Each is a system of three lines, either whole or broken, and they probably refer to divination of some kind.

*From S. W. Bushell 'Chinese Art'*

be a putting into cuneiform shape (as the only splendid lapidary script yet used by kings) of some unknown alphabet. The inherent *a* curiously recalls the Indian practice, and there may be some connexion.

But except for monumental inscriptions, the script of the Persian Empire was the convenient Aramaic, which had already been used in Assyrian times alongside the cuneiform; witness the bas-relief here reproduced, on which we see two scribes making lists of slain or booty: one, bearded, grasping his stylus and using it upon his clay tablet; the other, beardless and perhaps a eunuch, writing with a reed upon a scroll of skin or papyrus.

The mechanism of an ideographic writing may best be illustrated by the Chinese script. For one thing it is still in use, being dominant among more people than any script except the Latin and the Arabic, with the Russian next after it; for another, we know exactly what the people who use it think about it and its origin.

'Fu-hsi was the first to rule, as king; he traced the trigrams and knotted cords as a means of governing all within the seas': so runs the inscription on a Han bas-relief. Fu-hsi is dated about 3000 B.C.

Of the knots we have spoken; the eight trigrams are the queer figures made up of three strokes each, and varied as the strokes are or are not broken in the middle. One often sees them on Chinese objects; the figure with the three unbroken lines signifies heaven and perfection, that with three broken lines earth and imperfection, the other combinations various grades between; they are interesting as showing ideas expressed by abstract lines rather than pictures. The word for them, 'kua,' has the 'radical' (see page 1072) for divination, and they may go back to some diviner's hocus pocus.

Divination is important at a certain stage. Runes apparently have something to do with it; so, too, much of Mesopotamian science; and again in China it is in the material of the diviner's art that we find our oldest inscribed monuments. Fragments of bone have been found in Honan near the site of the capital of the Yin Dynasty (see page 445), and some bear genealogies, including names of sovereigns of that house, which reigned from 1766 to 1122 B.C. They are mostly records of divining, by touching shoulder-blades with a hot iron and inspecting the cracks, kept for the guidance of future diviners. They are curiously analogous to the model livers (see page 351) kept by Assyrian diviners for future reference, with record of question and answer. The shapes of the characters are very like those on the oldest Chinese bronzes. The engraving technique shows an accustomed skill which makes it likely that ordinary writing, as tradition says, was by scratching with a point upon wood or bamboo.

The next stage is said to have been writing with a bamboo stick dipped in black lacquer; this probably produced what was afterwards called 'tadpole' writing. Each character, being made separately, **Characters of** would begin with a blob **'Tadpole' script** of ink at the top and tail off at the bottom; so drawn, certain common characters, such as that for 'son,' make admirable tadpoles. It is said that the earliest form, found on the oldest bronzes, was invented under the Yellow Emperor, c. 2600 B.C., by Ts'ang Ch'ieh. This was improved by Shih Chou about

Next, Ts'ai Lun in A.D. 105 offered the emperor an invention for making writing material of all sorts of old fibres ; this was the paper called ' chih ' after a kind of coarse silk that had sometimes been used for the writing. The new material did not

	Ku Wen Old Writing	Ta Chuan Great Seal	Hsiao Chuan Lesser Seal	Li Shu Official Hand	Ch'ai Shu Normal Hand	Hsing Shu Running Hand	San Shu Grass Hand
1 Shang, above	一	上	上	上	上	上	上
2 Hsin, below	下		下	下	下	下	下
3 Chung, middle	中	中	中	中	中	中	中
4 Jih, sun	日	日	日	日	日	日	日
5 Yueh, moon	月	月	月	月	月	月	月
6 Shou, hand		手	手	手	手	手	手
7 Yu, right hand		右	右	右	右	右	右
8 Yu, pen		筆	筆	筆	筆	筆	筆
9 T'ê, bundle of records				冊	冊	冊	冊
10 Ch'i, covenant				契	契	契	契
11 Shu, {brush} write				書	書	書	書
12 Lai, come			來	來	來	來	來
13 Lai, corn			秣	秣	秣	秣	秣
14 Ssu, four			四	四	四	四	四
15 Pao, precious		寶		寶	寶	寶	寶
16 Pi, brush		筆		筆	筆	筆	筆
17 Mo, ink				硯	硯	硯	硯
18 Yen, inkstone			硯	硯	硯	硯	硯
19 Ch'uan, roll, chapter			卷	卷	卷	卷	卷
20 Hao, good			好	好	好	好	好
21 Chia, house		家	家	家	家	家	家
22 Ling, liqueur			醴	醴	醴	醴	醴
23 Chih, paper			紙	紙	紙	紙	紙

These seven successive styles of Chinese writing are described in the text, also the particular characters that have been selected to illustrate peculiarities of the system. Note that the date (Nov. 1925) and signature of the Chinese brushman who prepared the table appear on the right.

produce much change, and the Ch'iai Shu or ordinary style, established in A.D. 350, and still used in printed books, is for us not much unlike its predecessor the Li Shu. It presupposes a brush only drawn downwards, slanting, and horizontally; upward strokes are mere flicks. A complicated character was therefore made by many separate strokes. But as skill in the use of the brush grew,

民 Min (people)  
 國 Kuo (state)  
 十 Shih (ten)  
 三 San (three)  
 年 Nien (year)  
 十 Shih (ten)  
 一 I (one)  
 月 Yueh (month)  
 十 Shao  
 年 Lung  
 十 Shu (wrote)

people learned to let the brush run upwards towards the left, so that characters came to be made without taking the brush from the paper. This led to what seems to us a complete degeneration of the characters, true strokes and joining strokes blending into a tangle such as very few Europeans can read. This is called *Ts'ao shu*, 'grass writing,' and, as it really requires more complete mastery of the brush than the set hand, a bold 'grass' hand is far more esteemed than a careful set hand. It is just what has happened in modern Western writing. The medieval book scribes hardly recognized that a pen could move upwards and to the left; when this came to be allowed the cursive was developed, and no one to-day thinks much of a copper-plate hand.

So much for the mechanism of Chinese writing. On the intellectual side its development is curiously like that of cuneiform, and, as we shall see, of Egyptian. Of Chinese Writing course it started with diagrams—*shang* (1), 'above'; *hsia* (2), 'below'; *chung* (3), 'middle'—and pictograms, such as *jih* (4) 'sun'; *yüeh* (5), 'moon'; *shou* (6), 'hand'; *yu* (7) 'right hand' (the numbers refer to the table in page 1071). 'Horse' and 'bird' would be easy enough. Then one finds real combinations of things which go together in fact: *yü* (8), 'brush or stick for writing,' depicts a right hand holding a brush; *ts'ê* (9), 'document,' is a bundle of bamboo sticks. Next there are explanatory combinations: *ch'i* (10), 'contract,' is a bit of notched stick with a knife, i.e. a tally; *ho*, 'black,' is fire going up a chimney (cf. 17). The combination may be fanciful: *ming*, sun + moon, is 'bright'; or cynical: *chiao*, two women, is 'intrigue'; or almost sentimental: *hao* (20), wife and child, is 'good'; *an*, a woman under a roof, is 'peace'; *chia* (21), a roof with a pig under it, is 'house'.

One cannot get very far in this way, and the next device was using puns. *Lai* meant both 'come' and 'wheat'; for the latter there stood originally a picture of a plant with awns (12), but this came to be used for 'come,' whereas for 'wheat' a second picture of a cereal was added (13). This explanatory addition, called by us

a 'radical,' by the French 'une clef,' enables such puns to be made (they are often very inexact puns) without misunderstanding. The radicals answer exactly to the determinatives in cuneiform and Egyptian. In Chinese they have another function, as the words in the dictionary are arranged under 214 radicals; but some radicals in this list are obviously compounds, and in other cases one element of a logical compound is arbitrarily taken as the radical. Thus *ming*, 'brightness,' made up of the two equal ideas of sun and moon, happens to be put under the 'sun' radical; while *chung* (3), 'middle,' an obvious diagram, is classed under 'perpendicular stroke.'

It may be that the character selected as a phonetic is already a compound: for example, take *ling* (22), 'liqueur.' The part on the right at the top is *yu*, 'rain,' a picture of the heaven and something falling; the three squares below make it definitely *ling*, 'rain drops'; add below these *wu*, 'to bewitch,' and you get *ling*, 'spirit-ghost'; add to this the governing radical 'wine' (a wine jar) to the left, and you have *ling*, 'liqueur'—and it takes thirty strokes to express it.

As further examples I will take what the Chinese call the *ssü pao*, the 'four treasures' necessary for writing. *Ssü* (14) is an old diagram, 'four'; *pao* (15), 'precious,' gives Complexity of the Characters you jade, a pot, a shell, all under a roof. The treasures are *pi* (16), 'brush,' a bamboo slip held in the hand; *chih* (23), 'paper,' the silky stuff (silk, *mi*, is a cocoon with hanging threads, and the other part of the ideogram, originally a growing plant or stock, with a sound like *shih*, indicates the pronunciation); *mo* (17), 'ink,' made up of 'black,' as above, and 'earth'; and *yen* (18), 'ink slab or palette.' The last has 'stone' to the left, and to give the sound *yen* there is added *kien*, 'to see,' made up of an eye on legs, a very inexact phonetic. But observe the exaggerated reverence for writing—pens, ink and paper being the treasures.

The Chinese say that there are six ways by which writing can express meaning, but they are not agreed as to what the six ways are. They answer

roughly to the five given above: pictograms, diagrams, combinations, simple puns and puns defined by a radical, together apparently with a separate class of reversed pictograms—e.g., *man recumbent* means 'corpse.'

The system did not become simplified because in Chinese, which is monosyllabic and extremely restricted in the beginnings and endings of each monosyllabic word, only a few hundred syllables are possible. In Pekinese, which has lost all final consonants but nasals, there are only 420, and though the 'tones' differentiate these, the sixty-one words pronounced *i* leave plenty of ambiguity. So Chinese writing appeals directly from the eye to the mind, and, read aloud, a classical text is quite unintelligible. In speech the homophones are made clear by the use of doublets; hence pidgin English makes 'see' different from 'sea' by saying 'look-see.' We hear of a reform of Chinese writing, but I have not been able to make out exactly how it works. I can imagine that with a simple sign for each of the sounds, and a careful system of determinatives, a great simplification could be achieved; but the classical language, which eschews the explanatory additions of the colloquial, could never be made clear by a mere rendering of sound and tone.

I have dealt thus fully with Chinese because it is still, and will apparently continue to be, the script of a large part of the human race. It is a most perfect instance of the good effect of having some sort of script and the bad effect of having a very complicated one.

Chinese writing was adopted by the neighbouring nations: some used it language and all, as the western

**How Japan uses Chinese** world used Latin; others expressed their own tongue in characters derived from Chinese, as the Tangut and the Lolo. The Japanese have got themselves into the most appalling confusion. They write Chinese, which they pronounce in a special manner; they use Chinese ideograms and pronounce them after three different varieties of Chinese dialect; they write a Chinese ideogram and read it as the Japanese word of the same meaning; and they have two syllabaries, one of

more than a hundred, the other of some fifty signs, derived from Chinese forms in various stages of simplification and used sometimes to give the sounds of whole words, sometimes those of terminations tacked on to words expressed by ideograms. Thus the sign for 'brightness,' in Chinese *ming*, may be read *mei*, *miō* and *min* (different forms of Chinese pronunciation), and, as Japanese, *ake*, *akiraka*, *akarui*, *akeru*, meaning 'clear,' 'to open,' 'dawn.' It is worse than late Babylonian; and one is consequently not surprised to hear of serious proposals to Romanise the alphabet.

In Korea educated people use the Chinese, but there is an excellent alphabet of uncertain origin which it is not respectable to use. This is a close analogy to the apparent relation of cuneiform and alphabetic writing in western Asia during the Amarna age.

We have seen that sudden improvements in systems of writing have only come from what I have called jolts; that is, the transfer of a **Jolt that made system from the language an alphabet** in which it arose to another of a different character. But the best results hitherto mentioned have been syllabaries. Babylonian, Elamite and Japanese still cumbered with ideograms, and Cypriote a pure syllabary. The Achæmenian alphabet, arising in a country familiar with a true alphabet, was probably influenced by this, and may perhaps owe little but its form of strokes to the cuneiform. The precise effect of a jolt depends on the character of the originating and of the accepting languages.

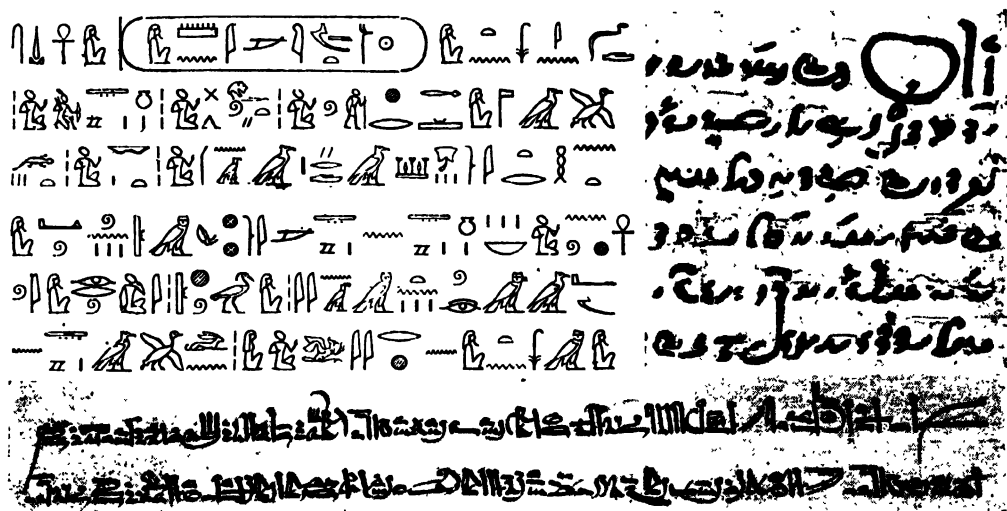
To obtain a true alphabet, with indication of vowels, two jolts have been needed and the three languages concerned had to have very special characteristics. The series (Egyptian: Semitic: Indo-European) might be called in old-fashioned phrase 'providential.' Semites, borrowing from agglutinative Sumerians, came but to a syllabary; only from Egyptian could they have come to their alphabet, vowelless but a true alphabet. Greeks, borrowing from a presumably ideographic script, got no farther than the Cypriote syllabary; but borrowing from a vowelless alphabet they put in the vowels and made

the final advance, and so did the Indians. For the moment I am assuming that the Greeks did borrow from the Phoenicians and the Phoenicians from Egypt. The strong likelihood of this I shall show later.

First we must consider Egyptian language and writing. The peculiarity of the language, shared with the Semitic, is that the general idea was expressed by the consonants and the particular application defined by the vowels; as in Semitic, the

with the consonantal skeleton of the word, and the vowel flesh was put on according to indications of sense or terminations.

Thus Egyptian in its ideograms came to have signs for vocalisable groups of consonants—three, two and, what is most important, one. In Chinese, as we read just now, 'see' is an eye upon legs, but that equally expresses 'saw'; *s* is the only certainty. Sethe has pointed this out, showing how it was owing to this



### THREE METHODS OF WRITING PRACTISED IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Calligraphy had three phases in Egypt. Hieroglyphics (top left) made use of recognizable pictures and endured for sacred inscriptions to the end. As early as the Old Kingdom we find in use a simplified form for rapid writing on papyrus—'hieratic.' The hieroglyphics (here read from right to left) are a complete transcription of the hieratic below; the resemblances are still apparent. Then about 700 B.C. the 'demotic' (right), in which all resemblance is lost, gained popularity.

*British Museum*

normal root (so to speak) contained three consonants, but through phonetic decay many roots became reduced to two consonants and quite a number to one.

We may take English examples to show the result of this upon an ideographic script. Imagine 'brother' expressed by a picture and 'brethren' by the picture + some sign for the plural; the mere picture would suggest 'br-th-r,' and the mind would be in doubt about the vowel until it was sure whether the plural sign followed or not. So with 'woman' and 'women.' It is not in vain that we write 'ft.' and read 'foot' or 'feet' according to the numbers preceding. So in Egyptian the ideogram was directly connected

with the peculiarity of their language that the Egyptians easily came to have in their stock signs for all their consonants, and how, as phonetic decay progressed, more and more words became uniliteral. Familiar with an alphabet, we call these signs consonants and talk of an Egyptian alphabet; but this is an anticipation.

What the Egyptians really did was first, about 3500 B.C., to pass through the purely ideographic stage, and then to begin the usual process of making puns for strange or difficult ideas, or if there were several words with the same meaning to indicate which was to be used by adding another word or words (called the phonetic complement) to suggest the

sound. A further stage was, if two words had the same sound, to express it with signs that had nothing to do with its meaning and to add a determinative like the Sumerian and the Chinese radical when combined with a phonetic. Beyond the complication of ideograms, phonetic complements, puns and determinatives Egyptian never progressed; but in its one-letter words (which it could use for the purpose of spelling anything) it had something to which no other mainly ideographic system had attained.

As to form, the hieroglyphics used for magnificent decorative inscriptions are to us the most familiar form of Egyptian writing, because they have been so admirably preserved and because they are the vehicle of so much history; but the perfect drawing of every object could not be attained in the writing of every-day life, and for use on papyrus and other materials impressionist simplifications came into use, with a certain calligraphic effect. This fine writing is called 'hieratic' or priestly. About 700 B.C. a more cursive form, called by us 'demotic' or popular, came in, and continued until the disuse of Egyptian writing in the fifth century A.D.

With the conversion of Egypt to Christianity the old writing, every detail of which was bound up with the idea of the ancient gods, gave place to the use of the Greek alphabet supplemented by seven letters derived from the demotic and expressing specifically Egyptian sounds: this was the 'jolt' which gave Egyptian a notation for the vowels.

The general tradition of the ancient world declared that the Greeks learned the alphabet from the Phoenicians and

the Phoenicians from the Egyptians. Had illiterate  
Alphabet devised by Semites? Greeks come in direct contact with Egyptians

they might have been capable of picking out the uniliteral signs and applying them to their own tongue; that no man can say. But it looks as if Semites were in a better position and made good use of it. For one thing they were in intimate contact with Egypt; for another it was easier for them to grasp the idea of a sign for each consonant + an undefined vowel and apply it to their own language. \*

It was once thought that some Semite had simply chosen twenty-two Egyptian quasi-alphabetic signs in their original forms and values and used them to write Semitic; the idea was worked out by de Rouge, but it required too much ingenuity. In particular he took the signs from a stage of hieratic belonging to the Old Kingdom, perhaps a thousand years before the time when we should look for the origin of the alphabet. During the present century this hypothesis was given up, and men were looking for the origin of the Semitic alphabet anywhere but in Egypt. But the search was not successful; among interpreted writings no forms came near what was wanted; arguments from chance resemblances in uninterpreted writings cannot exactly be disproved but they hardly bring conviction.

We may reduce the alphabets with which we are concerned to three: the North Semitic of twenty-two letters, its oldest representative being the Phoenician, known from the thirteenth century B.C. (column 4 in the table in page 1076); the South Semitic of twenty-nine letters (column 13), its oldest representative being the Sabaean from South Arabia, about the sixth century B.C., and now surviving in the Ethiopic; and the Greek, known from the seventh century B.C. in many forms, but certainly once containing twenty-two letters and adding a number of extra ones (columns 15-19). Indian alphabets have been derived either from the South Semitic or more probably from the northern branch. In Asia Minor there were short-lived alphabets, Phrygian, Lycian, Carian and Lydian, agreeing mainly with the early Greek, but again with extra letters added for special sounds. The same may be said of Etruscan and other Italic alphabets.

We know the names and order of the Phoenician letters (column 7). The names, shapes and order of the Greek letters down to T are with certain reservations the same. That is proof enough that the two alphabets are really one and that names and order were settled before they diverged. Enough of the South Semitic forms and names are like the North Semitic to argue

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
NORTH SEMITIC											Arabic Modern	SOUTH SEMITIC 200 B.C.		GREEK					
Egyptian Forms		Semitic Values		West Semitic	Samaritan Modern		Hebrew Names	Meanings	Aramaic 400 B.C.	Hebrew		Syriac 500 A.D.	Ethiopic Names		Early 7th Cent B.C.	East 500 B.C.	West 500 B.C.	Values	Names
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**ALPHABETS ANCIENT AND MODERN WITH THEIR POSSIBLE EGYPTIAN PROTOTYPE**  
The world's alphabets are derived from a common source the names and forms of the letters are sufficient proof. Several theories about this source have been proposed, but in support of the one that seeks it in Egypt certain signs (see opposite page) from Sinai with similar Egyptian hieroglyphs are given in columns 1 and 2, inset is a Semitic interpretation of a group of such signs. The Greek alphabet has given rise to modern Russian, the Latin to modern Western alphabets. A discussion of this chart, which has been specially prepared by Prof Minns, is given in the text.

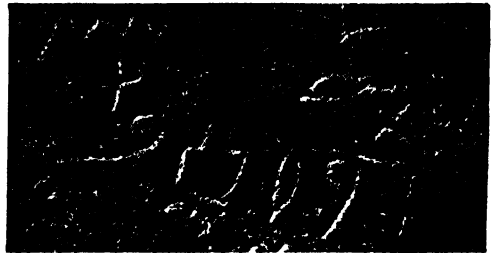
some relationship; one or two forms tend to agree with the Greek, but the order is quite unintelligible. Some of the extra letters have certainly been formed by differentiation, just as in ordinary Arabic, because the language required to distinguish sounds which Phoenician, Hebrew and Aramaic were content to leave confused. Other letters may be sheer inventions or the result of a different selection from an originally greater stock.

So with Greek: the extra letters are declared by tradition to have been added,  $\theta$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\xi$  by Palamedes, and  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\psi$ ,  $\omega$  by Epicharmus. Of these  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\xi$  certainly come from the old stock, though their values have been changed ( $\zeta$  in Greek was  $dz$ ); the source of the others may have been deliberate invention ( $\omega$  almost certainly), or they may have been taken over from an older syllabary. This is even more likely for the queer letters in the Anatolian alphabets.

The time when Greek diverged from Phoenician may be set between the Dorian invasion and the Greek colonisation of Asia Minor, say in the eleventh century B.C. This a priori calculation is confirmed by the discovery in 1923 of two inscriptions of about that date. That the Greeks were the borrowers is shown by the fact that the names of the letters are mostly intelligible in Phoenician and not in Greek. The Greek modifications of the names are mostly to

be explained by the Greek dislike of words ending in consonants, and by a tendency to turn them into a jingle of unintelligible words which had to be repeated in a certain order. The fate of Celtic numerals used by English-speaking shepherds to count their sheep is similar (*yan, tan, tethera, pethera, pimp*, etc., from the Welsh *un, dau, tri, pedwar, pimp*).

On the whole the forms of the Greek names point to a specifically Canaanite original, Hebrew or Phoenician; e.g., 'Rho' is the Hebrew *roš*, 'head,' with the queer last consonant left out, rather than the Aramaic *reš* which is now the Hebrew name for the letter. But it would be wiser to postulate borrowing from a common ancestor of North and South Semitic.



PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET

On a statue found in Sinai, Egyptian in pose but otherwise foreign, occurs one of the groups of signs that have been read as Ba'alath, and that with others in the region may be the prototype of the alphabet. (Enlargement below).

From Petrie, 'Recherches in Sinai'

To my mind there is every reason to believe that traces of this common ancestor have been found. About 1915 Dr. Alan Gardiner was examining a group of inscriptions from Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai, where the Egyptians had mined turquoise for many centuries. Sir Flinders Petrie, who first discovered the group, ascribed them to the time of Thothmes III and Hatshepsut, say 1500 B.C. Gardiner would date them in the Twelfth Dynasty, say 2000-1788 B.C. Among obvious Egyptian writings, many of them being dedications to a deity called in Egyptian Hathor, the 'Lady of the Turquoise,' were eleven made up of Egyptian hieroglyphs.



1560574W79K39E5(19W3139E59609760)I159K

:ML' B:HT Š K:H B':MRH' L:LBGKLM:MRH' NB:L' B TM: L' PZ:NR

'Aron ze pa'al 'Ithoba'al ben-'Aḥiram, melek Gubl, l-'Aḥiram 'abihi ksitah b-'olam.

K1(12Y)G112601+S1E3IK34Y133E915W7EYB

:PSTHT:NZ:NR' :LGYW:LBG:YL' :TNHM' :MTW:MNSB:NK SW:MKLMB:KLM:L' W

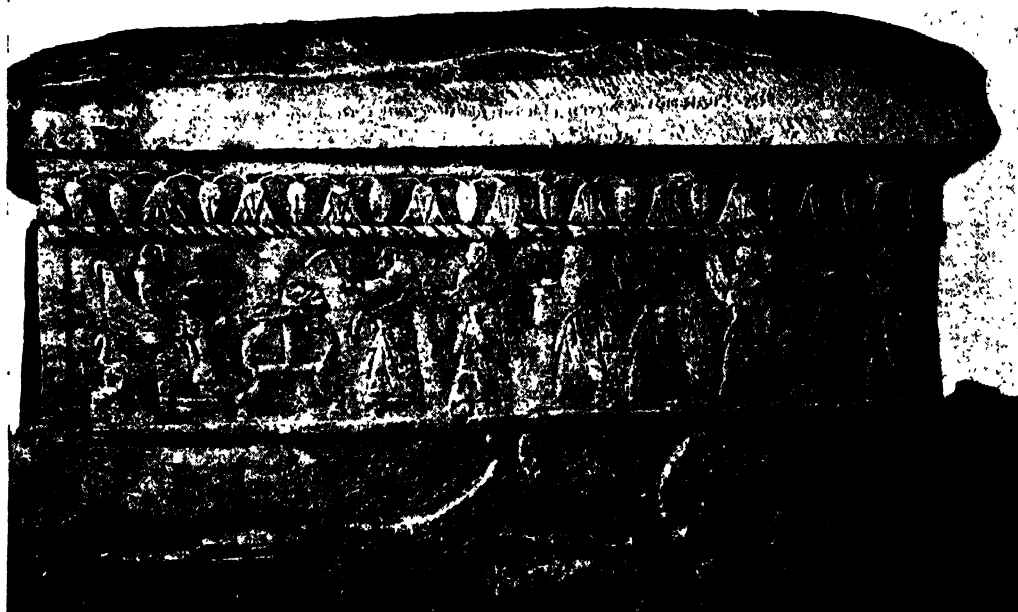
W'al melek b-malkim w-soken b-sokenim w-tama' maḥanat 'alay Gubl w-yigel 'aron zen tiḥtesap

16W7607E9E2K3Y1G11(01E99+1+1E91E7V3IK3E1V1W)+E1+E1(6)W3190E

:LR Š:PPLRPS:HMY' HW:LBG:L' :HRBT:THNW:HKLM' SK.KP THT'H TP SM:RTH

ḥoter mispaṭchu tiḥtepak kise' malkehu, w-nḥet tibareḥ 'al Gubl. W-hua' yimoḥ seper lopap šrl. )

Translation (first line): 'This coffin made [I]thoba'al (?) son of Aḥiram, king of Byblus, for Aḥiram his father to be an abiding place for ever.' Second line: 'And if any king among kings or governor among governors lay siege to Byblus and discover this coffin, broken be the sceptre of his government, overturned be the throne of his royalty, and let peace reign over Byblus. If any man efface this inscription may his seed perish.' First line on end of coffin; second, here broken, on side.



The épitaph of Aḥiram, King of Byblus, c. 1250 B.C., was found in 1923 graven on his coffin-lid. The coffin is here shown, with the inscription photographed and transcribed above. Being Semitic it is vowelless and runs from right to left; a left-to-right version in Roman characters with the vowels inserted is given between the lines. Words are separated by vertical dashes (transcribed ':'). The Phoenician names Aḥiram (probably) and Ithoba'al occur later in the Bible as Hiram and Ethbaal.

**OLDEST CERTAIN ALPHABETIC INSCRIPTION HITHERTO DISCOVERED**

*By permission of L. H. Vincent from 'Revue Biblique,' 1925*

but giving no sense (column 2). In these one group of four signs recurs six times ; first the Egyptian sign for ' house,' next an eye, then an uncertain sign and lastly a cross. The table shows that the Semitic letter Beth, *b*, means a house, that 'Ayin means an eye, that the shape of the third letter is that of the Phoenician Lamed, *l*, and that the last letter is the cross, Taw, *t*. The four letters make the word *Ba'alath*, or however it may be vocalised, 'Lady, Goddess,' the feminine of Baal answering exactly to the 'Lady of the Turquoise.'

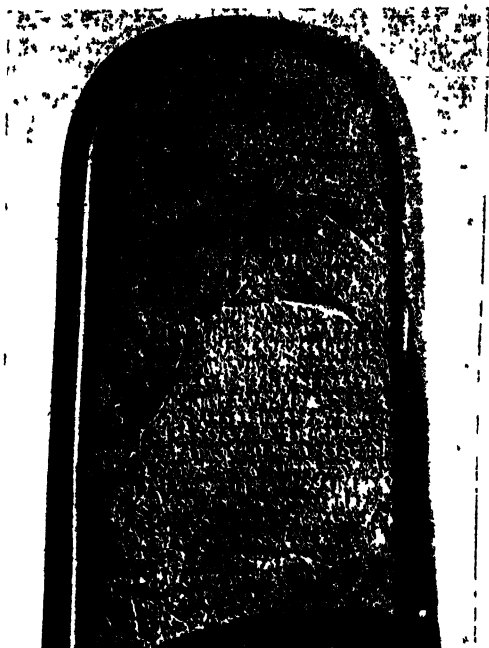
The presumption is that we have Semites, not barbarous Sinai Beduins, but men working in close connexion with the Egyptians and therefore in some degree acquainted with their script, using an alphabet constructed, not as de Rougé had supposed by taking the alphabetic symbols of Egyptian ready made, but by selecting pictures from the Egyptian stock in such a way that each suggested a Semitic noun, and so denoted the consonantal sound with which that noun began. They could not select nouns with only one consonant, because such practically did not exist in Semitic.

Further progress in interpreting the inscriptions has not been very certain : the words *an*, 'I,' *rab abnim*, 'master of the miners,' *ser bet*, 'lord of the house,' are not unlikely ; also perhaps *na'am*, 'grace,' and *ascr*, 'who.' But the inscriptions are very ill preserved. Gardiner notes thirty-two forms, but five pairs may be alternatives and the last two are very doubtful, that leaves us with twenty-five letters.

If we look at all the alphabets it seems as if the northern א and מ are differentiated from one original ; so too ⊕ and + ; which

accounts for most of the  
**Differencing letters with unintelligible names. There is much more**  
**of the signs** differencing in South Semitic

—three signs for something like *h* all easily derived from a Sinai sign (*sitting man*) which has left no descendants in the north, though we have no sufficient reason to claim it as an *h*. As we look at the table a remarkable thing is that signs which are certainly equivalent appear either turned upside-down or reversed or rotated ninety degrees or forty-five. The



REMAINS OF THE MOABITE STONE

Mesha, king of Moab, set up a stone with an inscription recording his victories over Israel in the ninth century B.C. For long it was the earliest alphabetic inscription known, but the sarcophagus of Ahiiram now provides an earlier one.

The Louvre

most familiar instance is the Greek Λ which is our L, others are Aleph and A, Greek Γ (G) and Latin < (G or C).

This phenomenon is very noticeable in an early stage of Phoenician which has been recovered. Instead of the Moabite Stone, set up by Mesha, Ahab's enemy, c. 850 B.C., we now have the epitaph of Ahiiram, king of Byblus, and a graffito in his tomb shaft, found with good Minoan pottery and things of Rameses II. Any doubt is discouraged by other inscriptions of the tenth century, contemporary with Osorkon and Shishak, the latter called 'Negus,' still the title of the Ethiopian monarch.

It must be admitted that the letter forms of Ahiiram's inscription do not much tend to fill in the wide gap that seems to separate the inscriptions of Mesha and Sinai. The Aleph, even, is rather less like an ox's head than on the Moabite stone, but the tailless ♡ for Kaph may help to explain the same letter in West Greek with the value of *kh*. The Mim has become vertical (cf. the South Semitic), and must be turned sideways.

to show the idea of 'water'; similarly if we turn the Pê sideways we get a reasonable 'mouth.'

But it is most interesting that within a century or so of the Amarna age, when cuneiform was so widespread, we find a perfect alphabet beginning its fatal competition.

The North Semitic alphabet divided into two branches. One, the Canaanite, produced the Phœnician, which, after spreading all over the Mediterranean to Spain and, as we have seen, probably giving birth to the Greek, died out not long after our era, and the old Hebrew, given up by the Jews in the centuries immediately before Christ but surviving among the few score Samaritans in an astonishingly archaic form (column 6). The other branch, the Aramaic, hardly shows any peculiarities at Senjerli in the seventh century (column 5), but soon afterwards the letters begin to open at the top and assume the appearance seen in column 9. It would seem that the Brahmi alphabet, the parent of all Indian alphabets, known from the inscriptions of Asoka (250 B.C.) had diverged just before this process, and that the Kharosthi, its short-lived rival in North-west India, was a later borrowing. All Indian alphabets have rearranged the order of the letters and doubled their numbers by differencing, so filiation is hard to trace.

Square Hebrew (column 10) is not unlike Aramaic in its second stage; then we get Syriac (column 11), and finally Arabic,

in which the letters have become so much alike that they must be distinguished by dots (column 12).

Eastwards Aramaic gave birth to the Pahlavi script of Persia, known from the first century B.C., to the Kōk-turki, with an interesting adaptation to cutting on sticks which makes it look like runes, and, with conscious adaptations after the Greek model, to Georgian and Armenian. In a later stage Syriac produced the Sogdian writing learned by the Uigur Turks and now applied to Kalmuk, Mongol and Manchu. Syriac having at one time been written from above down, these languages are written vertically, and so accord well with the vertical columns of Chinese.

But of the derivative scripts Greek was to have the greatest future, at any rate in its daughter alphabets Latin and Russian. In the four centuries between its borrowing from Phœnician and the earliest inscriptions it had made the advance which non-Semitic languages require: the Semitic breaths Aleph and 'Ayin—the noises made in beginning a vowel either gently or forcibly—the semi-vowels Yod, *y*, and Waw, *w*, and the aspirates He and Heth, which were disappearing from

Greek, were used to express First signs vowels. Aleph naturally gave for vowels *a*—the name suggested it, also the fact that in more than half the Hebrew words beginning with Aleph the following vowel is *a*; the guttural sounds of 'Ayin and Qoph made the vowels after them sound to the Greek ear like *o*; if you drop the *h*, He and Heth give *e* at once; but *w* and *h* lingered a little, so Waw had to be differenced as the Greek letter *r* for the vowel *u*, while *h* (Eta) did not at once get its final value as long *e*. The numerous sibilants were quite unnecessary in Greek and were naturally mixed up. Also the direction of writing changed from leftwise to the to-and-fro ('boustrophedon'), and thence to rightwise.

Meanwhile, in a race so divided by dialects as the early Greeks, the alphabet split into two main forms, from the first distinguished by different values in the extra letters. One called Western (column 17), on the whole the more archaic, was handed on to the Italians (column 20); the other, the Eastern (column 16), belonged to the Ionians, the Greek race which first wrote literature, and so became the classical Greek alphabet and the ancestor of the third most widely spread alphabet, the Russian. But for its curious confusion about C, involving the invention of G and the displacement of Z, Latin (column 20), that is our modern capital letters, would be by far the most archaic of existing alphabets.

Now Latin stands in this respect about on an equality with Samaritan (column 6), kept alive by a few score men in one town; to change its alphabet would be to destroy that little community; to change the Latin would be to alter the habits of half the world.

## *Second Era*

### THE HELLENIC AGE

550-201 B.C.

#### Chronicle IV—PERSIA AND GREECE IN COLLISION, 550-478 B.C.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>36. Greek City States at the Time of the Persian War<br/><i>Prof. W. R. Halliday</i></p> <p>37. The Persians and their Empire<br/><i>G. B. Grundy, D.Litt.</i></p> <p>40. The Rising Religions of the Farther East<br/><i>Prof. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt.</i></p> | <p>38. Etruscans and Carthaginians: Their Origins and Growth<br/><i>Prof. J. L. Myres, D.Sc.</i></p> <p>39. Greek Ideals and Orientalism<br/><i>W. O. L. Copeland</i></p> |
|---|---|

#### Chronicle V—THE RIVAL CITIES, 478-360 B.C.

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|---|---|
| <p>41. The High Tide of Greek Life<br/><i>Prof. F. A. Wright</i></p> <p>42. Greek Art and the Significance of Athletics<br/><i>Prof. Percy Gardner, Litt.D.</i></p> | <p>43. Greek Literature and the Theatre<br/><i>Prof. Gilbert Norwood</i></p> <p>44. The Religion of the Greeks<br/><i>Lewis R. Farnell, D.Litt.</i></p> <p>45. Spartan &amp; Athenian Empires<br/><i>Prof. W. R. Halliday</i></p> |
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#### Chronicle VI—THE HELLENISTIC AGE, 360-280 B.C.

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|--|---|
| <p>46. Alexander as World Hero<br/><i>W. Romaine Paterson</i></p> <p>47. The Philosophers: Their Triumphs and Failures<br/><i>Edwyn Bevan</i></p> <p>48. Greeks &amp; Scientific Discovery<br/><i>Charles Singer, D.Litt.</i></p> <p>49. Eastward Spread of Hellenism<br/><i>Prof. H. G. Raulinson</i></p> | <p>50. The Celtic Peoples: their Culture and their Tragedy<br/><i>Prof. R. A. S. Macalister</i></p> <p>51. Ancient Commerce and the Importance of the Mediterranean<br/><i>G. H. Stevenson</i></p> <p>52. What the Modern World Owes to Greece<br/><i>Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, LL.D.</i></p> |
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#### Chronicle VII—THE BEGINNINGS OF ROMAN POWER, 280-201 B.C.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>53. Rome and the Reasons for her Later Greatness<br/><i>Prof. H. Stuart-Jones, D.Litt.</i></p> <p>54. The Carthaginians and their Maritime Empire<br/><i>F. N. Pryce</i></p> <p>57. The Agony of Greece<br/><i>Edwyn Bevan, D.Litt., LL.D.</i></p> | <p>55. Patricians and Plebs: Rome's Warring Factions<br/><i>Prof. H. Stuart-Jones</i></p> <p>56. History's Most Glorious Failure: A Study of Hannibal<br/><i>Capt. B. H. Liddell-Hart</i></p> |
|---|---|

**T**HE shortness of this Era compared with those before and after it emphasises the amazing rapidity with which the Greek peoples brought their genius to fruition, playing out in a bare three hundred years a microcosm of the whole historical and intellectual drama of the human race. History for the first time gives the impression of gathering speed, but the surrounding peoples have not yet caught the fire and still seem to move from event to event with the ponderous momentum of the preceding Era. Hence the narrative of this Era may appear unduly concerned

## Note on the Hellenic Age

with purely Greek affairs; Chronicle IV, it is true, having much to tell about the rise of the Persian Empire and its clash with Hellas, but Chronicle V being almost entirely devoted to that Peloponnesian War from which Thucydides drew such profound lessons for posterity. During the latter period Persia yields to the political historian little more than the names of its successive kings, while Egypt, as a mere province of the great Empire, remains sunk in an obscurity only brightened by sporadic revolts. In Chronicle VI, however, we see Alexander cutting clean across the established order of things, bringing East and West into new relationships and inaugurating an era that was to last till the rise of Islam.

In Chronicle VII Rome takes the field. For centuries back she had been working out her destiny in a circumscribed world of her own, but the study-chapters dealing with her intensely interesting development are reserved for this moment when she

first adds her affluent to the stream of connected history. Chapter 53 in particular ranges backwards to the very beginning of the Era.

It will be observed that our earlier Chronological Table covered the Chronicles of an entire Era. The Table that follows applies to Chronicle IV only, and henceforward each Chronicle will be accompanied by a separate Table, either in a single sequence of dates as here, or in parallel synchronised columns as required.

The last date exceeds the nominal limit of the Chronicle by four years, both in order to link on with the succeeding Chronicle and to round off one aspect of the events dealt with—the Greek and Etruscan rivalry in the West. The breaks in our historical narrative must of necessity be arbitrary, and it is impossible to select a date that shall be equally appropriate for all contemporary movements; so that the device will often be adopted hereafter.

## TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE IV

<b>B.C.</b>			
<b>550</b>	Cyrus the Persian revolts against Astyages, and makes himself King of the Medes and Persians.	<b>499</b>	The Ionian revolt. Athens and Eretria promise aid.
	Beginning of Persian Empire.	<b>498</b>	The burning of Sardis.
	Beginnings of Peloponnesian League.	<b>498</b>	Battle of Lake Regillus (traditional).
	Servius Tullius (sixth king) reigning in Rome. The Servian Constitution created by him.	<b>495</b>	Sophocles born (d. 406).
	Lao-tze flourishes in China.	<b>494</b>	Battle of Lade and fall of Miletus.
<b>546</b>	Cyrus conquers Lydia.		Suppression of the Ionian revolt.
<b>545</b>	Cyrus subjugates Ionia.		Rome: the secession to the Sacred Mount.
<b>544</b>	Emigration of Phocaeans and Teans.		Institution of Tribunes of the Plebs.
<b>539</b>	Peisistratus tyrant at Athens the third time (to 527). Cyrus takes Babylon.	<b>493</b>	Persians secure the western shore of the Hellespont.
<b>535</b>	Battle of Alalia; the Phocaeans abandon Corsica to Carthaginians and Etruscans.		Rise of Themistocles at Athens.
	Tarquinus Superbus (Etruscan) seventh and last King of Rome till 510. Tyranny.		Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium.
<b>532</b>	Polycrates tyrant of Samos: in alliance with Amasis of Egypt.		Hippocrates tyrant of Gela.
	Pythagoras flourishes		The Latin League, headed by Rome (revolt against Etruscan supremacy).
<b>529</b>	Expedition of Cyrus against Massagetae.	<b>493 or 492</b>	Miltiades driven from the Chersonese to Athens.
	Death of Cyrus. Accession of Cambyses.	<b>492</b>	Conquest of Thrace by Mardonius.
<b>527</b>	Hippias succeeds Peisistratus as tyrant of Athens.	<b>491</b>	Persian envoys demand 'earth and water.'
<b>526</b>	Polycrates transfers alliance to Persia.		Battle of Marathon?
	Death of Amasis (Aahmes II).		Battle of the Helorus. Hippocrates prevented from seizing Syracuse by joint intervention of Corinth and Corcyra.
<b>525</b>	Battle of Pelusium and conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.		Beginning of Roman-Volscean wars (for 50 years).
	Aeschylus born (d. 456).	<b>490</b>	Battle of Marathon (traditional date).
<b>523</b>	Death of Polycrates.	<b>488</b>	Rome: Legend of Coriolanus.
<b>522</b>	Death of Cambyses.	<b>486</b>	Egyptian revolt from Persia.
	Persian succession claimed by Darius Hystaspis and Pseudo-Smerdis.		Roman League with Hernicans.
	Pindar born (d. c. 442).		Death of Darius. Accession of Xerxes.
<b>521</b>	Darius established as Great King.	<b>485</b>	Gelon, who has succeeded Hippocrates at Gela, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse.
<b>520</b>	Carthaginians conquer Sardinia.	<b>484</b>	Suppression of Egyptian revolt.
<b>517</b>	Darius in Egypt.		Birth of Herodotus.
<b>514</b>	Hipparchus assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogeiton.	<b>482</b>	Great naval development at Athens, by Themistocles.
	Thracian and Trans-Danube expedition of Darius.	<b>480</b>	Preparations of Xerxes. Gelon rejects overtures from Greece.
	Histiaeus of Miletus.		Battles of Artemisium and Thermopylae (Aug.).
<b>510</b>	Expulsion of the Peisistratidae, with Spartan support. Athens enters Peloponnesian League.		Evacuation of Attica.
	Rome expels the Kings and establishes the Republic (the 'Regifugium').		Battle of Salamis (Sept.).
<b>509</b>	Reputed first treaty between Rome and Carthage.		Euripides born.
	Wars for the restoration of Etruscan supremacy at Rome for several years.		Carthaginian project of Sicilian conquest. Gelon refuses aid to Greeks against Persia.
<b>508</b>	Democratic constitution of Cleisthenes.		Battle of Himera (Sept.).
<b>506</b>	Athenians defeat Chalcidians and Boeotians.	<b>479</b>	Battles of Plataea and Mycale.
<b>505</b>	Plots of Aristagoras of Miletus.		Renewed Ionian revolt against Persia.
<b>501</b>	Reforms of Confucius in the province of Lu.		Greeks attack the Hellespont. Peloponnesians withdraw.
<b>500</b>	Cleander tyrant of Gela.	<b>478</b>	Capture of Sestus.
			Delian Confederation inaugurated by Athens.
			Hieron succeeds Gelon at Syracuse.
			Death of Confucius.
		<b>474</b>	Destruction of Etruscan sea power by Hieron, at battle of Cumae.

## Chronicle IV

# PERSIA AND GREECE IN COLLISION: 550—478 B.C.

**F**ROM the middle of the sixth century B.C. to the end of the first quarter of the fifth, the supreme, but by no means the sole, interest lies in the rise of the new Persian Empire and its collision with the Greeks, the first armed conflict between East and West.

For East and West have at last come into full contact. Hitherto they have been developing almost though not completely apart. Now they meet, each of them at a height of its own specific development which has in some respects never been surpassed, except, perhaps, in the hundred years immediately following. And because they meet in hostility, the conflict is one of the most momentous in the world's history.

But we are in face of something more than this Oriental reorganization and its clash with the younger world of the West. Our horizon has already widened, bringing a farther East and a farther West into our purview. Carthage as well as Greater Greece is in contact with the farther West, which as yet means, in effect, Italy. Persia, eastward, is coming in contact with India, and a remote China is now recognizable.

The farthest East, however, will not for some time to come demand the close attention of the chronicler, though religious questions must be studied in Chapter 40. From Japanese legend the most we can infer is that the Japanese race was making its way into the great eastern islands before or during the sixth century B.C.

### First Glimpses of the Farther East

**B**UT in the period of which we have now to speak the history of China emerges out of legendary obscurity. For the life of the most famous of Chinamen, K'ung Futzze, whom the West knows as Confucius, exactly coincides with it; and the records compiled by him remain a Chinese classic. Something in the nature of a Chinese state and an advanced civilization had been in existence for two thousand years or more.

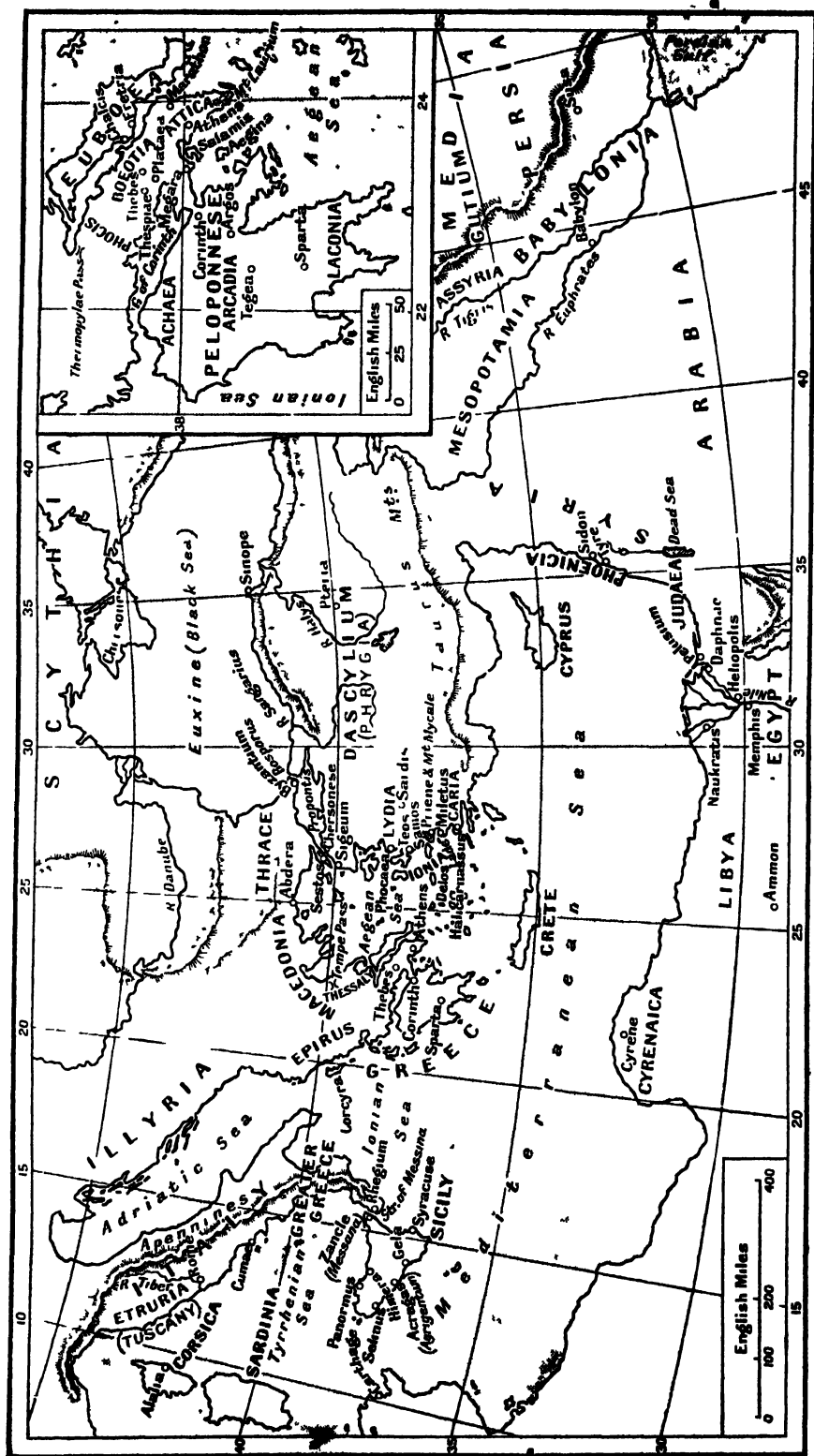
When Confucius was born in 551 B.C., the third of the three 'ancient' dynasties, the house of Chou, had already held the imperial throne for nearly six hundred years, and was to retain it for nearly three hundred more. But the vast territory, isolated from the rest of the world by geographical barriers, neither influenced it nor was influenced by it; not touching it at all save in relations with India, itself only a degree less isolated.

### Rise of Cyrus the Persian

**A**BOUT the year 550 B.C., Cyrus the Persian, king of Anshan, of the house of Achaemenes which had ruled among the Persians for four generations, seized the crown of Media from his reputed kinsman Astyages, and united the kindred peoples of the Medes and Persians under his sway. There was no conquest of the Medes by the Persians, who had recognized the overlordship of the Median dynasty; but a Persian dynasty took the place of the Median. To the western world, Mede and Persian became equivalent terms, except in respect of the specifically Persian troops, which enjoyed a high reputation.

Assyria had perished some sixty years before. From its ashes had arisen the new Babylonian Empire of Nebuchadrezzar, but that empire's vitality departed with his death; its sceptre was now in the hands of Nabonidus, a scholar, a dilettante, who left the business of government mainly to his far from competent son Belshazzar, while his antiquarian unorthodoxy vexed the souls of the Babylonians. In all Syria no prince had arisen to undertake the part once played so efficiently by Ben-Hadad of Damascus and afterwards so inefficiently by the kings of Israel or Judah, all of whose kingdoms had been wiped out.

Egypt as a military power was effete; dependent for fighting purposes mainly on troops of foreign mercenaries, whose valour could be more relied upon than the



**MAP TO ILLUMINATE THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE FORCES OF ORIENTALISM**

Century by century as communications developed and territorial ambitions increased, the collision of the Oriental empires with the growing civilization of the West became imminent. In the sixth century B.C. the Persians were to reach the Aegean and establish their dominion over the Ionian cities; the Greeks had gone west to Sicily; Carthage had in its turn pioneered a western policy and all the Aegean communities were restless. Here then is the stage set for the great Persian invasion of Greece in the early years of the fifth century, and the contemporary struggle between Greeks and Carthaginians in Sicily.

## Persia and Greece in Collision

fidelity of their officers. Long ago she had been contemptuously described as a broken reed which would only pierce the hand of him who leaned on it for support; and she had fully justified that gibe at every opportunity.

On the other hand, to the west of Media, herself little more than half a century old as an effective power, another power had grown up during the same period on the ruins of Phrygia, separated from Media by the agreed boundary of the river Halys, overlapping and considerably influenced by the Hellenic world beyond. But the capacities of Lydia were still untested. And the Hellenic world was as yet known to the East, with which it was now linked by Lydia, mainly as a nursery of mercenary soldiers for the armies of Egypt.

Such was the world upon which Cyrus the Achaemenid looked, when he made himself the first 'King of the Medes and Persians,' the 'Great King.' The old empires would never revive; who, if anyone, was to enter on their inheritance? It was a world that for its own part viewed the new northern monarchy with acute suspicion.

It is manifest that the personality of Cyrus made a tremendous impression on his contemporaries. Bred in the remote obscurity of the Persian highlands, legends gathered about his birth and upbringing. He was the child of destiny, miraculously preserved at birth from the doom his grandfather Astyages had prepared for the expected babe, and reared in obscurity till his identity was revealed. The tradition of his training was idealised a century and a half later by Xenophon, the soldier



**CYRUS THE GREAT**

Military genius and humanity were his attributes; but this winged figure on a bas-relief from Pasargadae, with head-dress of goats' horns and solar disks, show him in his divine capacity.

*From Dieulafoy, 'L'Art antique en Perse'*

pupil of Socrates; and in all the legend of Cyrus the humanity of the man is a conspicuous feature. We may credit as much or as little of such tales as we please; but the fact of his humanity is convincingly attested by his statesmanship, in noble contrast to the old Assyrian ruthlessness, which the last Babylonian empire had by no means discarded.

When Cyrus dethroned Astyages, he spared the old king's life. In effecting the revolution, he undoubtedly had the support of a substantial body of Median nobles, though it may well be that for the next two years he did not feel his authority fully established. At any rate, it was not from him that the first aggressive movement came.

Croesus of Lydia perceived a menace. His father had fought, but finally concluded a treaty of peace and alliance, with the father of Astyages; their friendly relations had been maintained, and the royal houses were closely connected by marriage. Could those relations be continued with the supplanter of Astyages? Since the Median war the power of Lydia had increased materially; if another fight with Media was imminent, it would be better to strike before the new kingdom was consolidated. He tried to awaken Nabonidus and Amasis of Egypt to the common menace, and procured an anti-Persian alliance with them and with Sparta. But before his allies were ready to move, Croesus, beguiled by a rather obviously ambiguous oracle, flung down the challenge to Cyrus by crossing the Halys early in 546 and seizing Pteria.

Cyrus took the field. An indecisive battle, followed by no active move on the



## Chronicle IV. 550-478 B.C.

part of Cyrus, induced Croesus to withdraw to his western capital at Sardis and send an urgent summons to his allies for a spring campaign. But the Persian gave him no time. He swooped on Sardis, captured it and took the king prisoner. Greek tradition says that he treated his captive generously after a divinely frustrated attempt to burn him alive, another, that he put him to death. In either case he turned Lydia into a Persian province. The Ionian cities which had submitted to the suzerainty of the half Hellenised Croesus were disposed to resist the conqueror but were soon induced by force or by diplomacy to bow to the inevitable. Spartan envoys forbade the Great King to interfere with the Hellenes as 'they would not permit it, but Sparta took no further action and Cyrus took no further notice. Egypt and Babylon sat still.

### Babylon becomes a Persian City

**A**GAIN there was a pause. Probably Cyrus found or foresaw troubles on his eastern border from the ferment among the nomads of those regions we hear of him in conflict with the Sacae and Bactrians. Then in 540 he turned on Babylon. The government of Nabonidus was not popular in Babylonia, it was well understood that the conquest of Lydia had brought upon the conquered nothing worse than a change of masters since the

populations had been subjected to none of the accustomed penalties. For the Babylonian dynasty no Daniel was needed to interpret the writing on the wall. When Cyrus swept down on Babylon, half the population looked on him not as an enemy but as a liberator. Gobryas, the Babylonian governor of Gutium, captured the great city for him before his arrival in person, and put Belshazzar to death, though Nabonidus himself was spared. There may or may not be truth in the legend that the city was taken by diverting the waters of the great river that flowed through it so that the army marched in waist deep on the bed of it.

However that may be in 539 after a very brief campaign, to the new empire of Persia Media and Lydia Cyrus had added all the Asiatic territories over which the mightiest of the ancient empires had ever held sway. Of all those who had boasted themselves lords of the world, not one, from the half mythical Sargon of Agade to Nebuchadrezzar had held effective rule beyond the mountains of the Taurus on one side and the Zagros on the other. Cyrus was master of all from the shores of the Aegean to the Caspian, and from the Euxine to the deserts of Arabia. Twelve years before he had been only the obscure king of Anshan.

It was a tremendous achievement, though it had no doubt been made

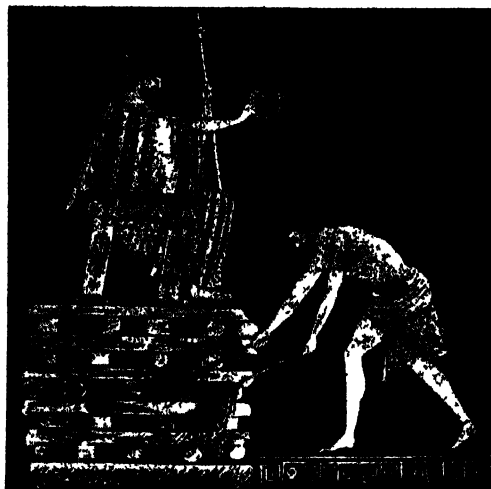


**LYDIAN MOUNTED SOLDIERS SUCH AS WERE DEFEATED BY CYRUS**

Lydian armies in the sixth century were dominating Anatolia. The three soldiers here depicted are well seated on stout horses, carry a spear and, on the back perhaps a quiver. It is uncertain whether they are wearing helmets because of the mutilated condition of the heads. Nevertheless the evidence of this marble bas relief, part of a frieze from Sardis warrants the conclusion that, in these warriors, Cyrus met no unworthy foe when he came into conflict with Croesus of Lydia.

*British Museum*

## Persia and Greece in Collision



### CROESUS THE LAST LYDIAN KING

A red-figured amphora of Attic work, c. 500 B.C., in the Louvre, shows Croesus on the burning pyre after his defeat. Herodotus adorns the tale and points the moral of unstable fortune.

*Abb. v. F. Ertwangler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

comparatively easy by the factions which had given him their support and welcome in the conquered states; but Cyrus was more than a great conqueror—he was a great king. The new regime was not merely accepted; it was welcomed. In the ten years that remained to Cyrus after he became King of Babylon, no revolt was raised throughout his vast dominion. No doubt his subjects had a wholesome fear of his power, but they had no reason to dread his cruelty. There were no flayings, no massacres, no deportations. On the contrary, the populations deported by Assyrians or Babylonians were, so far as practicable, restored to their old homes. The gods whom previous conquerors had been wont to carry off were returned to their old shrines. Everywhere the renewal of the ancient rites was permitted. A universal clemency and toleration took the place of the old universal terror.

Cyrus made no move against Egypt. For the last ten years of his life he was concerned not with further expansion but

with the security of his eastern border against the incursions of the wild nomad tribes; and it was during the campaign against them that he met his death in 529 B.C., in some way that is not known.

He left two sons: Cambyses, his heir, and Smerdis, the latter of whom, with or without excuse, was secretly put to death by his elder brother.

For Cambyses, the immediate object of ambition was the conquest of Egypt. But the accession of a new ruler in such circumstances was bound to be attended by the possibility at least of disturbances, demanding vigilance, and the frontier trouble was made the more pressing by the death of Cyrus. Four years passed before the Persian picked a quarrel with Aahmes (Amasis), who died himself while Cambyses was preparing for the campaign.

### Cambyses becomes Pharaoh

Now Egypt had enjoyed material prosperity under his long reign of forty-four years, but its fundamental weakness had been rather intensified. The mercenaries were still its effective army, and they were still—mercenaries. Their good will was precarious, and the favour shown to them by the court was resented by the Egyptians. One of their captains—Phanes of Halicarnassus—deserted, and offered



### TOMB OF CYRUS AT PASARGADAE

Diverse opinions as to the purpose of this limestone monument in the old Persian capital are held. Some have thought that it was a fire-temple; but most probably it is the Great King's tomb. Ionian influence in the architecture is also suspected from certain structural details, but the claim is ill founded.

*From Dieulafoy, 'L'Art antique en Perse'*

## Chronicle IV. 550-478 B.C.

his services, which his knowledge of the conditions rendered invaluable, to Cambyses. Amasis had hoped to ensure command of the sea, in the inevitable conflict with Persia, through his old ally Polycrates the tyrant of Samos, but the new pharaoh (Psammetichus III) found that Polycrates had transferred his friendship to Persia.

Advised by Phanes, Cambyses procured from the local chiefs the provision of an adequate water supply for the march through the southern desert. When his army reached the frontier fort of Pelusium, a single sanguinary battle sufficed to decide the fate of Egypt, though the fortresses at Memphis and Heliopolis offered a stubborn but brief resistance. In the spring of 525 Egypt was annexed to the Persian empire.

Cyrus, when he conquered Babylon had assumed the ancient crown with the religious rites of the ancient kingdom, untroubled by the fact that that religion was not his own. Cambyses in Egypt followed the example and was proclaimed Pharaoh as though he had been an orthodox worshipper of Amen without

any idea of disloyalty to his own Zoroastrian faith; a course which no Assyrian had dreamed of adopting, but one to which in fact the Persian dynasty owed much of its stability.

All at first seemed to go well, then came disappointment and disaster. Carthage was the next objective, but the Phoenician sailors flatly refused to sail against their kinsmen and the project in consequence had to be abandoned. Cambyses desired to possess himself of the Oasis of Ammon—a great expedition was dispatched thither, but was totally obliterated by desert sandstorms and was never seen or heard of again. He led a greater expedition in person to crush the Nubian kingdom of Napata, but his convoys were cut off and a starving army had to struggle back through the foodless region of the upper cataracts. Then says the Greek historian Cambyses went mad and committed frenzied outrages against the religion he had at first sought to conciliate and its deities, as no doubt they now seemed to him.

### Death of King Cambyses

ON the top of all this came news of a Persian revolt engineered by the adherents of the old Magian religion in antagonism to the Zoroastrianism of the Achaemenids. They had proclaimed a sham Smerdis king. Persian authority was thoroughly established in Egypt—thirty years passed before it was again challenged—and Cambyses started for the north with a portion of his army and some leading nobles among whom was his distant cousin the Achaemenid Darius the son of Hystaspes to crush the pretender. On the way somewhere in Syria the king died suddenly. The army went on taking the dead body with them. The impostor retired from Susa to Media where the Magians were stronger than in Persia. Thither he was pursued, surprised and run to earth by Darius, with six companions, all Persians, who slew him.

Of the house of Cyrus there was none left. But Darius and his now aged father Hystaspes, who was reigning as sub king in Khorassan, the cradle of Zoroastrianism, were the representatives of the junior



**TOMB OF KING CAMBYES**

Solid below this tower at Pasargadae stood 23 feet square and 39 feet high. The upper part contained a chamber placed 16 feet from the ground and reached by a flight of steps.

*From Dittiajoy. L'Art antique en Perse.*

## Persia and Greece in Collision

branch of the house of Achaemenes ; and the crown of Cyrus was set on the head of Darius (522 B.C.).

**T**HE creation of the vast Persian empire had been the work of a single man. It combined under a single ruler many peoples and kingdoms never before united. His son had added Egypt to a dominion already of unprecedented magnitude, and died within eight years, leaving no heir with a clear title to the succession ; Darius could at best claim no more than to be the nearest of kin, with a vigorous Persian backing. If in such circumstances he had merely succeeded in preventing the disruption of the empire it would have been a notable achievement ; but he did very much more. He gave it an organization which enabled it to endure undiminished for two hundred years.

In two years Darius established himself so firmly on the imperial throne that no serious revolt occurred till another twenty years had passed. In those first two years he had many revolts on his hands. Medes revolted, hoping to recover Median ascendancy over the Persians. Persians revolted, in the belief that a grandson of the great Cyrus was still alive. Babylonians and Armenians both revolted, dreaming of recovering their independence. There were signs that officers of the empire itself, the satraps of Egypt and Lydia, had ambitious thoughts of setting up independent kingdoms. The only troops on which the new king could place implicit reliance were the Persians, led by those Persian



**KING DARIUS WITH CROWN**

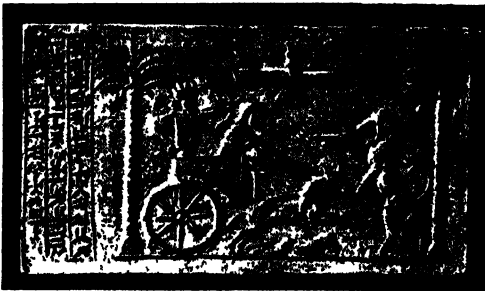
Merciless to those who defied authority, Darius yet combined the qualities of humanity with wise statesmanship. To him were due the reform of the satrapies, a postal system, a uniform coinage and Persia's naval prestige.

*By permission of Trustees of British Museum*

nobles whose loyalty was never in doubt—forces that sometimes had to be distributed to deal with enemies in quarters far apart. But in two years he had disposed of all the overt rebels ; between whom, fortunately, there was no concerted action.

In the course of the next three years Oroites, the too independent satrap at Sardis, was suppressed and executed. The same fate befell Aryandes, the satrap of Egypt. At the same time Darius took measures to conciliate the Egyptian sentiment outraged by Cambyses in the days of his fury, assuming the pharaonic titles and dignity with all due religious ceremony, reinstating despoiled temples and raising new shrines.

By 517 Darius was the accepted and unchallenged lord of the entire civilized world in Asia and Africa, except that Carthage was beyond his range. His attempts at wider conquest were merely experimental, and were not followed up. He was in face of the eternal problem that presents itself to every civilized state with predatory and uncivilized peoples on its border,\* whose attacks must be held in check. Were they to be forcibly annexed ; or was the frontier to be merely policed ?



**CYLINDER SEAL OF DARIUS**

The king hunts lions among palm trees. His name is inscribed in Persian, Susian and Babylonian. Above appears the symbol of Ahuramazda, the national god, in a winged disk.

*British Museum*

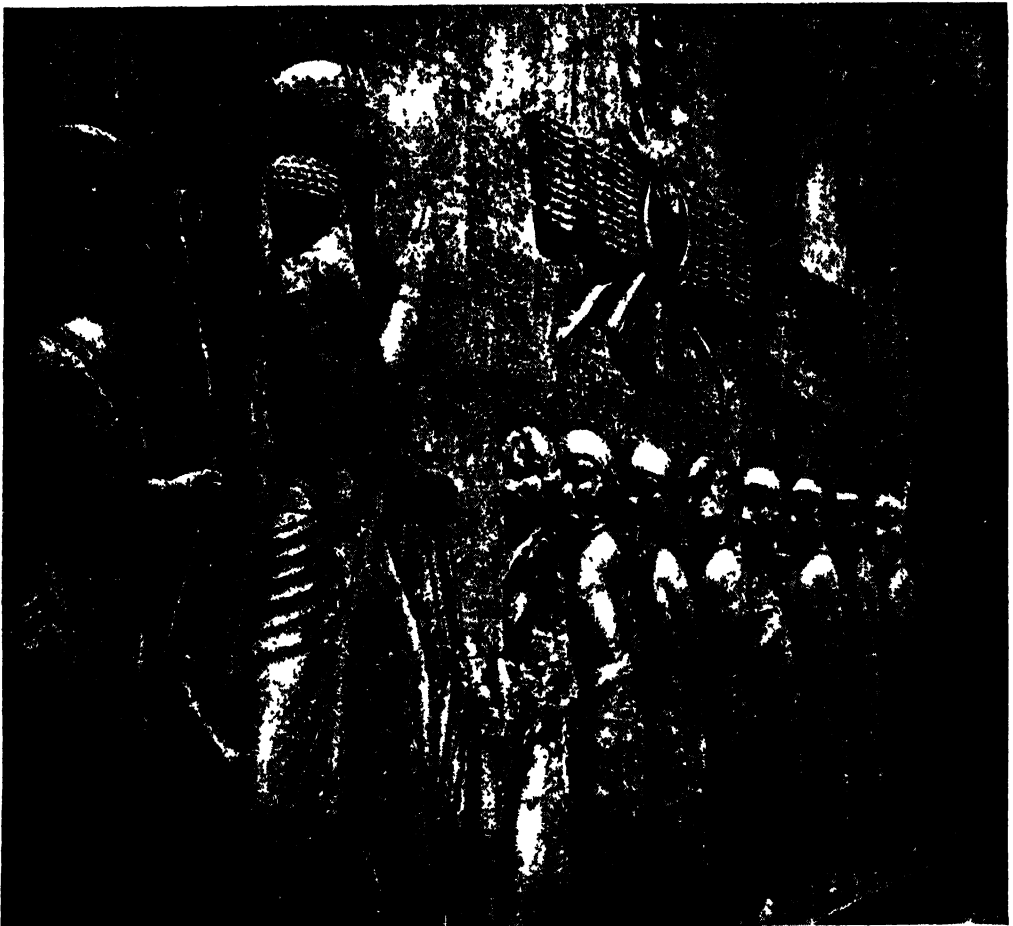
## Chronicle IV. 550-478 B.C.

**T**HERE was certainly at some time an easterly expedition, probably a prolonged one ; since the mountain barrier of India was penetrated and the Persian claimed to have conquered 'India.' That, however, probably meant no more than that princes on the right bank of the Indus paid a tribute. The Aryan Hindus had by this date long established their dominion over all northern India, as well as a fairly complete religious and political ascendancy in the south. Hindu kingdoms covered the Punjab and the Ganges basin ; and it was probably in this century—the dates are very uncertain—that an Indian prince

resigned his crown to be the founder of Buddhism (see Chap. 40).

But of all this the western records tell us nothing, and of a Persian conquest the Indian records tell us nothing. It is in fact clear only that Darius did touch the fringe of India, but no more. Nor did he take personal part in the expedition.

His other experiment was unfortunate. In 514 he led an army into Europe across a bridge of boats thrown over the Bosphorus. But the Greeks were not his immediate objective. Ionian cities on the European side were already the vassals of Persia as the heir of Lydia. He marched through



### DARIUS CELEBRATES HIS TRIUMPH OVER TEN REBEL CHIEFS

The king, right hand raised, with two attendants (one shown), gives thanks to the god Ahura-mazda for victory, after two years of revolt, over Gaumata—prostrate underfoot—and the nine satraps roped together: Atrina of Susa ; Nidintu-Bel of Babylon ; Phraortes of Media ; Martiza of Susa ; Citrantakhama of Sagartia ; Vahyazdada, second pseudo-Smerdis ; Arakha of Babylon ; Frada of Margiana ; and Skunkha the Scythian. The sculptures are on the Rock of Behistun (see page 1129).

*By permission of Trustees of British Museum*

## Persia and Greece in Collision

Thrace to the Danube and crossed it into Scythian territory. There he suffered what all armies have suffered in attempting to penetrate Russia. An extremely mobile enemy kept out of reach but cut off all his supplies. He could only struggle back to the Danube with little more than the wreck of an army.

The Ionian contingent had been left in charge of the bridge, but had not adopted the suggestion claimed for Miltiades—tyrant of the Chersonese, but an Athenian noble—that they should quit their post; which would have involved the total annihilation of Darius and his force. So Darius escaped, unconscious of the contemplated treason. He left a force in Thrace, however, under Megabazus, to convince the regional chiefs that all peoples must own allegiance to the Great King.

These are the features of the enterprise as related from a Greek point of view. But the presumption is that the subjugation of Thrace, which was actually effected, was the main object in view, while investigation rather than conquest—like Caesar's invasion of Britain—was the purpose of the excursion across the Danube.

**T**HERE were no more such experiments. Conquest engaged the attention of Darius less than the vast imperial system, which he developed no doubt from the organization created by Cyrus. This, however, is an aspect of the reign which is dealt with in Chapter 37. The next stage in the story of the Persian Empire is the staying of its expansion by the Greeks.

One portion of the Hellenic world lay actually within the confines of the Persian empire. All the 'Ionic' cities—Dorian and Aeolian as well as Ionians proper—in Asia Minor and on the Propontis, with the



**SCYTHIAN REBEL**

Skunkha was a Scythian chief who revolted against Darius on his accession but, with the other rebel satraps, was defeated and taken prisoner

*British Museum*

exception of Miletus which retained its independence by treaty, had submitted to the Lydian overlordship under which their self-government—generally in the form of a 'tyrannis'—had not been interfered with. When Croesus was overthrown by Cyrus, they had striven to recover their independence; but as they persistently acted individually instead of concertedly, Harpagus, the lieutenant of Cyrus, had no serious difficulty in reducing them, while Miletus came in of its own accord.

The people of Phocaea and Teos abandoned their homes rather than remain as the slaves of the barbarian, the Phocaeans sailing away to the west (see page 1094) while the Teans planted themselves at Abdera on the Thracian coast. Bias, the sage of Priene, urged that Ionia should migrate en masse to Sardinia; Thales, the sage of Miletus, who had foretold the eclipse of 585, proposed union under one central government; but the wisdom of neither prevailed.

So Ionia was absorbed and subjected to tribute and military service, but remained as Ionic as before. The major part of it was included in the satrapy of Lydia or Sardis, the more northerly in that of Phrygia or Dascylium; for details concerning the organization of the Empire into satrapies, see Chapter 37. The several Ionian despots or tyrants secured their own authority by making friends with their respective satraps, who naturally preferred dealing with autocrats rather than democracies or oligarchical groups. Thus when, as related above, Miltiades proposed the liberation of Ionia by cutting Darius off in Scythia, the plan was rejected at the instance of Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, who preferred the security of his tyranny to the 'liberation of Hellas.'

## Chronicle IV. 550-478 B.C.

The island of Samos suffered a peculiar fate. It was never subject to Lydia, and under its tyrant Polycrates was a formidable sea power. Polycrates deserted his old alliance with the Egyptian Amasis, and offered his friendly services to Cambyses, but was soon after treacherously trapped and murdered by the ambitious satrap Oroites when Darius was fighting for his crown. Samos detested the able but ruthless tyranny under which it had prospered and suffered; the dead man's brother Syloson was expelled. But when Oroites was put to death, Syloson appealed to Darius, and was reinstated as the vassal of the Great King, though only after the population had been almost exterminated. At the time when Polycrates 'Medised' and associated himself with Cambyses Sparta had been persuaded to send an unaccustomed naval expedition to 'overthrow the tyranny'; but its mismanagement and failure confirmed in her a permanent distaste for the naval operations which were not in conformity with her peculiar military system.

The despot system was convenient for the Persian government and was therefore upheld by it; but nearly every state would have welcomed the chance of ridding itself of its tyrant—and the Persian government was in general the supreme though not the only obstacle. The Persian government stood for the tyrannies. It was that fact which provided the tinder when the disappointed ambitions of a despot led him to kindle the flame of the Ionian revolt that opened the secular struggle between East and West.

### Political Events in Mainland Greece

**I**N the Greek peninsula Sparta, before the star of Cyrus rose, had already achieved a military pre-eminence which caused Croesus of Lydia to seek her alliance as the premier state of Hellas. That pre-eminence was confirmed by a war with Tegea, in Arcadia, which left the victory with Sparta after a severe struggle. Tegea (c. 560-550) became a vassal state, bound to render Sparta military service without losing her individuality.

The seal was set upon the Spartan ascendancy by a final conflict with and

victory over her constant rival in the Peloponnese, Argos, at the beginning of the next decade. Actual territorial annexation was not, after the Messenian wars, a part of the Lacedaemonian policy; Sparta's aim was not empire but 'hegemony'—to be the acknowledged captain of the Hellenes, not the direct ruler of Hellas. Incidentally, a captain is apt to assume the rôle of a dictator, though in theory as the champion of public right.

It was in this character that Sparta intervened in other states to aid in the suppression of tyrants; it might be unsuccessfully, as in the case of Polycrates of Samos, or with the credit of a liberator where the tyrant's position was already precarious. But the effective hegemony was established by the gradual growth of the system of alliances known as the Peloponnesian League.

### Objects of the Peloponnesian League

NE state after another in the Peloponnese or even outside it became, not in the strict sense a member of the league, but an ally of 'the Lacedaemonians,' the two parties being mutually bound to make no attack on each other and to render each other aid when attacked. The states of the group were not in form allied together, but were all the allies of Sparta. The effective predominance of the position thus secured to Sparta is obvious. When the league took action, it was as 'the Lacedaemonians and their allies.' If its troops took the field, they were under Spartan command and no member of the league would act against them. Within the Peloponnese, Achaea, the non-Dorian strip on the south shore of the gulf of Corinth, was left out because Sparta had no need of her; and Argos stood apart in jealous isolation.

The two states on the Isthmus, Corinth and Megara, were both in the league; and we shall find even Athens herself becoming a member for a time. She had not yet risen to such power as to make her Sparta's rival for the hegemony; the neighbouring island of Aegina was the ally of Sparta's enemy Argos, and was also the commercial rival of Corinth and the age-long foe of Athens; so that policy

## Persia and Greece in Collision

encouraged friendly relations between those two states and Sparta.

Athens as yet was only one among several cities that had equal claim to recognition as being in the first rank, the pre-eminence of Sparta being admitted. Though a commercial and maritime state, she had not yet realized that the sea was to be the base of her power. Her democratic development—and she was far from having arrived at pure democracy—is of special interest, because, politically speaking, Athens was not the city but all Attica, so that there were regional diversities of interest to be accommodated as well as those common to other cities; these matters, however, are more fully treated in Chapter 36.

Here we must recall three leading features of the history of Athens in the first half of the sixth century: the movement towards a democratic instead of an aristocratic constitution inaugurated by the reforms of Solon; the annexation to Athens of the island of Salamis, as the outcome of a victorious war with Megara; and the success of Peisistratus, the hero of the war, in making himself tyrant.

### Aristocracy versus Democracy

**A** COMBINATION of the aristocratic party of 'the Plain' with one of the two democratic parties, 'the Coast,' which was led by Megacles the Alcmaeonid, head of a leading but turbulent family, expelled Peisistratus after five years; five years later a reconciliation with Megacles effected a brief restoration; a fresh quarrel brought a second exile for ten years. But the third faction, 'the Mountain', which had originally brought him into power, still adhered to him; and when, in 540, he reappeared in Attica with a force of mercenaries supplied by the friends abroad whom he had been assiduously cultivating, his second restoration was effected without difficulty. The Alcmaeonids were exiled with their adherents. The tyranny was thoroughly established. Peisistratus himself reigned for another twelve years, and eighteen more passed before the expulsion of his son Hippias.

Peisistratus was a despot who ruled under the forms and through the machinery

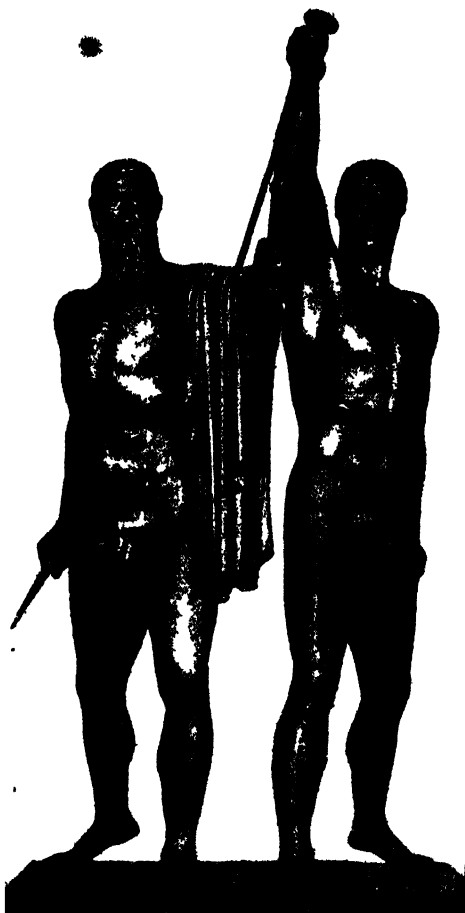
of the Solonian constitution, and in popular as against aristocratic interests. Abroad he was a skilful diplomatist who was able to maintain friendly relations with both Argos and Sparta. He was a notable patron of art and literature. But perhaps his most important contribution to the power of Athens lay in his securing for her a dominant position on the Propontis; where the Athenian noble Miltiades—the father of the Miltiades whom we have met—became 'tyrant' of the Chersonese by invitation of the local Thracian tribe, the Dolonci—the tyrant being accompanied by a band of Athenian colonists. Sigeum on the Asiatic side had been already secured by the energy of Peisistratus.

Much misplaced sentiment has been lavished on the story of the expulsion of the Peisistratids. Hippias ruled as a despot, but by no means tyrannically, for some fourteen years. An entirely personal quarrel, wholly discreditable to all the persons concerned, arose between the tyrant's brother Hipparchus and two of his associates, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who resolved to assassinate the brothers, of course in the name of Liberty, at the Panathenaic festival. They only succeeded in killing Hipparchus, and turning Hippias into a frightened and therefore a cruel tyrant; whereby he sealed the doom of tyranny in Athens. Four years later the Athenians, with the aid of the Spartan king Cleomenes, drove the tyrant and his family into exile, to find an asylum within the realms of the Great King (510 B.C.).

### Athens Won for Democracy

**C**LEOMENES had intervened mainly at the instance of the Delphic Oracle, doubtless influenced by the exiled Alcmaeonids, for whose return the expulsion of their enemies the Peisistratids opened the way. For a time Athens became a member of the Peloponnesian league. Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, returned to lead the Alcmaeonid party; the party conflicts, repressed under the tyranny, revived. Despite the ill-advised intervention of the Spartan king, with support from both Thebes and Chalcis, in the domestic





#### ATHENIAN POLITICAL MURDERERS

Hipparchus, brother of Hippias the Tyrant, was slain in 514 B.C. by Harmodius (sword raised) and Aristogeiton, and the Athenians erected the group, of which this is a copy, as a political memorial to the 'Liberators.'

*After the restoration by Michailis at Strasbourg*

affairs of an allied state, the victory fell to Cleisthenes, who carried those constitutional reforms, discussed in Chapter 36, which made the Athenian state the type of democracy (c. 506). Sparta herein displayed the bias which was always to be dominant in her policy, as in that of Thebes, of supporting aristocratic against democratic factions.

The outcome of the Theban intervention was the separation of the little city of Plataea, by the help of Athens, whose devoted ally she remained thenceforth, from the Boeotian confederacy headed by Thebes, of which she had been a most reluctant member. The whole episode

was somewhat humiliating for Sparta, and did not tend, as at first had seemed likely, to increase the cordiality of her relations with the rising state.

In Italy and Sicily the cities, no less than in the east, tended to fall into the control of tyrants; among whom Phalaris of Agragas (Agrigentum) achieved a proverbial reputation for barbarous cruelty, about the middle of the century. There were the usual rivalries among the cities but no marked ascendancy until, at the beginning of the fifth century, Gelon established himself as tyrant of Syracuse, which from that time outshone its neighbours and played the leading part in the impending struggle with Carthage.

This Phoenician power materially strengthened its position in the western quarter of Sicily during the third quarter of the sixth century; whereas the colonising adventures of Greeks—of Dorieus, the half brother of the Spartan king Cleomenes, in particular—in the Carthaginian sphere of influence have an interest which is merely romantic. The most notable events of the half century, however, took place farther afield even than Sicily.

The sea power of Carthaginians and Etruscans combined to thrust out the intrusion of the Greeks. The Phocaeans of Ionia, who had already planted a colony at Alalia in Corsica, emigrated in a body to escape subjection to Persia, hoping to make of Corsica a new Phocaea; but a desperate sea fight with the combined navies of the Etruscans and Carthaginians off Alalia proved so costly that they were obliged to abandon Corsica, of which the Etruscans took possession (535), while the Phocaeans moved on to found Massalia (Marseilles). The Carthaginians annexed Sardinia.

THE other event of primary importance was in Italy itself. In 510, the Roman aristocrats expelled the reigning dynasty of the Tarquins, which was Etruscan, and established an aristocratic commonwealth or republic—the year that Athens expelled the Peisistratids. The picturesque legends concerning the expulsion, which became a part of the creed of every Roman and of the literature of the world, probably con-

## Persia and Greece in Collision

tained a quite substantial element of truth. Rome under able if unamiable kings was perhaps the most powerful of the states in the Latin league, which were to a great extent dominated, like Rome, by Tuscan or Tuscanising dynasties. The Roman revolution was a heavy set-back for the Etruscan ascendancy; though undoubtedly Rome had to fight hard for many years before she was secure in the liberty she had won. But the 'Regifugium,' the expulsion of the kings, dealt a fatal blow to the threatened domination of Italy by the non-Aryan power. Nevertheless, historical details are still too obscure for Rome to form the subject of a study chapter for some time to come.

### Outbreak of the Ionian Revolt

AT the end of the sixth century Darius, King of Kings, was undisputed lord of the vast empire he had won as the heir of Cambyses the son of Cyrus; an empire enormously wider than any the world had known before. Within its bounds, save on the remote barbaric frontiers, there seemed to be no possibility of dangerous revolt. It must have appeared that in course of time it was inevitably destined to absorb the world; though the only expansion the king himself had sought was the mastery of the Thracian tribes whence, almost within the memory of living men, invading hordes had wrought devastation within what were now the Great King's dominions. Nevertheless, revolt was near.

The revolt was contrived by a tyrant, fomented by the unpopularity of tyranny, and backed by the Hellenes' ingrained passion for political independence.

The ambitions of the tyrant Histiaeus of Miletus aroused the suspicions of a Persian governor; consequently he was inveigled to the court at Susa, the far-away Persian capital, where he was politely detained. His place at Miletus was taken by his son-in-law Aristagoras, who

devised for his own advancement in court favour a scheme for annexing the islands of the Aegean, which he submitted to Artaphernes the satrap at Sardis, who took it up. But the plan miscarried, and in such fashion that all hopes of court favour disappeared. Disappointment suggested a desperate remedy—organized rebellion, with an organized expulsion of tyrants as its preliminary, and a diplomatic campaign in Greece proper to procure armed aid in liberating Hellenes from the 'barbarian' yoke.

The tyrants were duly expelled, Aristagoras resigning his own tyranny. Sparta proved cold or cautious; Athens and Eretria sent squadrons to help the rebellion; the insurgents marched on Sardis (498) and captured the town but not the citadel; and the former Lydian capital was burnt down by a fire accidentally started. The insurgents with their allies went off to the coast, fighting an unsuccessful engagement with some Persian troops on the way; and the Athenians and Eretrians sailed for



### ROMAN LEGEND IN AN ETRUSCAN TOMB

This fourth-century fresco in an Etruscan tomb depicts an episode in the half mythical history of Etruria and Rome. Cneve Tarchu Rumach (upper), that is Gnaeus Tarquinius Romanus, may be Tarquinius Priscus, the first Etruscan king of Rome; another figure (Macstrna), his successor Servius Tullius.

From Rostovtzeff, *The Ancient World: Rome*, Oxford University Press.

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home. Histiaeus, who had been allowed to escape to safe quarters across the sea, later claimed credit as the originator of the whole movement—probably an afterthought on his part. However, as he took to piracy, he was caught and crucified by Artaphernes.

### First Persian Invasion of Greece

**T**HE revolt, which had spread to Caria and Cyprus, was suppressed, not without difficulty. Cyprus was reduced by the Phoenician fleet, which also defeated the fleet of the Ionians at Lade. Miletus, the arch-offender, was heavily smitten after a hard siege. A number of the islands were reduced. The rebels were treated with leniency on the whole.

There conceivably the matter might have ended, but for the original intervention of Athens and Eretria. That was a piece of pure impertinence which the Great King could not pardon. 'Who then are these Athenians?' he asked, as Cyrus had once asked, 'Who then are these Lacedaemonians?' And the exiled Hippias, seeking the countenance of Artaphernes at Sardis, could answer the question.

Darius, says the picturesque tradition, vowed vengeance. Meanwhile, he abolished one of the grievances of the Ionians. The rebellion had been kindled by tyrants, and in place of the tyrannies they were allowed democratic constitutions.

In fact, however, the support given to Greeks who were Persian subjects by Greeks who were not suggested, if it did not impose, the incorporation of Hellas in the Empire. Thrace had seized the opportunity to break away, and the Scythians across the Danube were breaking in. The first step was to re-establish mastery in Thrace and Macedon.

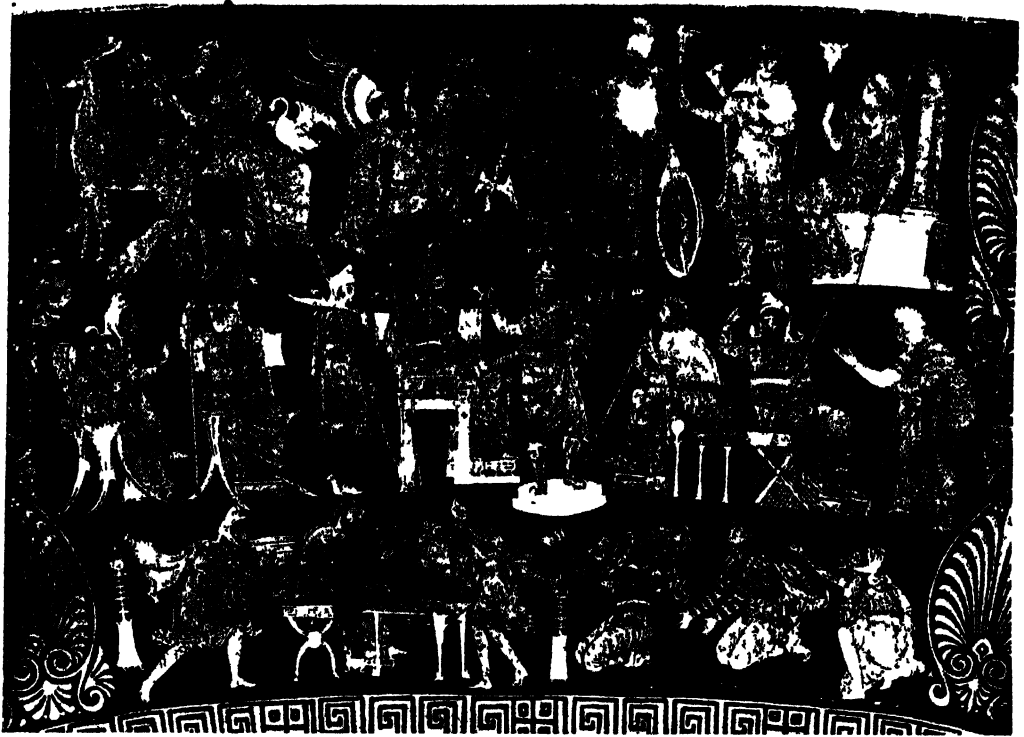
When the last embers of the revolt had been quenched, Darius sent a great expedition to Thrace by land and sea under Mardonius to accomplish this object (492); owing, however, to the destruction of the fleet by storms, it was only in part effected, and Darius decided no longer to deter an expedition against Eretria and Athens.

The punitive force was dispatched straight across the Aegean, preceded by a demand for 'earth and water,' the token of submission, from the free islands and states. The islands that refused were



**PLAIN OF MARATHON WHERE THE GREEKS ROUTED THE PERSIANS**

Early in the fifth century, a Persian army invaded Greece and was met by an Athenian force under Callimachus and Miltiades. The Persians encamped on the coastal plain of Marathon, and the Athenians, outnumbered by three to one at least, faced them from the mouth of a pass. Most of the fighting was on the flanks and eventually the invaders were driven back to their ships with heavy loss; but they were to return in greater strength ten years later.



#### THE TRIUMPH OF EUROPE OVER ASIA SYMBOLISED

Upon a beautiful fourth-century Italo-Greek wine-vessel found at Canusium and preserved at Naples, Darius, the central figure, is seen in this decorative design in consultation with his nobles on the question of preparations for his expedition to Greece. Below, the treasurer collects the war-tax. In the upper row (left) the divine protectors of Greece are shown; to the right sits the personification of Asia led to war by 'Apaté,' goddess of Deceit.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A G*

reduced en route by the fleet. The commanders, Datis and Artaphernes, were accompanied by the old ex-tyrant Hippias, who was to be reinstated in a humiliated Athens. On reaching Euboea the Persians laid siege to Eretria, which resisted stubbornly. Then, by the advice of Hippias, they landed part of their forces under Datis on the northern part of the plain of Marathon in the north-eastern corner of Attica, in order to prevent the Athenians coming to the aid of Eretria.

**S**PARTA had promised Athens her aid—after the full moon; so Athens took the field alone, save that she was joined by a gallant contingent from little Plataea, heroically loyal to her benefactress.

The quickest way from Athens to Euboea cuts across the Attic peninsula to the ferry at Chalcis. The Athenian force, which was presumably marching by this road, suddenly discovered that a Persian

army, perhaps outnumbering them by five to one (though modern computation has reduced the odds to three to two) had occupied the plain of Marathon, whence an easy coast road leads to Athens. Consequently they swung aside to the right and came down on Marathon by a hill path, occupying an impregnable pass overlooking the plain; and the position was stale-mate. The Persians, content in that they had kept the Athenians out of Euboea, and denuded Athens of its defenders, would not attack, but awaited the fall of Eretria; the Athenians were not to be enticed from their position, since every day brought nearer the promised reinforcement from Sparta; and neither side could move without exposing rear or flank to the enemy.

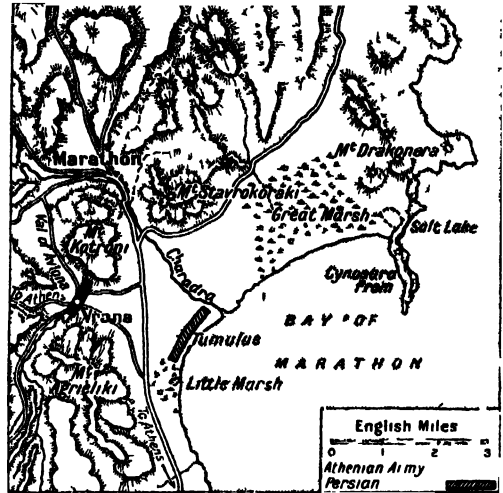
At last news came of the fall of Eretria and the embarkation of Artaphernes for Athens. The Athenians must attack now or never, with or without the Spartans.

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Their spearmen, whose strength had been deliberately or accidentally thrown into the wings, coming to close quarters, charged. Their weakened centre was pushed back, but the wings shattered the Persian line and drove it into the sea. The rest of the Persian army hastily embarked, the ships picking up as many fugitives as could reach them, but leaving more than 6,000 slain on the shore. The Athenian loss was less than two hundred.

The fleet of Artaphernes, joined by Datis sailed round the promontory of Sunium perhaps hoping to find the city undefended, but the victors, marching on the day of the battle were there before them. The Persians not caring to attempt a landing in the circumstances and possibly warned of the belated approach of the Iacadaemonians, gave up the whole adventure and returned to Asia.

The resolution of the Athenians had doubtless been strengthened by the return of Miltiades the persistent foe of Persia, who, having been at least associated with the Ionic revolt, had abandoned the Chersonese. To him the successful and brilliant strategy and tactics adopted at Marathon were attributed, though probably no less credit was due to the polemarch the official commander in chief Callimachus.



PLAN OF MARATHON

The Athenians camped at Vrana the Persians were drawn up in the plain. Both armies closed a road to Athens. When the Greeks attacked their centre gave but their flanks conquered the tumulus covers their heroic dead.

Marathon could be looked upon as no more than an initial defeat for the Persians which would inevitably be followed by an attack on a much greater scale. But it was in actual fact very much more. It was a revelation. Single-handed, the city of Athens had utterly routed a force larger than her own of the picked Persian troops hitherto reputed invincible. The arma-



TUMULUS ON THE PLAIN OF MARATHON COVERING THE HEROIC DEAD

On the south east side of the battle ground near the shore rises the mound wherein lie the remains of 192 Athenians killed in the famous struggle with the Persians. The topographical position may well mark the strategic one where the Athenian centre, thinned by over-extension of the line, broke, but the victorious flanks, instead of plundering the ships, turned inwards and overwhelmed the Persians who were pursuing their comrades inland towards Vrana.

Photo, Mansell

## Persia and Greece in Collision

ment of Greek hoplites had decisively proved its vast superiority to anything the Persians could put in the field. The fact had never been put to the proof before. And it was Athens, not Sparta, that had dared the hazard unaided, and vindicated the superiority of the Hellenes over the Barbarian. By that feat Athens acquired a prestige undreamed of hitherto. However honest were the religious scruples that had delayed the Spartans, the fact remained that they arrived only when the foe was already in full flight, and they could only compliment the Athenians on their prowess and go home.

There could be no doubt, then, in the minds of the Greeks after Marathon, that Persia would ere long set about the punishment of Athens for the reverse she had dared to inflict upon Persian prestige, or that the subjugation of Hellas would be included in her programme, to prevent the repetition of such incidents. Hellas would certainly be absorbed piecemeal, unless by a great co-ordinated effort she could inflict a permanently decisive defeat on the empire which commanded all the resources of Asia. Yet Hellas, a great congeries of small states full of mutual jealousies and clashing interests, each one determined to surrender no fraction of its individual independence, had never shown any disposition and possessed no effective machinery for concerted action on a large scale.

Persia, however, was unable to act at once, trouble having arisen in Egypt which required to be dealt with before the undertaking of a task so serious as the subjugation of Hellas now seemed likely to prove. Her action was further postponed by the death of her great ruler Darius

(486 B.C.) while Egypt was still unsettled; and the task of subduing Hellas was left to his son Xerxes.

The delay made possible an invaluable development at Athens. In the interval she transformed herself from a second-class into a first-class sea power; a development which she owed to the acutest and most brilliant intellect that ever dominated her politics — Themistocles. It was he who realized that in her rivalry with her neighbours the means to ascendancy must be found in a supreme fleet and that the possession of a superior fleet was essential to the defeat of Persia. The fleet that had brought the Persians to Marathon came unopposed and departed un molested: that was



### GREEK EQUIPMENT

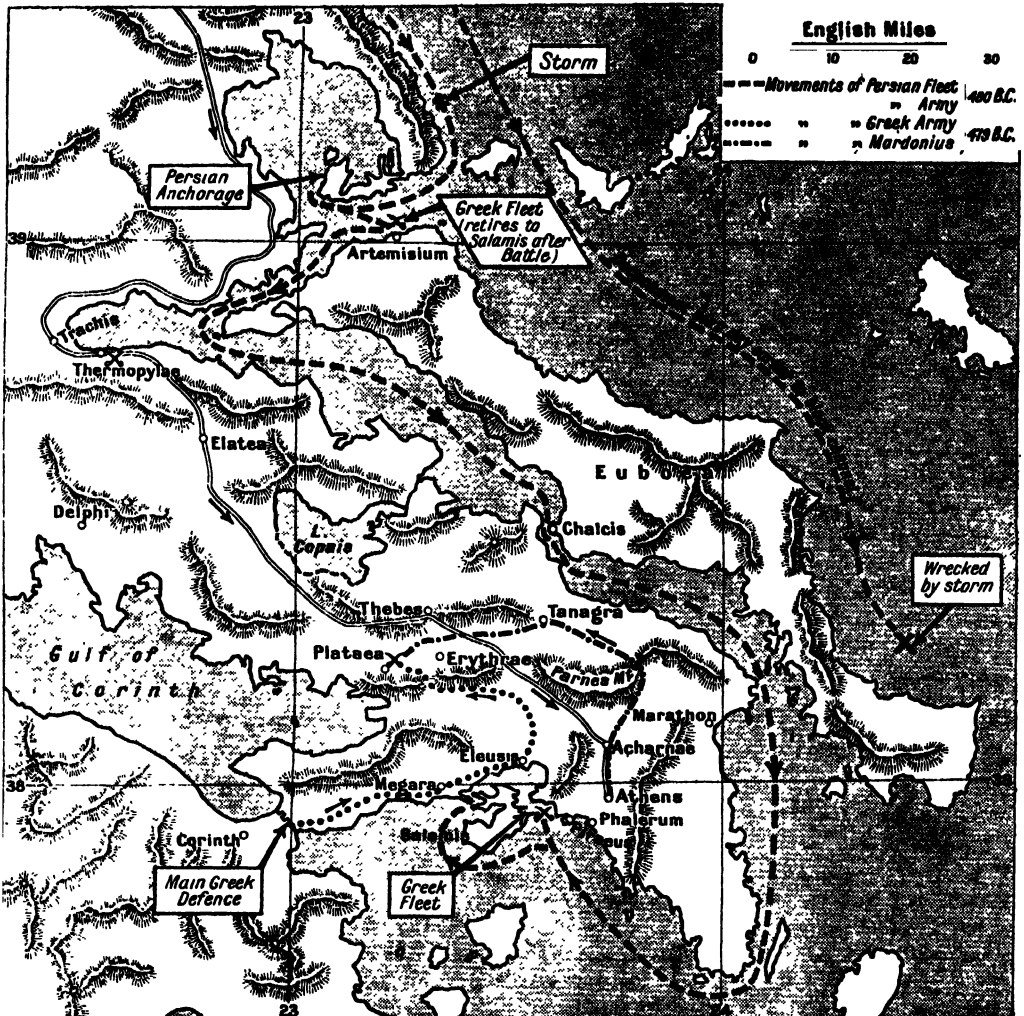
The Greeks owed their victory at Marathon largely to the superior equipment of their heavy-armed soldiers. This bronze statuette from Dodona shows just such a 'hoplite' armed with breastplate, greaves and Bucrotian shield.

*Berlin Museum (cast)*

not to happen again. A windfall—the discovery of a rich vein of silver at Laurium—brought a large sum to the treasury, which instead of being distributed was appropriated to shipbuilding; there was a large sea-going population; and in the ten years after Marathon the actual primacy of the Athenian fleet was admitted.

THE invasion which by this time Xerxes had made ready was on lines no doubt laid down by Darius. A vast army—the error of under-rating the fighting power of the Greeks was not to be repeated—was to march through Thrace, attended by a great fleet. The actual facts were of course exaggerated and most picturesquely adorned by Greek imagination; half a million men summoned from all parts of the great empire, including India—one-tenth of the estimate of Herodotus—is not perhaps an excessive estimate of the total numbers, though again a modern computation has reduced it to 180,000 effectives.

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### PLAN OF THE MEMORABLE CAMPAIGN THAT DECIDED THE FATE OF EUROPE

The Peloponnese being impregnable by land but completely vulnerable by sea, the Greek plan was to defeat the Persian fleet in the narrow waters to the north of Euboea, while holding up the army at Thermopylae. The naval engagement at Artemisium, however, was inconclusive while Thermopylae proved a minor disaster, so Central Greece had to be abandoned; the Greek fleet, pursued by the Persians, retired to Salamis, there to repeat its tactics with complete success (480 B.C.). The following year, after Mardonius had reoccupied Athens, saw the decisive Greek victory at Plataea.

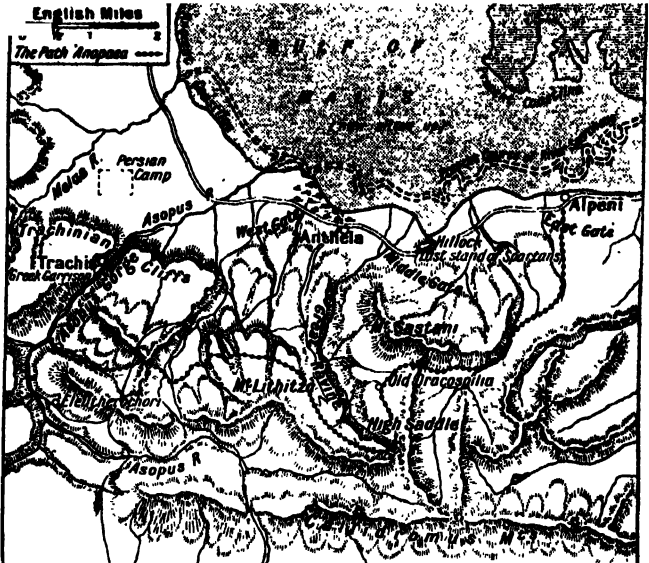
Most of the Hellenic free states rejected the preliminary demand for earth and water. A congress of the states, called by Sparta and Athens, conferred on Sparta the command by land and sea, Athens waiving her obvious claim to naval control in the interest of unity. Some thirty states which took part in the congress pledged themselves to the defence of Hellas, Athens and Aegina burying their old feud. Argos remained apart, and in Thebes there was certainly a Medising faction.

The princes of Thessaly, on which the first onslaught would fall, made the common protection of their frontier a condition of their adherence; but when it was found that the pass of Tempe on the northern border could be turned, Thessaly had to be abandoned, and the 'pass' of Thermopylae, between the mountains and the Maliac gulf, was substituted as the next gateway that could be held. If that went, everything north of the isthmus of Corinth would go.

## Persia and Greece in Collision

Xerxes crossed the Hellespont in the spring of 480 ; in August the army had rolled down to Thermopylae. The force, mainly Peloponnesian troops, sent forward under the Spartan king Leonidas to hold the pass, was only 6,000 strong, the contingent of Phocians having been detached to guard an alternative path inland through the hills by which it was possible to gain the south via Phocis. The Athenians were on the fleet, whose business it was to prevent the Persian fleet from supporting the army, a business which in fact it accomplished not brilliantly but still successfully ; but truth and legend can hardly be disentangled in the story as we have it.

Of this much we can be sure. On two successive days attempts were made to storm the fortified position in the pass by frontal attacks, without making any impression. Then the existence of a mountain track to the rear of the Spartan position, diverging from the path guarded by the Phocians, was betrayed to the Persians; a picked column was sent to carry it, and the Phocians, thinking that



## PLAN OF THE THERMOPYLAE COUNTRY

Leonidas held Thermopylae, but Trachis must have been garrisoned to guard the equally important Asopus pass. After desultory fighting the path Anopaea was betrayed, and a picked body of Persian 'Immortals', slipping past Trachis at night, came down behind the Spartans at daybreak.

their homeland was threatened, retreated. The rear being in danger, Leonidas sent away some two-thirds of his force, or less, retaining his three hundred Spartans, a thousand Laconians, the very loyal Thespians and the very half-hearted Thebans ; probably in the hope that the others would be able to secure his rear.



## HOW TIME CAN ALTER THE FEATURES OF HISTORIC TERRAIN

Leonidas can only have hoped to hold up the Persians in the narrow strip between mountain and sea called 'The Gates,' or Thermopylae, while the fleets were fighting out the more important issue at Artemisium. As the Persian fleet was not destroyed, his position would have been hopeless even had the path Anopaea remained unbetrayed. To-day his whole task would have been impossible, for the retreat of the sea has turned Thermopylae into a plain where many armies might deploy.



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But they, coming into collision with the Persian turning column, were driven off.

Whether retreat was or was not possible, the pass could no longer be held; surrender was not to be thought of, and Leonidas with his three hundred, leaving the fortified position, charged down on the vast Persian host, and fought shoulder to shoulder till every man was slain. The Thebans were later reputed to have surrendered ignominiously, since the city 'Medised'; the rest fought behind the defences to the last. No doubt there was a tremendous slaughter of the barbarians. No doubt, too, the last stand was, strategically speaking, a futile waste of life. But the name of Thermopylae still rings across the ages, an inspiration to heroic self-sacrifice.

### Greek Naval Victory at Salamis

THE force which held Thermopylae and had now been wiped out was only an advance guard whose supports had tarried; but the gate having been forced the Peloponnesians would not attempt to defend the country north of the Isthmus. It submitted perforce to the Persians, who found, however, that the Athenians had taken to their ships and had transferred non-combatants and, so far as was possible, property, to Aegina and Salamis. The fleet, of which the Athenians formed more than half, had fallen back when Thermopylae was lost, to cover the Isthmus, though a garrison that refused to leave the Acropolis of Athens—or was deliberately left there—held the Persians at bay for a fortnight.

The Isthmus might be impenetrable, fortified as it was; but unless the great Persian fleet met with a heavy defeat, it might land a host on the shores of the Peloponnese. For its defeat it must be inveigled into fighting a decisive battle in the narrows about Salamis, so that its overwhelming numbers could not come into play. Yet all the persuasive powers of Themistocles would have failed to convince the Peloponnesians of the necessity, if the Persians themselves had not played into his hands—beguiled, it was said, by an apparently treasonable message from the wily Athenian himself—by block-

ing the exit through which the Greeks purposed withdrawing, and themselves delivering battle in the narrows.

The victory won by the Greeks was complete and decisive. The Ionian squadron, compelled to serve in the Great King's navy, fought instead for the freeing of Hellas. The ships were too crowded for manoeuvring, and the Greeks proved more expert in ramming and boarding than their adversaries. The Persian fleet was not annihilated, but it was broken up and demoralised past hope. Among the Greeks the palm of valour was awarded to the men of Aegina, but the glory of the victory belonged without possibility of question to Athens. And for Hellas the splendid disaster of Thermopylae was more than avenged.

Salamis was a victory not merely brilliant, but as concerned maritime ascendancy decisive. Of the war as a whole, however, it was no more decisive than a Trafalgar, and no less. The great undefeated army of Persia was in occupation of the major part of Greece, though, unsupported by a fleet, the maintenance of supplies for so large a force became a serious problem. A reverse so conspicuous as that of Salamis would encourage revolts all over the Empire. For both reasons, a reduction of the expeditionary force was immediately desirable, but as yet there was no sufficient ground for abandoning the scheme of conquest.

### Cunning Tactics of Mardonius

THE divisions in the counsels of the Greeks were notorious, and the blindness of the Peloponnesians to the need of protecting anything outside the Peloponnese itself was conspicuous. The quality of the Lacedaemonian soldiery was above praise, as Thermopylae had proved, but the Spartan command was terribly weakened by the incurable habit of postponing necessary movement in deference to religious scruples. Moreover, however excellent the Greek hoplites might be, the Greek armies were practically without cavalry, since Thessaly, the land of horsemen, was in the hands of the Persians. After Salamis, then, Xerxes withdrew a portion of his army to Asia by way

## Persia and Greece in Collision

of the Hellespont, since the Greeks, in spite of the urgency of Themistocles, made no effort by sea to cut off the passage. Mardonius, left in command of a still huge force, fell back to Thebes and Thessaly for the winter, on account of supplies. To Athens he made extremely attractive overtures to detach her from her allies, which she loyally rejected; nevertheless when Mardonius reoccupied Attica in the spring of 479, it was only by her threat of withdrawal that Sparta was induced to bring up the Peloponnesian forces for the defence of Attica, Megaris and Plataea, under the command of Pausanias, the kinsman and guardian of the actual king, the young heir of Leonidas. The whole Greek force may have numbered from 70,000 to 100,000, the Persian total from 150,000 to 300,000.

The Athenians had hitherto refrained from urging active naval operations, lest another decisive victory at sea should satisfy the Peloponnesians that they had no need of protection by the Athenian fleet, and could therefore abandon the defence of Attica. Now, however, the activity of the fleet was renewed, and the actual share of Athens in the land campaign was a minor one. It is quite clear, despite the misrepresentations to which Athenian influences have given permanent currency, that the finally decisive triumph of the Greek arms at the battle of Plataea was won by the generalship of Pausanias and the valour and discipline of the Lacedaemonians and their comrades in arms from Tegea.

### **Persians Shattered at Plataea**

**I**N the manoeuvring which preceded the battle both the Persian and the Spartan showed high ability. Each strove to entice the other into delivering the attack upon ground where his own troops—the cavalry of one, the heavy infantry of the other—would have the advantage; neither wished to open the attack. Both knew that delay was in favour of the Persians, because of the dissensions and jealousies among the Greeks, though these were not absent among the Persians. Mardonius was the more successful in manoeuvring

the adversary out of skilfully chosen positions; and when Mardonius did actually make the attack, it was because, in consequence of orders being either misunderstood or disobeyed, the Lacedaemonians, with the Tegeans, were isolated, and the movement of the Greek forces which was in progress was in confusion.

But practically single-handed the Lacedaemonians routed the attack and drove their way into the Persian camp, the already delayed reinforcements being again held up for a time by those Greek troops which had Medised. A panic ensued when Mardonius himself fell. Artabazus, the second in command, who had kept a large division out of action, withdrew it in good order, but attempted nothing more than to draw together what he could of the scattered remnants of the once mighty host, and hurry it back to Asia. Persia had put forth all her powers, and she had failed; failed so utterly and so disastrously that the attempt was never renewed.

### **Fleet Operations in the Aegean**

**T**HE finishing touches were given by the fleet operations. Persian forces were mustered at Mycale in Asia Minor facing the island of Samos to overawe the Ionians, their fleet being beached. Thither, in answer to an appeal from Samos, moved the Greek fleet from its station at Delos, found a suitable spot for disembarking, and thence marched its force on the encampment at Mycale, which was duly stormed and carried, the Ionians, of course, for the most part joining their brethren. It was generally believed that the battles of Mycale and Plataea were fought and won on the same day (August 27, 479), but such coincidences were dear to the Hellenic imagination.

Mycale, however, had the effect of kindling a fresh Ionian revolt that brought further prestige to Athens. Sparta, now that the Peloponnesians were safe, had no mind to overseas ventures; but Athens threw herself into the cause with zeal and profit. The capture of Sestus, in effect by the Athenians, gave them the control of the Hellespont (479-8). In another respect it marked a turning-point. From that time the hegemony of the

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maritime states, abdicated by Sparta, passed, *de facto* if not *de jure*, to the great democracy. The freedom of Ionia was won by the energy and under the leadership not of Sparta, but of Athens.

### Carthage and Etruria assert themselves

**P**RECISELY at the moment of the great Perso-Hellenic struggle, a corresponding contest between Orientalism and what we may perhaps call Europeanism—between Aryan and non-Aryan, rather—was taking place in the west. Carthage struck for the lordship of Sicily; the Etruscans were battling for the lordship of Italy. That there was collusion we may guess, but we can only guess; there was no effectual combination. The movement, if it may be called a movement, was independent of the Persian attack upon Hellas; but in that attack Carthage may well have seen her opportunity. The Etruscans were fighting not to win a new domination but to retain a tottering ascendancy.

The north of the island of Sicily as far west as Himera was under Greek domination, the south as far as Selinus; the western end was the Phœnician sphere, which had now become definitely the Carthaginian. When the fifth century opened there was no immediate expectation of the collision which sooner or later was inevitable.

The Greek states were more conscious of their own mutual rivalries than of the common rival. Tyrannies were established, at Rhegium on the Italian side of the strait of Messina by Anaxilas in 493, and by Cleander, followed by his brother Hippocrates in 492, at Gela on the south coast of Sicily. Each had the idea of absorbing other states under his own sovereignty as vassals or dependents. Of the two, Hippocrates was the more successful. He managed to plant in Zancle, not yet known as Messina, a tyrant who was his own instrument, just when Anaxilas thought he had secured his own influence there. He would also have brought Syracuse under his sway—as champion of one of the parties in that state—but for the intervention of the mother city Corinth in very unwonted

conjunction with another daughter state, Corcyra. Anaxilas watched and waited.

About 485 Hippocrates died, and a very distinguished officer, Gelon, manoeuvred himself into the succession to the tyrannis. Following the methods of Hippocrates, he succeeded, where his predecessor had been frustrated by outside intervention, in capturing for himself the tyrannis of Syracuse; making that city his capital, and handing over Gela to his brother Hieron as his lieutenant or viceroys. Obviously he aimed at making himself overlord of the whole island, excepting such states as Acragas on whose loyal friendship he could rely. Syracuse was thenceforth the leading power in Sicily.

Meanwhile, however—precisely how and when is not known—Zancle had passed into the hands of Anaxilas, whose son-in-law Terillus was tyrant of Himera. Syracuse was the insuperable obstacle in the way of his ambitions, and he made a secret alliance with Carthage, perhaps with a view to a partition of the island. Selinus was drawn in, because she felt herself threatened by Theron of Acragas, the friend and ally of Gelon. Theron expelled Terillus from Himera, as being a friend of Carthage; and in collusion with Anaxilas Carthage launched a great expedition to Sicily under Hamilcar—a name very prominent in Carthaginian history.

### Carthaginian Disaster in Sicily

**G**ELON had only just declined to send forces to aid Hellas against the impending Persian invasion, unless claims put forward by himself to the leadership were admitted; though it appears that at the moment he did not intend his refusal to be final, nor base it on the peril that threatened Sicily. By the time that he knew of the passage of the Hellespont by the army of Xerxes, which took place immediately afterwards, the peril was upon him. Evidently Carthage had been extremely skilful in concealing the forwardness of her preparations, and was only awaiting the signal from Anaxilas.

Anaxilas took no active part in the campaign, though we may well suppose that it was fear of what he might do that kept the Syracusan fleet from meeting

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the Carthaginians on the seas. The expedition, though it met with heavy losses from storms, reached its western port, Panormus, otherwise unmolested. Thence by land and sea it advanced on Himera, where Theron was in possession. The fall of Himera seemed imminent before Gelon was satisfied that he could strike decisively; but when he did arrive, just in time, the blow he dealt was crushing. The expeditionary force was virtually annihilated, no second blow was needed, and nearly a century passed before the Sicilian Greeks again felt themselves in danger from Carthage. But the Carthaginians were left in their settlements and there was no thought of a counter-invasion of Africa. The policy of Gelon was marked by his admitting to alliance both Selinus and Anaxilas. Two years later he died, and was succeeded in his supremacy by his brother Hieron.

The whole episode was roughly speaking contemporary with the campaign which opened with Thermopylae and ended with Salamis. Tradition declared that Himera and Salamis were fought on the same day, just as it did of Plataea and Mycale.

### Events in Etruria and Latium

THE Etruscans who, as we saw (page 1094), joined forces with the Phoenician power to exclude the intruding Greeks from the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, took no part in the Sicilian affair, though six years later their fleet was to suffer disaster at the hands of Hieron of Syracuse, intervening on the part of the mainland city of Cumae. Corsica was near at hand and available for appropriation; in Sicily they could have nothing to gain. Rome with her grip on the Tiber, and her affinities with both Latins and Sabines, was the power that threatened the Tuscan domination. Rome, which had succeeded in freeing itself from its Etruscan rulers, became the natural centre of resistance when all prospect of a Tarquin restoration had disappeared, about the first decade of the fifth century.

The popular traditions of later years are the sole but uncertain authority for the actual events of Roman history at this period. Quite certainly the monarchy was

displaced by an aristocracy of birth, ruling by the unique system of double magistracies, to which appointment was made at first exclusively from among the aristocrats, the 'patrician' houses; elected annually by the votes of the free citizens, but in practice responsible to the Senate—a patrician body composed mainly of officials and ex-officials. Legislation, initiated only by the magistrates, had to be submitted to the assembly of citizens known as the *Comitia Centuriata*.

The commons or 'plebs,' however, had been active in the revolt against the Tarquins; Brutus, the hero of the tradition, was not of patrician family; at a very early stage, the commons began to claim political rights monopolised by the patricians.

### Party Rivalry in Rome

THE struggle between the 'Orders' was a long one; but the first definite victory of the plebs is dated as early as 494. The citizen-soldiery returning from a victorious campaign threatened to leave Rome in a body unless reforms were granted; and the result of their secession to the 'Sacred Mount' was the concession to the plebs of officers of their own called Tribunes, with powers of intervention to veto legislation and curb arbitrary action to the injury of plebeians on the part of the patrician magistrates.

The traditions regarding the time are also full of more or less legendary tales of the wars of the Romans with rival Tuscan or Sabellian states, with Veii, the Aequi or the Volscians; of which perhaps the most famous is the story of Coriolanus.

To the fifth century we should probably attribute the early stages of the Celtic or Gallic immigration which we shall presently find in occupation of all north Italy between the Alps and Apennines, the region soon to be known as Cisalpine Gaul; an overflow perhaps from Farther Gaul. But the pressure from them was not felt in central Italy for another half-century.

Orientalism has met with its first decisive defeat in the west, and the stage is cleared for Hellenism: for its intellectual glory and for its political failure—the main theme of our next chronicle.



### FORCING-HOUSE OF CIVIC EXPERIMENTS : GREECE AND ITS CITY STATES

The dotted lines on this map, demarcating the areas attached to the city states, emphasise the complicated political structure of Ancient Greece, divided as it was into tiny cantons each with an intense and fervently independent life of its own. Certain backward territories, such as Thessaly, Aetolia, Elis, Arcadia, were larger; of the rest the only areas of any size were Laconia, through Spartan conquest, Boeotia, through partial federation of the constituent cities, and Attica, through identification of rural interests with the policy of Athens.

# THE GREEK CITY STATES AT THE TIME OF THE PERSIAN WAR

An Outline of the Growth of the Political Institutions of the Greeks from Monarchy to Democracy

By W. R. HALLIDAY

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**W**HEN Darius the Great came to undertake the organization of his vast empire, which stretched from the shores of the Aegean to the Punjab, the Greeks presented to him a pressing and most complicated problem. It was pressing because the Persian conquest of Asia Minor had necessarily involved the conquest of its sea-board and thus had made the Greek states of the coast his subjects. It was complicated because the circumstances and the characteristics of the Greeks were completely unlike those of any other nationality with which he had hitherto had to deal.

In the first place Greek nationality was a genuine phenomenon, the roots of which went deeper even than the possession of a common language and a common race; for wherever they were to be found, the Greeks were conscious of a broad gulf which separated Greek from 'Barbarian,' the Hellenic from the non-Hellenic view of life. This Greek civilization was profoundly unlike that of any of the Oriental races, and it was even acutely conscious of its unique individuality. To denationalise his Greek subjects was impossible; for the difference between Hellene and Barbarian was too deep-seated to be susceptible either to suppression by brute force or to conversion by liberality.

But Greek nationality was unique in the circumstances of its distribution as well as in quality. It did not correspond, as other national cultures tended to do, with any geographical or political unity. From Sicily to the shores of the Black Sea the coasts of the Mediterranean were studded with Greek communities, all intensely conscious of their Hellenic culture

but all equally jealous of their political independence from each other.

Each of those which lay outside the islands and the Greek peninsula itself represented an isolated enclave of Hellenism in a 'Barbarian' land. There was no geographical boundary, inside which all was Greek and outside which all was non-Greek. Rather, as Cicero put it, the eastern Mediterranean had a Greek fringe, but the fringe was not continuous, and the sole geographical bond of unity for Greek civilization was the sea, which divided the Greek communities from each other.

These communities consisted uniformly of a city surrounded by a larger or smaller area of territory, which, even in the most considerable states, was by modern standards minute. Athens, exceptionally a territorial **Minuteness of state**, comprised 1,000 **the City States** square miles; Sicyon governed 140, Phlius 70, Corinth 350. In Ceos, which is less than half the size of the county of Rutland, there were, in the sixth century, four independent cities and three independent currencies.

Within these small states an intense and highly concentrated political life had developed, as in a forcing frame, and upon the small scale which they offered almost every possible theory of government had been put into practice. Actually in the fifth century the Greek world was to be ranged in two opposed camps, which roughly represented two opposed political principles—government by the conservative element in society, that is by the 'few' men of substance and hereditary position, and government by democracy, which claimed for every citizen, however

lowly born and however poor, an equal right and an equal opportunity to participate directly in the government of the community to which he belonged.

The very intensity of the political life in these small independent states had led inevitably to disunion. Any close association of political communities for common action must necessarily

**Disunion bred by independence** involve at least a partial abrogation of complete independence by the individual members of the association. How circumstances forced upon the Greeks the necessity for attempting the formation of a larger political unit than the city state, and the completeness of their failure to meet the need, ultimately because of this inability to acquiesce in the necessary sacrifice of particular liberties, we shall discuss in Chapter 49.

It is true that the invasion of Xerxes forced a temporary combination upon a number of the states of mainland Greece, in order to repel the invader. But by no means all were willing to join even in this hour of need. In fact the intensity of Greek political activity tended to foster short-sighted views and an undue concentration upon local and particular interests. Thus, for instance, to Argos the remoter consequences of submission to Persia were far less real than her immediate jealousy of Spartan predominance in the Peloponnese.

These local political rivalries and animosities could be expected to facilitate the Persian conquest of Greece; for behind any possible line of defence, even behind the Isthmus of Corinth, there were states ready to join the invaders, or, at the least, to intrigue upon their behalf against their more hated local enemies.

The obverse, then, of the love of liberty and the political vitality of the little city states of Greece was a self-centred parochialism of outlook. This not only divided city against city, but cities against themselves. The reckless violence of party warfare, which was to become even more pronounced in the fifth and fourth centuries, already tended to make the prospects of immediate victory over political opponents at home more attractive than wider national interests. Thus,

though the invasion of Xerxes temporarily united the leaders of the opposing parties in Athens, ten years before, at the battle of Marathon, the followers of the Peisistratidae and the great political family of the Alcmaeonidae had been definitely intriguing with the enemy for the overthrow of their political opponents by means of a Persian occupation of Athens.

The Greek world then consisted of an aggregate of very small city states, politically independent of each other. In all there was a conscious pride in their common Hellenism, but each was primarily absorbed in its own very concentrated political activities, in the narrow terms of which it was liable to misjudge or to ignore wider issues; and each was intensely impatient of interference with or abrogation of its complete political independence.

The object of this chapter will be to trace the evolution of the normal city state through various successive forms of government. We may then examine a particular example, the evolution of Athenian democracy. Finally, we must discuss the real importance of the political ideas which were thus worked out by the Greek city states, noticing the limitations necessarily imposed by the very small scale upon which these experiments in the forms of government were carried out.

The Homeric poems depict a relatively primitive society, which is organized primarily for war, retains a good many characteristics of semi-nomadic life, and is **State of Society in Primitive times** tribal and patriarchal in structure. The new conditions imposed by the adoption of a settled and peaceful mode of life, in the period which followed that of the migrations, were bound to lead to modification. Indeed, the beginnings of the necessary consequences of a change from a wandering to a static existence are apparent even in Homer.

The members of a political group were united primarily by a common ancestry and a common religion. Society was organized in 'phratryae' or brotherhoods, that is, in groups of related families, and these 'brotherhoods' were in turn united by a supposed common ancestry in a larger group, called the 'phyle' or

tribe. The bond of blood was reinforced by the bond of religion, and originally both religious and moral rights and duties had been restricted to the members of each exclusive social group. The patron deity of a particular group might prove himself, in fact, more powerful than the god of other groups, but he belonged essentially to his worshippers, of whom he was often thought to be the divine ancestor, and to no one else.

Again, the slaying of a man belonging to another social group was no murder. A stranger, 'a man without a hearth and without a brotherhood,' is completely outside our society and is therefore an outlaw, with no rights nor claims upon the members of our social group. The slaying of a member of our own social group is another matter. Here it is the duty of his nearer relations and, in the last resort, of the other members of his brotherhood, to see that vengeance is satisfied.

Actually, our earliest records reveal to us a society which had progressed a good way beyond the most rigid and primitive form of tribal society. In religion the various Achaean tribes already acknowledge a common reverence and pay a common worship to certain generally recognized divinities, and the stranger is regarded as being under the protection of Zeus, the Father of Gods and Men, and therefore as possessing certain minimum rights to fair treatment.

No doubt common co-operation in joint ventures and the hazards of eventful life in the Heroic Age helped in practice to bring about a wider and more generous outlook.

**Tribal feeling** more generous outlook.  
**a Greek instinct** We may perhaps notice, however, that the primitive tribal organization of their remote forefathers left an indelible mark upon the subsequent development of Greek political thought. To the end the Greeks never wholly rid themselves of the feeling that citizenship was essentially a matter of kinship by blood, that the state was, in fact, a family upon a large scale. We may also notice that throughout Greek history the tendency of all political associations and social groups was to centre round the joint worship of some particular common deity.

The structure of tribal society is patriarchal and aristocratic. In the family the father, in the larger social groups their respective headmen, will have authority. The relation of the king ('basileus') to the members of the whole community will be that of the father of a family to his children and dependents. The heroic king, then, is the father of his people, and his functions will fall into three categories, those of priest, general and judge.

A professional priesthood is already emerging in Homeric times, but, both then and throughout Greek history, the professional religious expert was never more than **Duties of the** the skilled assistant of the **Homeric Chief** secular head of the state, upon whom fell the responsibility for the maintenance of right relations between the community and Heaven. In an age of violence it was obviously the chieftain's duty to lead his people in war, and upon his success in doing so his personal prestige depended. It was the king, too, who decided such relatively simple disputes as were apt to arise between individual members of a primitive community.

Here he is rather an arbitrator than a judge; for there was as yet no law for him to administer. He gives particular decisions in virtue of an authority which has a quasi-religious sanction. For the king was thought to be descended from Zeus and from Zeus to hold his authority, the outward and visible sign of which was the sceptre. An accompanying god-given quality was the power to pronounce rightly in cases of dispute: 'for to kings,' as Homer says, 'Zeus hath given the sceptre and the judgements.'

Although this monarchy was generally hereditary, in the society portrayed in the *Odyssey* heredity constitutes a claim, but a claim which can be set aside. Indeed, in the earliest recorded period the aristocracy is already encroaching upon the privileges of monarchy. The king is but 'primus inter pares,' and the relation of the 'basileus' with his barons, who also called themselves 'basileis,' seems to have resembled that of Agamemnon with the confederate chieftains before Troy.

In deciding upon important matters of policy custom ordained that the king.



should consult the experience of the community, which was embodied in a council of the old wise men. Before Troy the council of war inevitably contains members, like Achilles, who are not old in years; but even here it is invariably referred to as the meeting of the 'sage elders,' and it meets habitually at the ship of the wise old Nestor.

When the king and council have decided upon a policy, it may be submitted to a mass meeting of the fighting men, but the powers of this assembly are strictly limited to expressing approval or disapproval. When the first democrat, Thersites, attempts to raise points of debate, Odysseus hits him over the head with a sceptre, and, with the obvious approval of the poet and his audience, puts him in his place. The assembly, in fact, can dissent but it cannot discuss.

After the turmoil of the age of migrations had subsided, there was a change from a normal state of war to one of comparative peace and from a wandering to a settled life. Now, in its physical aspect Greece consists of a tangled mass of limestone mountains enclosing small pockets of arable land, which are usually open upon one side to the sea. Necessarily, for life cannot be supported upon limestone crags, it was upon these small stretches of arable land that settlements were made. The physical barriers of the mountains tended to separate the dwellers in each of these plains from those in the next, and so promoted that fierce love of independence which is so often a characteristic, for this very reason, of those who inhabit mountainous areas.

This physical division of the country into compartments also promoted a concentration within each of them. The concentration was, for obvious reasons, easiest in the smallest. Of the larger contiguous habitable areas, Athens eventually succeeded in uniting the whole of Attica in a single state. In the Boeotian plain, on the other hand, Thebes was never successful in concentrating the government of the whole area in her own hands. A number of cities had succeeded in establishing themselves, and Thebes, though she became the dominant member

in a federation, never proved strong enough completely to absorb them.

But how had these cities come into being? The earliest settlements were undoubtedly in villages, and some areas (for example, Elis until the fifth century) remained organized in country districts down to historical times. But in general a group of villages found it convenient to fortify some hill or strongly defensible position in their plain, to the shelter of which their women and cattle might be sent when their neighbours crossed the mountain on a summer raid. Such, for instance, was the Acropolis at Athens, a steep rocky hill with precipices upon three sides. In this stronghold was usually placed the temple of the god and the palace of the king.

A natural tendency then arose for the commonalty to leave their villages for dwellings near to the city of refuge, and from there to go out daily to their fields; while the nobles found it convenient to establish themselves round the king and the centre of government. In this way a lower town ('asty' is the Greek word) developed round the citadel or 'polis'. In course of time a wall of fortifications was erected round the asty, and we have then the normal type of Greek city—a town surrounded by walls with a citadel in the middle.

This concentration of population and government in a single fortified town seems normally to have been effected under the monarchy. But if this development was promoted by the kings, it proved in fact fatal to their pretensions.

The heroic monarchy End of the  
Heroic Monarchy rested upon sanctions of military prestige and traditional reverence. In peace the king no longer enjoyed the authority conferred by the prowess and leadership of the wandering chieftain of the Dark Ages; and the claims of a divine descent, and of an inherent personal quality distinguishing royalty from mere ordinary mortals, were put to the test of daily contact in the peaceful life of a little town.

For obvious reasons close personal contact with his subjects in daily life has ever been an enemy of the divine right of kings; it may be noted, whether in the English

Great Rebellion or in the French Revolution, that the centre of disaffection has always lain among those who live nearest to the human occupant of the throne, while loyalty to the throne rather than to its individual occupant flourishes longest in the remoter provinces. 'No man is a hero to his valet.'

Meantime, life in the city became more complicated, and the duties which the magistrate was called upon to fulfil increased in number and difficulty. In the simple organization of a wandering warlike tribe the chieftain's authority had sufficed to settle out of hand such individual disputes as might arise. But it is readily intelligible that settled life in a city will soon produce more work to be

done than a single hereditary magistrate can adequately perform. Hence arose the tendency to appoint supplementary officers to take over some parts of the king's duties, and in this way the monarchy was put into commission. That is to say, a number of magistrates came to take the place of the single life magistrate.

In most of the Greek states by the eighth century the monarchy had disappeared, the place of the king being taken by a number of magistrates of whom one still retained the royal title but not its powers. The king's advisory council of elder nobles remained, and to this, in reality, the power in the state now passed, just as at Rome the similar council, the Senate, came at the fall of the monarchy to



#### STRONGHOLD THAT FORMED THE NUCLEUS OF THE CITY OF ATHENS

In the union of villages clustered about a common place of refuge the Greek city state had its origin. Athens, for example, was formed by the growth of the settlements made round the Acropolis—a natural fastness, occupied by a lord and his followers and strengthened by fortification. On it were built the shrines of the community—not the temples whose ruins are seen here, for these are comparatively late, belonging to the period of the city's greatness in the fifth century B.C.

●Photo, Alinari

exercise control in public affairs. The reasons for this ascendancy are not difficult to detect.

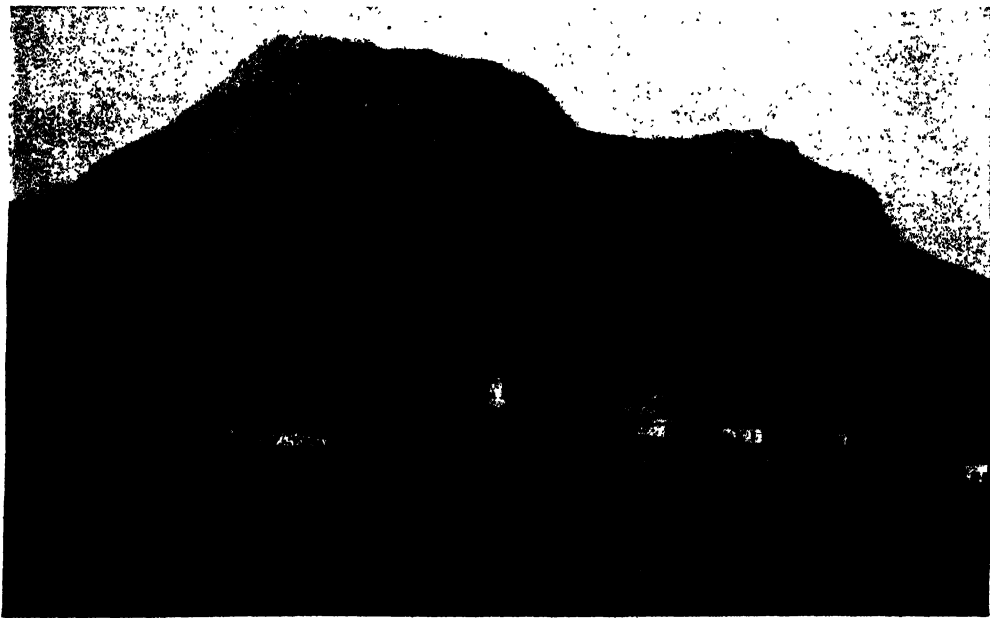
Though it would seem that in the first instance the magistrates who replaced the king were appointed for life, a high age qualification was probably demanded, so that their actual tenure of office was not comparable to that of an hereditary king. In any case the tendency was for length of tenure to be reduced, until eventually an annual magistracy became the general rule. Further, in Athens, and possibly elsewhere, an arrangement similar to the Roman practice was adopted, whereby the vacancies in the council were filled up by ex-magistrates

Now under the monarchy the council had enjoyed considerable power. True, it was only an advisory body, which could meet only when the king summoned it; but custom and public opinion demanded that in affairs of importance it should in fact be consulted. The king had been a single magistrate holding office for life. The magistracy was now weakened by division

and, in the Greek states which here present a contrast to Rome, by a limitation of function, each magistrate enjoying but a portion of the king's power. It was weakened also by the limitation of tenure. The council now represented the permanent element in the constitution, in which magistrates held office only for one year.

It had the prestige of a corporation consisting of ex-officials and did actually represent the political experience of the community. While it remained technically an advisory body, it was, nevertheless, obvious that the temporary magistrate would invariably ask the advice of a group of statesmen of whom all had had experience of executive office, and whose ranks he hoped himself to join for the rest of his life when his year of office was over. Under such conditions not only will its advice be asked, but in practice, when given, will have the force of a command.

The natural tendency of aristocracies is to become jealously exclusive of any outsiders being allowed to enter the charmed circle of hereditary statesmen, and simultaneously to insist upon absolute equality and solidarity within it. It is not, therefore,



#### WHERE ANCIENT CORINTH STOOD BENEATH HER PROTECTING EMINENCE

As Athens grew mighty in the shelter of the fortress on the Acropolis, so Corinth developed beneath the rocky walls of Acrocorinth. This great bluff was an almost unassailable stronghold and thus a convenient refuge for harried villagers; in addition it afforded a natural watch-tower whence the seas as well as the land might be scanned—an important consideration, since any settlement made on the narrow Isthmus of Corinth must be easily accessible from both the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs.

surprising to find that in such early aristocratic constitutions of which we have record the main features are the restriction of political rights to a relatively small number of persons belonging to certain families; the entrusting of the political power to a smaller executive committee (sixty is a favourite number), the members of which are normally appointed for life though a relatively high age qualification is almost always demanded; and lastly the very strict subordination of the magistrates to this body.

The main work which the aristocratic governments of the eighth century did for Greece was perhaps the development of a sense of the duty of public service. At least in the early days of aristocracy those who claimed the monopoly of political power recognized also their responsibility for serving the state. It was the aristocratic magistrates, too, whose decisions built up the conception of law. They no longer decided particular issues in virtue of a god-given insight, but referred them to a body of rules built up on precedents. Indeed, 'rule' is the true meaning of 'nomos,' the Greek word for law, which Hesiod uses in a phrase like 'the rule for ploughing.' Law was thus created, but a knowledge of its content remained as yet the monopoly of the aristocratic magistrates, for its rules were not made public.

Aristocracy contains within itself the seeds of weakness. Insistence upon the maintenance of its exclusive monopolies will create discontent outside its ranks, while its

**Weakness of an Aristocracy** insistence upon absolute equality within the order will lead to internal disunion and dissensions. All governments by a class, and this would be as true of Labour as of Aristocracy, tend to harden into selfishness. Interest is concentrated upon the maintenance of privileges to the neglect of responsibilities, and the advantage of the class tends to obscure that of the state.

But further, times were changing and new economic and social conditions were emerging. A form of government which attempted to ignore the new conditions, which looked to the past and not to the present or the future, could not hope to endure. We may first notice a change in

the art of warfare which considerably and adversely affected the prestige of aristocracy. In the Homeric poems warfare is essentially an affair of chieftains; and although there are one or two passages which allude to the existence of disciplined heavy-armed infantry organized in the social units of political society, the fighting in the Iliad consists mainly of duels between chieftains, who are carried to the battle in chariots, though in action they descend to fight on foot.

The chariot passed with the Achaeans, but in early Greece the main arm was the aristocratic cavalry. Now except in the considerable plain of Thessaly,

where, indeed, the political conditions together with the knightly cavalry of

**Art of Warfare affects Politics**

early Greece survived into historical times, the Balkan Peninsula was unsuited both to horse breeding and to cavalry operations. Sparta seems first to have realized the fact, and thus to have laid the foundation of her military predominance. Already, in the poems of Tyrtæus, the so-called 'knights' in the Spartan army are no longer cavalry, but a 'corps d'élite' of infantry.

In fact, though the importance of cavalry survived longer under the rather different conditions of Asia Minor and southern Italy, in the Greek mainland the knights disappeared and the effective army of the normal city state came to consist of a homogeneous, heavy-armed citizen infantry, drawn not from the aristocracy, but from all except the very poorest members of the community. This change had inevitably a levelling tendency and at once deprived the hereditary aristocracy of special grounds for prestige and at the same time raised the importance of the lower middle class.

Economic changes, too, had taken place which profoundly altered the aspect of society. It is possible that originally the available arable land, after certain demesnes had been set aside for the gods and the chieftains, was divided up into strips for the cultivation of which families, not individuals, were responsible: the mountain pasture remained, of course, common land. It was, however, inevitable that the head of the family, who

was responsible for the actual administration of the family holding, should come to be regarded as its owner. In any case, we have no certain evidence of a time when the private ownership of land was not normal in Greece.

An increasing inequality of distribution was a necessary consequence; for the Greeks did not artificially keep estates intact by a system of primogeniture. But

the division of estates led to the multiplication of holdings, which, in a not very fertile country, were too small for profitable farming. The result was great agricultural distress and a growing animosity against the wealthier landowners, who exploited the difficulties of the peasant to increase their own estates at his expense.

Over-population and agricultural distress then drove the Greeks to sea. They became a nation of merchants, and discovered in commerce and in the carrying trade a new source of wealth. In the middle of the eighth century began the great colonisation movement, which further relieved the economic pressure. In turn colonisation and commerce mutually stimulated each other; finally in the seventh century came the general adoption of money as the medium of exchange.

Many individual aristocrats profited to the full by these changes. Some of them became merchant princes, and the landowners at home, turning usurer, found in the new medium of exchange, which the small farmer but little understood, a new instrument for his oppression and for their advantage. But, upon the whole, these changes were fatal to aristocracy. Its claim to political monopoly had rested upon tradition and respect. Old traditions were now in the melting pot, and respect it had forfeited by lack of merit and lack of adaptability.

The new conditions had afforded opportunities to men of no hereditary claim. The wealthy no longer solely consisted of hereditary landowners, and the new wealth began to demand the share of political recognition which its actual importance to the community justified. A new social class had come into being, which necessarily asserted its claim to political rights.

The influence of colonisation, too, was anti-aristocratic. This did not depend primarily upon the form of government adopted in the new settlements, where indeed the first settlers tended to form a close ring, which attempted to keep the political control in their own hands. But this form of aristocracy was not quite the same in character as the old hereditary aristocracies of the mother states, and if the colonisation movement showed anything, it showed clearly that political energy and ability were not necessarily confined to the members of a particular small group of families; for many whose merits brought them to the front in the new settlements did not belong to the privileged families in the mother country.

Aristocracy therefore found itself faced by new and formidable enemies. Its jealousy of individual prominence within the order divided it against itself, and drove members of its own caste to make common cause with its assailants. A new and dangerous rival, the class of wealthy merchants who did not belong by birth to the old families, was determined to assert its claim to a share in political privilege. The victims of economic pressure and an over-population, which had been but partially relieved by colonisation, supplied an element of desperate discontent, an engine of revolution ready to the hand of any person sufficiently dexterous to turn it to account.

In most of the Greek states aristocracy clung desperately to its position. As a result the state was torn by factions, none of which was sufficiently strong to gain a permanent and decisive victory. The anarchy which ensued was usually ended, as anarchy which has exceeded certain limits can only be effectively ended, by a personal autocracy, the form of government which the Greeks, using a word borrowed from Asia Minor, described as tyranny.

**How Tyrannies were established**

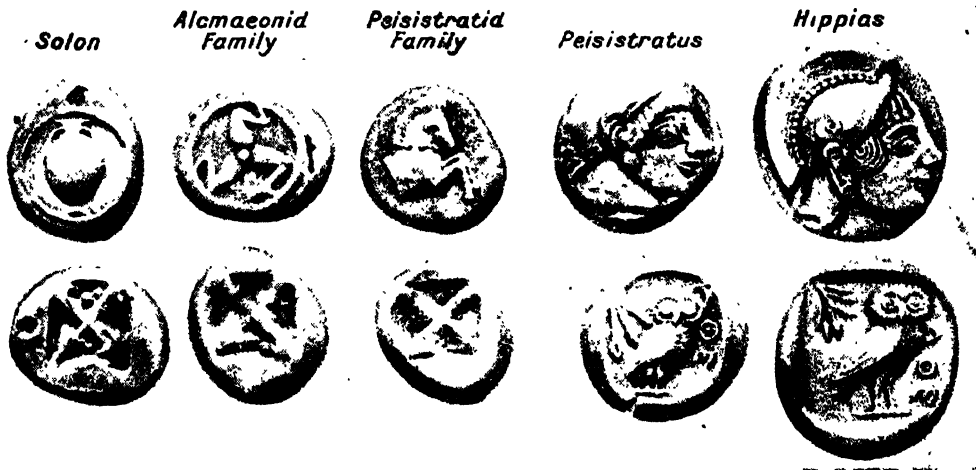
In the period covered by the last half of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth, most Greek states passed through the stage of government by tyranny. Its cause and justification lay in the social and economic dislocation of the time. In general an able and ambitious

man, often a discontented noble or one of the new commercial plutocrats, organized the forces of discontent to overthrow the government and to seize the power for himself. 'A tyrant,' says Aristotle, 'is chosen from the people to be their protector against the nobles in order to prevent them being injured. History shows that almost all tyrants have been demagogues who gained the favour of the people by their accusation of the nobles.'

In English the words 'tyrant' and 'tyranny' possess an evil connotation. Originally the word was ethically colourless, but its bad associations are, nevertheless, derived from the later Greek view of tyrants and tyranny. The tradition indeed exhibits a prejudice against these

philosophers to tyranny goes deeper than any accident of tradition. They rightly perceived that tyranny, the rule, that is to say, of an individual whose power is irresponsible and whose authority rests solely on his possession of the military force requisite to assert it, is a direct negation of the fundamental view of society, which is perhaps the most valuable contribution of Greece to political thought.

Society, in the Greek view, existed in order to enable its members 'to live well,' that is to say, to afford them full opportunities for individual and collective self-development and self-expression. Government exists, not for the benefit of the ruler, but for the benefit of the ruled. The true state is a living organism, in the



#### TANGIBLE MEMORIALS OF THE STATESMEN AND TYRANTS OF ATHENS

Best known of the Athenian series of coins was the tetradrachm struck by Peisistratus, first and greatest of the Athenian tyrants. It bore the head of Athena on the obverse, and the city badge of an owl on the reverse. The same design appears on the tetradrachm struck by Hippias, his son and successor in the Tyrannis. The devices of three legs and the half of a galloping horse on other coins were perhaps badges of the Alcmaeonid and Peisistratid ruling families.

*British and Berlin Museums; coin of Hippias, Gulbenkian Collection*

early tyrants. Partly that may be due to the fact that the material of early history is drawn mainly from the family traditions of their enemies, the aristocrats. Again, the avowed object of the Marathon expedition of Persia was the restoration of Hippias to the throne of Athens, and this perhaps has helped to associate tyranny with the vices of oriental despotism. The behaviour, too, of later tyrants in Sicily and elsewhere has distorted the view of later historians by false analogies. But the objection of the Greek political

life of which all the members share. Their mutual relations are determined and regulated by law for the common good and for the good of the individual. But the rule of an irresponsible autocrat is government for the benefit of the ruler, not for the benefit of the ruled. He claims to be above the law, and is therefore outside true membership of the body politic. 'To the citizen of a later age the tyrant was an outlaw in a threefold sense. He had placed himself outside the pale of positive law; for this reason he seemed

exempt from all moral control, and as an equally necessary consequence was outside the protection of the law.'

As an ideal form of government it would indeed be difficult to defend autocracy of this kind, but on the other hand we must notice that the rule of the tyrants actually resulted in a definite advancement of Greek civilization, and also that temporary autocracy was a necessary stage at that particular point in the evolution of the Greek polity.

At home the policy of the tyrants was inevitably directed to the suppression of the nobles; apart from an active offensive against the strongholds of aristocratic power, which included in religion the fostering of national cults (such as the worship of Athena at Athens) and pan-Hellenic cults (for instance, the worship of Dionysus) at the expense of those local forms of hereditary worship which the aristocrats controlled, the autocrats in Greece, like autocrats elsewhere, aimed at playing off the masses against the nobles.

It will, again, be the tyrant's policy to justify his unconstitutional position by success. An energetic foreign policy will foster national pride, which the splendour of his court and his adornment of the city will also express and stimulate. The servitude of his people will be obscured for them by their material well-being and the glamour of national assertion.

Autocracy may indeed be a necessary stage in the evolution of a prosperous society. The ideal of government depends in the long run upon the discovery of a satisfactory working compromise between the ideals of law and liberty. In a state where anarchy has developed beyond a certain point, it may be necessary for the state's continued existence to restore law and order at all costs, and at least a temporary sacrifice of political liberty may be the only way in which the necessary condition can be achieved. This is the real justification of the policy of Julius Caesar or the autocracy of the Tudors.

Actually the strong hand of the tyrants restored unity to the Greek states. The factions were crushed, and the power of the old hereditary aristocracies was

broken. For though there are subsequent struggles between conservative and democratic parties in the Greek states, the line of cleavage, mainly one of economic condition, is different from that of the early struggle between the privileged and the unprivileged classes. Again, by breaking down parties and reducing the citizens to an equality of servitude, the tyrant paved the way in many states for democracy.

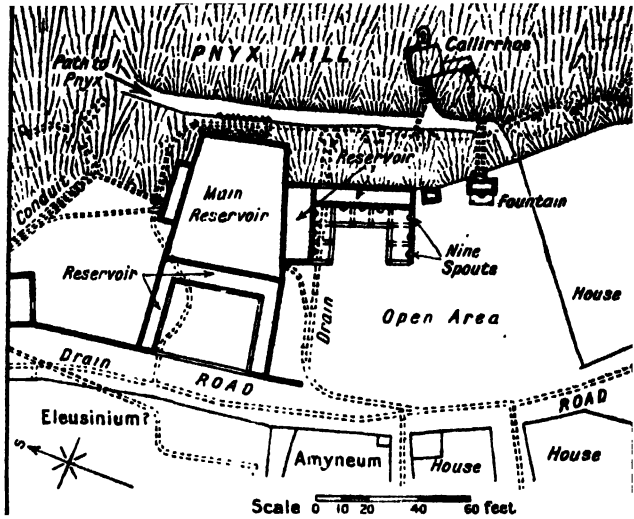
It was a feature of the tyrant's policy to adorn his city with magnificent public works and to surround his person with the glamour of a luxurious court. The concentration of capital in the hands of a single individual autocrat supplied the necessary funds and enabled the tyrant to be a generous patron of art. Thus it comes about that the age of the tyrants witnessed a great artistic advance. To take but a few examples out of many, the poets Bacchylides, Pindar and Simonides find a patron in Hieron of Syracuse; Democedes the physician and Anacreon the poet flourish at the court of Polycrates of Samos. With the tyranny at Corinth is associated the name of Arion and the perfection of dithyrambic poetry and, in architecture, the development of the pediment. The famous aqueduct of Theagenes at Megara is paralleled by the Enneacrounos fountain of Peisistratus at Athens, and in addition to the great buildings of the Athenian tyrants the series of beautiful maiden statues known as 'Korai,' or by profane archaeologists as 'the maiden aunts,' testify to their enlightened patronage of art.

In conclusion, we may notice that the energetic foreign policy of the tyrants turned the attention of Greek statesmen to interests beyond the borders of their own city. Henceforward the units in the Greek political world, which up to this point have developed along parallel lines but in relative independence, become interlocked.

Tyranny was short lived, and the Sicyonian dynasty which endured a century was in this exceptional. The tyrant's position rested upon no sanction but that of force; he did indeed 'hold a wolf by the ears.' His own career by example was a justification and an incentive to

others to attempt what he had done. The second generation often proved fatal to the dynasty. The first of the line was a man whose qualities had enabled him to seize the throne. The transmission of such qualities by heredity is most uncertain, and the son had been brought up in the purple, not trained in the hard school of political struggle. Often he was a man of greater cultural attainments than his father and a better critic of the arts, but he usually lacked the dominant personality upon which the first tyrants relied, as much as upon force, for their hold over the people.

The usual history of the fall of tyranny, though in some cases external intervention plays a part, is the formation of a plot against the person of some member of the royal family, usually upon grounds of a personal quarrel. If the plot fails, the ruler shows his weaker character by losing his nerve. He sees plots everywhere and relies increasingly upon his secret police



#### INCREASING ATHENS' WATER SUPPLY

To win popularity Peisistratus enlarged the supply of water available to the public. In front of the common spring, Callirrhoe, on the Pnyx Hill he built a series of reservoirs and a fountain, Enneacrounos—their reconstructed plan is seen above—connected by conduits with springs on Mount Hymettus.

*After C. H. Weller, Athens and its Monuments*

and his mercenary soldiers. A weak ruler who is badly frightened invariably produces a reign of terror, and his fall by assassination or expulsion is but a question of time.



#### ATHENIAN TYRANT'S POLITIC BUT ARTISTIC GIFT TO HIS SUBJECTS

In common with most Greek despots, Peisistratus seems to have taken pride in the adornment of his city. Even his reform of the Athenian water-system afforded opportunity for display in the embellishment of the public fountain Enneacrounos, the 'Nine-Spouts'—one of the means by which the contents of the reservoirs were distributed. It consisted of a handsome courtyard—one aspect of which is given in this vase painting—containing nine carven jets whence water trickled into jars.

*From Antike Denkmäler*



Athens passed through these normal stages of constitutional development, though in each case rather later than most of her neighbours. The reason is probably because monarchy here endured longer, faced, as it was, with the more lengthy and formidable task of uniting the whole of Attica under one government. That Attica originally consisted of a number of independent communities there is no doubt, and tradition attributed the final union of the whole area under a single government at Athens to the legendary king Theseus.

At Athens the monarchy was gradually put into commission. Tradition says that a succession of unmilitary kings led to the appointment of a 'polemarch' or general. Next, to assist the king in his judicial duties, an 'archon' (the word means 'ruler') was added.

**Athens and her Political growth** In the first instance these three magistrates held office for life, but in the eighth century the tenure was reduced to one of ten years, and finally in 680 B.C. six additional 'thesmothetae' (lawgivers) were created, and all nine offices were made annual appointments.

This board of nine archons, as they were called, provided the chief executive of the state up to the Persian Wars. The most important was the archon proper, who is often called eponymous because his name was used in official documents to indicate the year. He was the chief civil judge and had charge of the public hearth. The king archon ('basileus') managed the older religious festivals, and he continued to preside at the meetings of the aristocratic council. The polemarch took command of the military forces of the state and, perhaps originally for military reasons, he exercised civil jurisdiction over resident aliens.

These and their six colleagues, who were of lesser importance, were chosen from the wealthy aristocrats, and they passed when their year of office was over into the aristocratic Council which at Athens, as elsewhere, now really controlled the state. This Council, at any rate from the time of Solon, was called the Council of the Areopagus, from the place of its meeting.

In Attica, as in other parts of Greece, the social and economic conditions changed, and aristocratic rule aroused discontent. About 632 B.C. there was an abortive attempt at a tyranny by an aristocrat named Cylon. His attempt failed mainly because Cylon, who was a son-in-law of the tyrant of Megara, relied upon foreign help. This the Athenian people resented; no popular rising supported his coup d'état, and it collapsed. A result, however, was a long and mainly unsuccessful war with Megara, which aggravated the economic and other difficulties under which Athens was labouring.

About 621 B.C. a great popular victory was gained with the codification and publication of the law by Draco. Later generations, impressed with the severity of an early code, declared that 'Draco's laws were written in blood'; but the mere fact that the law was now defined, and its content made public, was a very real popular advance, protecting the citizen, as it did, from the arbitrary decisions of the aristocratic magistrates who had hitherto had a monopoly of the knowledge of the law. Draco's code is also noteworthy for an ethical advance in the distinction which it now drew for the first time between intentional and accidental homicide, that is, between murder and manslaughter.

Important gain though it was, the publication of the law could not cure the ills of a state in which the conditions were of the kind which we have seen elsewhere to lead to tyranny. At Athens an attempt was made to reach a fair adjustment of the political and economic difficulties of the time. In 594 Solon, frag-  
**Solon carries economic reforms**

ments of whose poems have survived to give us a lively impression of a great-souled and sagacious reformer, attempted to attack the problems of the day, which he rightly perceived to be partly economic and partly political.

His economic reforms aimed at the immediate relief of debt, the limitation of the size of estates, the redemption of peasants, whom the harsh usury of the rich landowners had reduced to virtual serfdom or had in many cases even sold into slavery, the prohibition

for the future of the practice of borrowing money on the security of the borrower's person, the development of the export trade, and the creation of a new currency on a standard at once more convenient for exploiting the most profitable foreign markets and linked with that of the friends of Athens instead of with that of her enemies.

Politically he made changes the object of which was to effect a fair readjustment of power in the state. The citizens he divided into four classes which were graded in accordance with the amount of income which their members enjoyed. This classification was to determine, first, military obligation, the richer classes being called upon for the most expensive form of service and the poorest being exempt from fighting in the ranks; and secondly, political privilege, the lowest class being incapable of holding a magistracy and certain higher offices being restricted to the first two classes.

To all citizens, including the poorest, he gave the right of voting in the 'Ecclesia' or Assembly, in which, unlike the Roman popular assemblies, matters might be debated and

Birth of Athenian Democracy voting was by individual heads. But, perhaps as a salutary check upon popular legislation, he instituted also a 'Boule' or Council of Four Hundred, who were to prepare business for the Assembly.

As to the character of this Council we are in some difficulty. Solon in later ages was acclaimed the founder of Athenian democracy, and the view of the later Greeks was that Solon's Council was similar in general character to the Council of Cleisthenes, which will presently be mentioned. But it is perhaps more probable that Solon's Council was in the first place a body of his nominees and was intended definitely to act as an upper class check upon the lower classes, whose votes would control the Ecclesia.

Solon also established the 'Heliaea' or popular courts. In these could sit large panels of citizens drawn from all classes, including the lowest. Constitutionally this was of great importance because it became the practice for magistrates at the end of their year of office

to be obliged to submit to the scrutiny of their official actions by the popular courts.

The most far-reaching of the changes which Solon introduced were, first, the principle of adjusting the citizen's duties and privileges to his stake in the country, and the measuring of political privilege not in terms of heredity but in terms of wealth; secondly, the institution of the popular courts which, owing to the scrutiny which magistrates had to undergo upon demitting office, gave the people control over the executive.

Solon had attempted to forestall the necessity for tyranny by a fair adjustment, but anarchy had gone too far for this to prove successful. The extremists of all factions were dissatisfied and a period of renewed turmoil followed

in which the main political parties tended to crystallise into three groups;

**Tyranny grasped by Peisistratus**

the Plain, representing the aristocratic landowners; the Shore, representing the commercial plutocrats; and the Mountain, representing the distressed proletariat. Eventually Peisistratus, a military officer of some distinction, at the head of the party of the Mountain, made himself tyrant. He was twice ejected, but after some vicissitudes established himself firmly on the throne about 540 B.C. His reign provides a typical example of the material benefits which the rule of a strong and sensible autocrat may confer.

An energetic colonial and foreign policy brought Athens for the first time into the front rank of Greek states. At home a system of state loans to farmers enabled the small holder to tide over the accidents of bad harvests without falling into the clutches of the usurer. Athens was adorned with public works of utility and magnificence, and both the tyrant and his sons were enlightened patrons of art.

The tyranny fell in the second generation. Hippias, the son of Peisistratus, was an amiable connoisseur but a man of weaker fibre than his father. A lover's quarrel led to the assassination of one of the royal family; Hippias lost his nerve, and his rule became increasingly oppressive. Athenian exasperation found external allies. Among the enemies of Peisistratus who had been banished was

the powerful family of the Alcmaeonidae. They had ingratiated themselves with the authorities at the oracle of Delphi, and Delphic pressure was now put upon Sparta to effect the overthrow of Hippias and the return of the Alcmaeonidae.

Sparta had already extended her political influence in the Peloponnese by the expedient of 'liberating' cities from tyrannies and putting the government into the hands of persons friendly to Sparta, whose position remained dependent on her moral support. Here seemed to be an opportunity for extending the policy to central Greece and securing a hold upon Athens. And so a Spartan army secured the expulsion of Hippias and the return of the Alcmaeonidae, of whom the leader was Cleisthenes.

Cleisthenes, however, was not prepared to act as the tool of Sparta and difficulties at once arose. The Spartan king drove out again his too independent protégé, but the people of Athens were fiercely opposed to any form of foreign domination, and at the critical moment some of Sparta's allies refused to support a policy which would give Sparta the control of central Greece and would make their own dependence upon her good will complete. Athens was saved from Spartan domination, and Cleisthenes returned to power.

Cleisthenes, in fact, was the founder of Athenian democracy. Peisistratus had been content with the substance of power and had tactfully allowed Solon's constitutional arrangements to continue in form, taking care in practice that important offices should be held by his own nominees. But after the expulsion of the tyrants and the political troubles which ensued, it was obvious that a new form of permanent constitution must be framed.

A particular and pressing difficulty led to an important change. A considerable element in Peisistratus' following had been supplied by the 'impure by descent,' that is to say, by persons who did not belong by blood to one of the old Athenian families and therefore could not obtain citizen rights. Under the tyranny they had been virtually enfranchised, and to disfranchise them now would create a embarrassing difficulty to the new regime.

Cleisthenes solved the problem by a reorganization of the tribal system. The old four tribes made up of 'brotherhoods' and clans were henceforth entirely dissociated from politics. Ten new tribes were instituted of which the smallest unit was not the family but the 'deme' or parish. Thus for the principle of birth as the qualification for citizenship was substituted that of locality. This at least was its immediate effect, and it enabled many who did not belong to the groups of kinship by blood to enter the state.

We should notice, however, that membership of the deme or parish in Attica itself became hereditary, and a man belonged, not to the deme in which he actually lived, but to the deme of his father. So firmly rooted was the idea of an hereditary civic qualification.

By a curious arrangement each of the new tribes was divided into thirds ('trittyes'), and in each tribe one third was drawn from the city demes, one from demes in an area in Attica defined as the Shore, and one from those of the inland area. The object of this arrangement was perhaps to prevent any one person or family controlling the votes of a tribe, as a territorial magnate might well have done if each tribe had been made up of contiguous demes. It had two consequences of varying merit. On the one hand it welded together the city of Athens and the country districts of Attica; on the other hand in practice

it gave the control of the state to the townsmen, for the effective voting strength

**Tribal System  
reorganized**

of each tribe lay inevitably in the urban 'trittys,' whose members were on the spot.

Cleisthenes also invented political machinery which enabled democracy to work. The Assembly remained a mass meeting of all citizens, the assent of which was necessary for legislation to become valid. But clearly a general meeting cannot transact detailed business. The initiative, therefore, in all legislation was invested in a 'Boule' or Council, which consisted of 500 members, fifty being appointed from each tribe. Councillors were annually appointed and no one could become Councillor more than twice. This body in the fifth century had the

supreme administrative and financial control. Administration it shared with boards of officials who were almost uniformly selected on a tribal basis, in other words boards of ten.

To transact efficiently the daily detailed business of the state a council of 500 is obviously too large for practical purposes, and it would hardly be possible to keep so numerous a body in permanent session. To meet this a further ingenious arrangement was devised. The year was divided into ten parts, and for each period one of the tribal contingents of fifty, of which the Council was composed, took it in turn to act as a standing committee, which was called a 'prytany.' It was the function of this committee to be always sitting during its relatively short tenure of

The subsequent development of Athenian democracy in the fifth century followed directly from Cleisthenes' arrangements. The most important changes were the introduction of election by lot as the method of appointing magistrates and the institution of **Magistrates** payment for public service. **elected by lot** In 487 B.C. archons were first

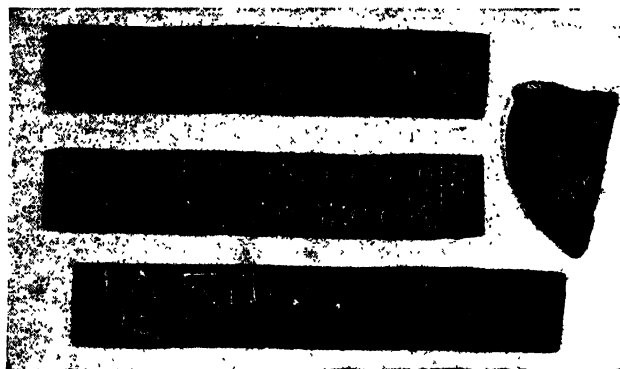
appointed by lot. As a result the polemarch ceased to be commander in chief, for not the most democratic of citizen soldiers were willing to trust their lives to a general selected by hazard, and the archonship degenerated from being the most powerful magistracy to becoming a social distinction. The place of the archons came to be taken by the board of ten generals, partly because the main problems of Athens in the

fifth century were military and imperial, but mainly because the generalship was now the one important office which was still filled by election. The principle of payment for state service was introduced by Pericles in 451 with the payment of members of the Council and jurymen in the law courts. It was not extended to payment for attendance at the Ecclesia until the beginning of the fourth century.

Aristotle, as we have already noticed, begins his treatise upon Politics by asking what is the function of the state, and his answer is, 'To provide its members with the opportunity

for living well.' Let us take, then, the most liberal and democratic of Greek states, Athens, and consider how far it may be thought to meet the philosopher's requirement.

'Our constitution,' says Pericles in the Funeral Speech put in his mouth by Thucydides, 'is named a democracy, because it is the rule not of the few but of the many. We give free play to all in our public life. . . . Open and friendly in our private intercourse, in our public acts we keep strictly within the control of the law.' The Athenian citizen, that is to say, acknowledges no master but law, and the sovereignty is vested in the people itself.



#### JURYMEN'S TICKETS USED IN ANCIENT ATHENS

Every Athenian citizen liable to serve on juries in the law courts received an identification ticket with his name and district and the number of his section in the jurymen's roll. Above, three bronze specimens (fifth-fourth century B.C.) with a potsherd from Naukratis for recording a vote of ostracism.

*British Museum*

responsibility, to sift all business and to prepare it for the consideration of the Council. When a matter had been considered and passed by the Council, it became a resolution, which was then submitted to the Assembly. If the Assembly ratified it, it became a 'psephisma' or binding decree.

Cleisthenes was also the inventor of the questionably valuable expedient of ostracism, which takes its name from the sherds ('ostraka'), the waste paper of antiquity, upon which votes were recorded. Under certain safeguards ostracism made it possible in case of party strife to banish one of the party leaders for ten years. \*

Its power, thanks to the small scale of the state, the people exercises directly, not through representatives. It controls both the legislature and the executive; the former because the Assembly has the final ratification or rejection of all legislation, the latter because all magistrates, upon demitting office, must submit to the examination of the popular courts, in which even the poorest citizen can sit.

If the first principle of Athenian democracy is that of the sovereignty of the people, the second is that of the equal eligibility of all citizens to take part in government. Property qualification for office in practice disappeared, except in the case of some financial appointments; for where it remained a technical requirement, it could be evaded by legal fiction. The poorest citizens were, therefore, eligible to take part in the government, and the introduction of state pay for state service made this eligibility more than theoretical, for a subsistence allowance thus enabled the poor man to neglect his day's wage-earning for public duty.

The theory of equal eligibility was further pushed to its logical extreme in the adoption of casting lots as the method of selecting magistrates.

**Characteristics of Athenian Democracy** That chance is not likely to pick the best men is obvious, and one effect of its introduction, as we saw, was to concentrate political interest and to give the main political importance to the one remaining elective magistracy.

The poorest Athenian citizen, therefore, could and did take part in the government of his country. It is true that the system did not lack its critics. Plato is never tired of attacking what we may call the gospel of the amateur. No one, he says, would select a chance person to cook his dinner or to steer his ship, and government is a yet more exacting art than cookery or steersmanship. He has less faith than had Aristotle in the general soundness of the average judgement, while he is very sensible of the fickleness and emotionalism of political crowds. 'The many-headed monster,' in his view, responds rather to the gratification of its appetites than to wise direction, and it will be led not by statesmen but

by professional politicians. State payment he attacks as a system of bribery, and is inclined to stress the bad influence upon national and individual character exerted by a system which encourages the neglect of private for public affairs and tends to exalt the activities of busybodies.

Some truth there is undoubtedly in all these criticisms, but purely from the point of view of practice, we may here notice that

**Objections of Contemporary Critics**

the Athenian Assembly was far better qualified than one might think directly to control political affairs. The number of adult male citizens was very small, say between forty and fifty thousand in the fifth century. Every year there were elected five hundred Councillors, and no one might be Councillor more than twice. At any given moment, therefore, almost a quarter of the members of the Assembly must at some time or other have sat in the Council. There they had had practical first hand experience of the actual responsibility of carrying on the business of state. The leaven of the politically experienced was, therefore, very much larger in the Athenian than in any other popular assembly.

Perhaps the chief criticism, which will strike a modern observer, did not occur to Plato, for Plato was a Greek. It is a criticism which applies to all Greek city states. It is very significant that when Aristotle has arrived at the conclusion that the state exists to enable its citizens 'to live well,' he has then to ask 'what constitutes a citizen?'

For even in Athenian democracy the scope of political liberty would not satisfy a modern democrat, and in terms of brutal fact the citizens for whom the good life is provided form a hereditary class representing a minority of the inhabitants of the state. Statistics of population in ancient Athens are intricate and uncertain, but if we take two different estimates, our statement will be seen to hold for either. Zimmern gives 40,000 citizens, 24,000 resident aliens, 55,000 slaves; the citizens here represent 40,000 out of 119,000. E. Meyer gives 55,000 citizens, 14,000 resident aliens, 100,000 slaves; the proportion here is 55 to 169.



#### THE EASY LIFE OF RICH CITIZENS

By using servile labour Greek citizens could occupy themselves with politics or intellectual pursuits. In Athens especially the slave-owning class, of which a member is shown in this vase painting, was an influential element in society.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

By slavery Greek thinkers were troubled, but they accepted it as part of the natural order of things. Aristotle practically decides that a Greek ought not to be a slave, but that there are certain human beings who are natural slaves, without sufficient brains or intelligence to be worthy of self-realization. For such it may even be to their advantage to be governed by others rather than to misgovern themselves. He compares the use of slaves to the use of tame animals, the difference being that a slave can understand relatively elaborate orders.

In reaction against an exaggerated estimate of the importance of slavery in the Greek world, it is now the fashion rather to minimise it. But it is difficult for honesty to deny that ultimately Athenian democracy rested upon a basis of slavery, and that without slavery the degree of leisure, which Aristotle rightly notes to be an indispensable condition of his ideal, could not have been guaranteed to the citizen.

for the purposes of self-development and participation in public affairs. The dirty work of society has somehow to be done. The amount may now be reduced by machinery, but even in America the residual necessary minimum has until now been done mainly by successive waves of peasant immigrants.

Slaves in Athens were not on the whole badly treated. The slave, it is true, had no legal personality; he was a chattel which could be seized for debt; his family relations were not recognized; his evidence in the courts was given under torture. But the law guaranteed him, on the other hand, against brutal ill treatment by his master. Manumission was permitted, and became increasingly practised. The greatest banker of the fourth century, Pasion, started his career as a money-changer's slave.

What with us would be municipal services were performed by state slaves. All domestic work, which was not done by the women of the household, was done by slaves. Well-to-do families would have five or six, and all but the very poorest at least one. The household slave, however, as we meet him in Greek



#### DOMESTIC SERVICE ALLOTTED TO SLAVES

Aristotle's maxim, 'the good citizen ought not to learn the crafts of inferiors except for his occasional use,' illustrates the curious constitution of Greek society. There were indeed citizen artisans, but menial work, as in the household, was almost always done by slaves; those seen here are probably footmen.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

literature, has all the characteristics of the loyal and privileged retainer. Skilled labour, again, will always command fair treatment; for in any work demanding more than the minimum of attention and intelligence, to secure the good will of the worker is essential even from the purely economic point of view. The very small scale of ancient industry, with its necessarily intimate human relationships, should also be remembered. Only in the silver mines of Laurium, where slaves were ruthlessly used as living tools until they wore out, were the brutal conditions of 'plantation' slavery to be found.

The other non-citizens were the 'metics,' or resident aliens. These it had been the policy of Athens to encourage to settle in Attica, and as a class they were well contented with their lot. Their social position was not inferior to that of a citizen, but they possessed no political rights. An ancient authority has calculated that in any given year there were twenty thousand citizens drawing pay in some form or other from the state. Given a preoccupation of citizens with public affairs upon such a scale as these figures indicate, it is readily intelligible that, upon the whole, the commercial business tended more and more to pass into the hands of resident aliens, whose ineligibility saved them from the distraction of public affairs.

The scale, then, upon which Athenian democracy was put into practice will justify serious criticism. Equal opportunity to citizens was not merely promised

but was actually conferred to a degree which has nowhere else been realized. But, on the other hand, 'citizens' were but a hereditary minority among the inhabitants of Attica.

Even with this limitation, however, the Greeks had made a great discovery: the conception of the state as a voluntary association of freemen for their maximum benefit, **The fundamental and as a living entity in Greek discovery** the functional activities

of which all its members must play an active part. This idea, which lies at the foundation of the subsequent development of Western political ideals, was quite foreign to the East, and Herodotus is right in his perception that the conflict between Persia and the patriot Greek states involved deep spiritual issues.

This Greek view of the nature of society had been worked out on a very small scale, small enough indeed to permit of the direct government of the people by the people. The notion of representative government, in consequence, hardly emerged as a possibility in the consciousness of Greek political philosophers or statesmen. As we shall see in Chapter 49, the Greeks never perceived that the principles which held good for the ideal society upon a small scale must in some way be given expression in the structure of any political unit larger than the city state if it was to prove healthy and permanent. Partly in consequence of this, such attempts as were made to create larger political units or empires proved to be short-lived failures.

The moral which Greek political philosophy drew from this experience is characteristic. It was that the ideal society could only be realized in small and isolated communities. Thus while his great pupil Alexander was conquering the known world and bringing to an end the era of the city state, Aristotle was mapping out an ideal world of small urban political communities, carefully restricted in population, and allowed but so much contact with each other as would not mutually corrupt good manners.



#### INFORMAL COMMENT ON GREEK SLAVERY

While the slaves labouring in the mines of Laurium may have suffered cruel treatment, those attached to households and the servile craftsmen enjoyed many amenities. The humanity of the ordinary owner finds a reflection in this engaging terra-cotta of an old slave asleep (sixth-fourth century B.C.).

*British Museum*

# THE PERSIANS AND THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT KING

Describing the Religion and Character of the Iranians  
and the Organization of the Dominions which they ruled

By G. B. GRUNDY D.Litt.

Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford ; Author of *The Great Persian War*, etc.

**A** SIA south of the line of the Hindu Kush and west of the mountains of Afghanistan is a land of physical contrasts in which plains of extraordinary fertility, areas of desolate and uncultivable desert and rugged mountain regions are found in immediate proximity to one another. The richness of its cultivated regions has always proved a magnet to attract the covetousness of those who have lived in the areas within it and outside it which are less favoured by nature.

For the greater part of the millennium immediately preceding the Christian Era the great plain of the Euphrates, a land whose natural fertility under irrigation had been brought to its highest point by the works of a world-old civilization, formed the nucleus of this western part of the continent of Asia. It was a country in which the population enjoyed an ease of existence that contrasted with the hardness and precariousness of the life which men lived in the regions of mountains and deserts which surrounded it. The virile dwellers in these less favoured areas looked with jealousy on the wealth of those who were settled on the fertile plains. The mountaineer, who won his living hardly by tilling the soil of the rare cultivable areas in his mountain home, or from the rearing of flocks on upland pasture, was tempted by the contrast between his own poverty and the wealth of neighbours inhabiting one of the richest regions in the world to essay the conquest of a land where life might be lived on easier terms than in his own rugged home.

On the other hand, the prosperous dwellers in the plain were aware that,

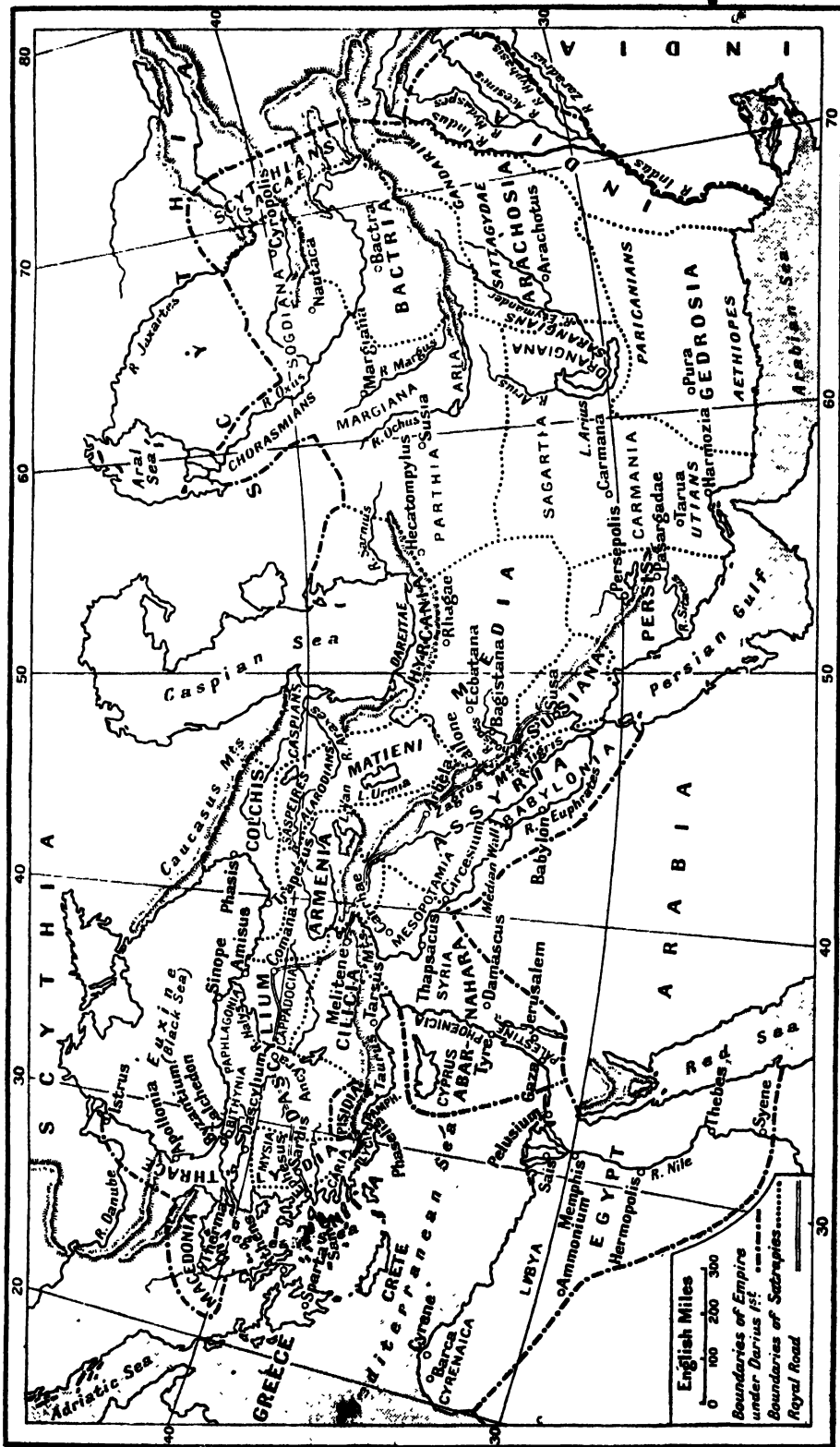
if they were to keep what they had got, they must be prepared to repel the attacks which were sure to come from their poorer neighbours. They made up their minds that the best way of securing their own safety was by bringing those neighbours into some sort of subjection to their own power. But it was not merely these neighbours that they had to fear. The fame of the wealth of the Euphrates region spread far and wide through the plains of northern Asia, so that the wild nomads of that region conceived now and again the idea of attempting the conquest, or at any rate the spoliation, of this eastern El Dorado.

Thus there rose in the Euphrates basin monarchies that were not content with a life of ease which they knew to be a precarious condition, but for their own security sought to bring under their subjection as much as they could of western Asia.

The strategic position of the Mesopotamian lands was not weak. On the north the great mass of the Armenian mountains, one of the most difficult regions in the world for an invader to traverse, protected them to a great extent from raids coming from the plains of southern Europe. These mountains are continued westward by the Anti-Taurus and Taurus chains, which formed, owing to the fewness and difficulty of the passes through them, a formidable barrier to possible assailants from the peninsula of Asia Minor. To the east the plains are separated from the plateau of Iran by the parallel ridges of the Zagros chain. To the south lay

**Strategic strength  
of Mesopotamia**





### EXTENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH UNDER DARIUS

Consummate generalship and supreme statesmanship carried the Persian empire of Darius eastwards to the mountain lands about the Indus and westwards to Macedonia and the Isles of Greece. The imperial sway was threatened by the upstart satrapies to the north and north-west at the time of the king's accession, but in two years Darius made his authority supreme and established the Persian empire on a solid basis. Insubordination among the Ionian Greeks resulted in Darius and, after him, Xerxes, launching great expeditions to subdue their Greek brethren on the mainland, but they ended in disaster.

the sea and the desert, and to the west also the northern stretches of the Arabian desert, impassable by an invading army.

The peoples which, in the last millennium before Christ, formed the population of this West Asian region were almost as varied in character as the region itself. Asia Minor was a very museum of nationalities: Greeks in the west, and in patches on the northern coast; Phrygians, a Thracian race from Europe, in the north-west; Carians, Lycians and Lydians, races probably akin to that mysterious race which created the great civilization of Crete, in its western and south-western area; Hittites mixed with fragments of Scythian and Cimmerian tribes in the region east of the Halys river. The Hittites were possibly of the same ethnic family as the Lydians and their neighbours. The Cimmerians, and to a certain extent the Scyths, were of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of nations, fragments of bands of raiders who had made their way into Asia Minor from the plains of South Europe.

In Armenia the population was of the Indo-European family, probably of the Iranian branch; for their religion and their history in Roman times suggest kinship with the Iranians who lived south-east of them. Semitic peoples inhabited Syria and the northern Euphrates region. In the south of that region, in Babylonia, they were mingled with the Sumerians, a people who brought the arts of civilization to a very high point, aided, perhaps, by knowledge derived from India.

To the south-east of Babylonia, east of the Persian Gulf, lay Elam, a mountainous region, inhabited by a people

**Varied Races in West Asia** whose racial affinities are unknown. East, beyond the ridges of the Zagros chain, in the north-west of the plateau of Iran, dwelt the Medes, an Iranian race. The Persians, who are associated so closely with them in later history, seem to have dwelt in the southern, mountainous part of the plateau. It is possible that they were originally a Median tribe

By the time that the Medes and Persians emerge on the surface of history the whole of south Russia and the plains of the Oxus were occupied by races of Iranian

blood or Iranian affinities, of which the Scythians and Cimmerians are best known to history. They had broken into south Russia in the early centuries of this millennium and settled in the area to the north of the Euxine. The Parthians, who were destined to play a great part in western Asia in Roman times, occupied at the dawn of history the western districts of Khorassan, far east of the region where the Medes and Persians dwelt.

The special habitats of the Medes and Persians respectively were the mountainous districts which lie north-west and south-east of that great desert which forms the middle part of modern Persia. The two regions

**Ethnic Relations of the Iranians**

were of much the same character, large areas of mountain upland suitable for pasture, interspersed by well-watered and fertile valleys, regions which might have satisfied those who dwelt in them had they not been in too obvious contrast with the exceptional fertility and wealth of the irrigated plains of Mesopotamia.

The terminology of ethnography has become somewhat confused by modifications which the discoveries of the last half century have rendered necessary. Generically the Iranians belonged to that Indo-European family of nations which included a large part of the population of India, and also, even at the dawn of history, a large part of the peoples of Europe. Specifically they belonged to the Aryan branch of the race, a name not invented by the modern ethnologist, but that by which the Iranian and Indian branches of the race called themselves.

Though the various races of the Indo-European family had separated from one another long before history begins, and though no legend or myth going back to that period of separation has survived, yet the evidence of a language and of a religion which were originally common to all these peoples affords scientific proof of their original unity. Of the evidence of language it is not necessary to speak here; but that derived from religion has a special bearing on some of the most important characteristics of that branch of the Iranian race which was for two centuries paramount in western Asia.

It is possible to trace the religions of all the Indo-European races back to an original worship of powers of nature. It is a natural impulse in man to seek to propitiate those powers of nature which he does not understand, those powers which are supposed to send him good or bad harvests, peace or war, and, generally speaking, prosperity or ill fortune in all the various phases of life. In such a religion good and evil are material concepts. With the Greeks and Romans this materialistic concept of good and evil was still the main feature of their religion in historical times. Such ideas as they developed of a moral and spiritual good were evolved either by teaching or experience drawn from

**Religion born of** the conventions of social  
**Nature worship** life, leavened by an idea that there was a power, Nemesis, outside the gods of their pantheon, which punished in this life various forms of manifest evil. It is perhaps strange that the imaginative Greek did not evolve a concept of religion more spiritual than that of the unimaginative Roman; but his spiritual imagination, when it developed, turned to the exploration of the possibilities of Man rather than of God.

The Aryan (Indian and Iranian) branch of the family was more imaginative than the Greek, and had developed its spiritual ideas long before the Greek had emerged from crude materialism. Yet even its religious ideas were evolved from materialistic beginnings. To the early Aryan good and evil were concerned with material things, and especially with the supply of the fruits of the earth.

There are points of similarity between the religions of the Aryan and non-Aryan branches of the Indo-European race so striking as to make it beyond doubt that they had one and the same origin, and, initially, one and the same form. The very remotest traditions which have survived in, and with reference to, these religions, however, do not carry the modern world back to that time of uniformity. But from the remotest period that can be traced in Aryan religious tradition the Aryans had developed a concept of deity in great contrast to that which prevailed in the Greek and Roman

world of any period which history or even legend can reach—a contrast the importance of which has not been sufficiently emphasised by writers who have compared the religions of the two branches of the Indo-European race.

From the very earliest period of which any trace survives the Aryan had a conception of good and evil as emanating from different powers, from gods and from demons. The gods were benevolent; the demons malevolent. The Greeks, on the other hand, conceived gods who could and might be either, according as their worshippers did or did not placate them by the formalities of prayer and sacrifice. It is perhaps needless to say that the Aryan concept implies a much higher idea of the divine nature than that which prevailed among the Greeks and Romans.

But as at some very remote period there had come a parting of the ways in the notions of divinity held by Aryan and non-Aryan Indo-Europeans, so later, also at some date beyond record, the developments of religious ideas among the Aryan races began to take different directions, the Iranian going one way and the Indian another. Of the Indian it is not necessary to speak here; but of the two it may be said that, judged by modern western ideas, the Iranian developed a concept of religion higher than that which came to prevail in India.

There was one material element, fire, which seems to have played a part in the very earliest form of religion among the Indo-European races. It

was, no doubt, as a source of heat and light that it came to have divinity

**Iranian Veneration of Fire**

attributed to it. As such it was associated with the sun, so that there was always a connexion between the veneration given to the one and to the other. Its prominence was greater in the religions of the Iranian peoples than among the races of southern Europe; but among the Greeks and Romans its sanctity was shown by the worship of Hestia (Vesta), and in Greek legend by the myth of Prometheus. Also to Iranian and Greek alike the greatest of the gods was the god of light and heat. There were counterparts of Zeus and Uranus among all the Indo-

European peoples. Thus there were contrasts and similarities between the Iranian and non-Iranian Indo-European religions.

The Iranian religion as it existed among the Medes and Persians of the days of Darius did not originate with them. They borrowed it from the Iranians farther east, among whom Zarathustra, or Zoroaster, was said to have laid the foundations of a revised creed imposed upon the old beliefs of the Iranian peoples. The Iranians seem originally to have had the conception of a world full of demons hostile to mankind, opposed by spiritual beings which gave man material blessings. The latter they associated with light, the former with darkness; physical phenomena associated with good and evil throughout the Indo-European world generally.

But to Zoroaster was attributed the idea of a conflict between good and evil, not merely in the material but also in the spiritual world. In his ideas with regard to material good the Iranian did not differ from his ethnic relations, in that

he held the belief that Man must win blessings from God by prayer and sacrifice; though he did not, like the Greek and Roman, conceive of a god who would send evil on him if these offices were omitted. God would simply withhold the good. The evil would come from the powers of evil, against whom a neglected god would not defend mankind.

In the Iranian, as in the Greek and Roman world, the deceased ancestor was regarded as having the power to confer blessings on his descendants. It is not possible in the case of the Greeks and Romans to see any real connexion between ancestor worship and that of the national gods; and it is generally held that the two forms had independent origins, and developed side by side without traceable effect on one another. However that may be, the Iranian had connected the two by regarding ancestors as saints about the throne of the supreme god Ahura-mazda, or Ormuzd, beings who could by intercession obtain from him blessings on their posterity.



#### AHURA-MAZDA AS REPRESENTED ON THE ROCK OF BEHISTUN

In 516 B.O. Darius caused the history of his accession to be engraved on the face of a towering rock at Behistun. A photograph of the accompanying sculptures appears in page 1090, necessarily foreshortened owing to the inaccessibility of the site. Its details are shown in this drawing. Ahura-mazda the national god of the Persians, is represented within a winged disk symbolising the sun, with forks of lightning flashing from either side—symbolism derived through Assyria from Egypt.

*From 'Wonders of the Past'*

The religion of Iran as developed in Darius' time was a monotheism which retained traces of the polytheism of the Indo-European races. Ahura-mazda was without question a god whose supremacy was such that all other divine beings were subordinated to him. He was not, like the Zeus of the Greek world, merely 'first among his peers.' There were, indeed, other god-like beings; but they were genii, spiritual beings rather than gods, conceived of as objects of worship, but not as being on the same spiritual plane as the supreme god. They did not stand beside Ahura-mazda as Hera, Apollo, Poseidon and the other gods of the Graeco-Roman world did beside Zeus. This fact is of great significance in any estimate of the relative spirituality of the Iranian religion as compared with those of the rest of the Indo-European family of nations.

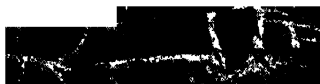
But what is more important from a practical point of view is the profound difference between the ideas associated with genii in the mind of the Iranian and those associated with his gods in the mind of the Greek. To the Greeks the gods represented powers in physical nature, of the sea, the sun, the rain and of production. The benefits which the gods could confer were material. But to the Iranian, Ahura-mazda was the god of light, of truth, of purity, the creator of all, the wise, the almighty. He represented the abstract as well as the concrete, the spiritual as well as the physical world. Beside him were the genii, the immortal saints of the religion, representing abstractions such as health, immortality and similar ideas. In contrast with them were the demons of death, sterility, deceit and so forth, always at war with the beneficent beings; defeated by them, but never wholly conquered. Their number was endless, manifested in all the forms of evil. At their head was Ahriman, whose throne was in the darkness of the north.

Thus Iranian ethics were not, as in the Greek world, a

side of life having little or no connexion with religion, but so intimately associated with it as to be an inseparable part of the religious whole. Religion entered into the daily conduct of the Persian in a way in which it never did into the life of the Greek. Generally speaking, the Iranian religion differs most widely from the other Indo-European religions in the fact that moral conduct is not merely one element, but the central element of it. It is a religion of reality, not of mere formality.

Moreover, the good life was not merely inculcated as a precept of the religion, but was also encouraged by its ideal of the after-life. While its teaching admitted that the good could never attain a final victory in this life, since one of its important doctrines was that this world came into being by reason of the clash between good and evil, yet it inspired men to believe in the separation of good and evil in the after-life. There were not one but two worlds of the hereafter: a world of good and happiness to which passed the spirits of those who had done good in this world, and another of evil and misery, for those who had done evil. The fate of the dead was determined by a last judgement at the bridge of Tsinvat.

Teaching about  
the After-life



#### ALTARS TO THE GOD OF PURITY AND TRUTH

Fire, as producing heat and light, was the true symbol to the Iranians of the personality of Ahura-mazda. These two imposing fire-altars, the height of a man, stand on a stepped platform on the western slope of the Hussein Kuh at Persepolis; altars and platform are all hewn out of the solid rock.

*From Salfer and Herzfeld 'Iranische Felsreliefs'*



#### ANCIENT PERSIAN ARTISTRY

Opulent imagination is expressed in this Persian ornament of the fourth or fifth century B.C. It is of gold, and the cells in the armlet itself and in the terminal gryphons were once filled with a blue mineral, probably lazulite.

*Victoria and Albert Museum*

If by the immortality of the soul be understood an unending future existence, then the Iranian religion presumed more than that. It taught that each man had a genius, or soul, which had existed in an immeasurable past, abode with him in this life, and passed at his death to an eternity in another world, a world in which the departed spirits of the good brought blessings on descendants who honoured them with prayer and sacrifice.

Thus, the religion of the Iranian presented this great contrast to the religion of the contemporary peoples of southern Europe; it was a personal rather than a national religion, a religion which guided the moral conduct of the individual in every act of life, not a religion of formality to which the devotee need not conform save at times of public worship.

Its abstract character as compared with the religions of Greece and Rome is shown by its symbolism. The symbols of divinity among the Greek and Roman peoples were gods sculptured or painted in human form. It is true that on certain Persian monuments which have survived, the sculptor has sought to represent the personality of Ahura-mazda. But the true symbol of that deity was fire. Fire as producing heat was the purifier, and as producing light was sym-

bolic of truth; and truth and purity were the essential attributes of Ahura-mazda. He was not considered as being subject to those human frailties which legend and epic attributed to the gods of Greece.

The points of similarity between the concepts of the Iranian and the Christian religions are obvious. Whether the latter drew any inspiration from the former cannot be said, for it is not known how far the Iranian creed had influenced the Near East by the time when the Christian era began. The influence, if any, may have come through the later developments of pre-Christian Jewish doctrine, the teachings of which had almost certainly been affected by Persian influence. Iranian religious doctrine was modified greatly in the centuries which intervened between the days of Darius and the days of the Antonine emperors of Rome; but in its modified form, as Mithraism (see Chap. 74), it still taught the possibility of a blissful after-life, and so caught the



#### ARCHAIC SILVER DRINKING HORN

Persian art owed much to Assyrian and Babylonian art, yet had a new spirit. The indebtedness and the originality are both perceptible in this fluted silver drinking horn with a fantastic beaked and horned animal for handle.

*British Museum*

imagination of a western world that had long faced the phenomenon of death with much fear, little hope, and no assurance. As conveying a message of hope for the future it proved a serious rival to that Christianity whose doctrine held out similar fair hopes of the hereafter.

It was inevitable that a religion so personal, a religion which made so many demands on the moral conduct of the individual, should affect for the better the lives of its devotees. Despite a fierce rivalry between Greek and Persian, which during the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ prejudiced either race against the other, it is possible to see that, unless Herodotus and Xenophon misrepresent the views of their countrymen, the Greeks recognized in the Persian certain great qualities which they themselves did not possess to the same degree.

The Persian was no saint; but, judged by the moral standard prevailing in the world of his time, he was morally superior to the men of contemporary races. He could be cruel on occasion; but he had not that lust for cruelty so characteristic of some of the races of western Asia. He had certain vices common to the East that are abhorred by western races, which have

not the same temptation to pursue them, but he possessed the virtues of truth and honesty in an age when such virtues were not common. Of his bravery there can be no doubt. He succumbed to the Macedonian because the latter was the better armed, not because he was the braver man. And, when he had succumbed, the greatest of the Macedonians, Alexander, recognized him as a worthy partner in the rule of that empire in which he had been long supreme.

By force of superior weapons the successors of Alexander, the Seleucids, maintained a precarious hold on the Iranian portion of their empire, and sought to

**Iranians proof  
against Hellenisation**

Hellenise it by the planting of colonies of Greeks in various parts of it. But the Hellenisation stopped short at the material arts of life. The eastern Iranian borrowed no ideas either moral or political from these Greek islands in a sea of orientalism. The religious ideas of the Greeks of that age, mingled scepticism and superstition, did not appeal to him. He went his own way till the precarious Graeco-Macedonian rule faded and died, and the Parthian Iranian attained the mastery in western Asia beyond the Taurus and the Arabian desert.

Up to the time of the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C. the predominant power in west Asia was that Assyrian kingdom which was centred in the northern plains of the Euphrates basin. It had brought under its dominion Babylonia, Media, Armenia and Syria, and, less than forty years before its fall, the land of Elam. To within a very brief period before the catastrophe it seemed at the height of its power and splendour; but it is evident that this power had been wasted in continual warfare with those races it had subdued, people who were ready to face any danger in order to free themselves from a subjection as cruel as any which is recorded in history. The Assyrian was a first-rate fighter; but he showed little capacity for ordered rule.

Among his rebellious subjects the Medes were prominent; and it is in connexion with their relations with Assyria that they first appear in history.



**SCYTHIAN WARRIORS' UNIFORM**

As depicted on this palace frieze at Persepolis, Scythian warriors wore pointed hoods and long cloaks. They carried short spears and distinctive shields, convex oval in shape and apparently made of plaited wickerwork.

*Berlin Museum*

The Assyrians and Babylonians recorded various events in early Median history in their inscriptions; and the decipherment of these has made it possible to reconstruct in outline the story of the kingdom. The Medes themselves left very few such records behind them, save the inscriptions set up by Darius at various periods of his reign. For such knowledge as can be gained of the Medes and Persians before their coming into direct contact with the Greeks the modern world has to have recourse mainly to a few references made to them in inscriptions of the very last age of the revived Babylonian kingdom, and to such information as is contained in the works of Greek writers, especially Herodotus, Ctesias and Xenophon.

Xenophon may be dismissed in a few words. Though it is probable that he knew the Persians as a race as well as any Greek of his day, it never occurred to him to write a Persian history in any comprehensive form. The *Anabasis* is an account of a brilliant adventure of the Greek race, confined, so far as subject is concerned, to one brief but exciting incident in the long history of the Persian kingdom. The *Cyropaedia* gives interesting details with regard to Persian life and ethics; but contributes little to our knowledge of Persian history.

Ctesias had peculiar opportunities for acquiring knowledge of the past history of Persia, opportunities which he may be said to have wasted in an attempt to discredit the authority of his predecessor, Herodotus. He was physician at the Persian court from 414 to 398 B.C., and he must have written his history shortly after the latter year. The ancient world regarded him as a liar, and such later authors as dealt with Persian history by the usual method of plagiarising from



**PERSIAN MALE COSTUME**

Early Persian garb is clearly presented in this silver figurine. The baggy trousers and long cloak, open in front, are still the national costume.

*Berlin Museum*

previous historians preferred Herodotus as an authority.

It is possible to form a probable conjecture as to the sources used by Herodotus in his account of early Median and Persian history. He himself speaks of Persian chronicles as though he had had recourse to them; but as there is no reason to believe that he knew the Persian language, he must have studied them at second hand. Yet, though there are manifest errors in his Medo-Persian history, there is undoubtedly much that may be accepted as trustworthy.

Around the personality of such founders of empire as Cyrus legends would grow freely, embodied, as is the way in the East, in folk-tales which would be told in the bazaars or wherever men congregated; and it may be regarded as certain that these would have reached western Asia Minor before Herodotus' own day, and would have been translated into Greek by the tale-loving Hellenes. On these he may have drawn. But it has also been surmised on reasonable evidence that Herodotus had Persian friends, particularly among that family which held the satrapy of Dascylium on the south shore of the Propontis as a sort of hereditary vice-royalty during the whole of the fifth century, and that he drew information from them, since in his early Persian history he has special information with regard to the deeds of ancestors of this family. As regards other possible sources, it is known that, though official records are conspicuous by their absence, epics or sagas dealing with historical events in Persian history were features of Persian life.

The story of the Median kingdom as told by Herodotus begins about 700 B.C., and covers, roughly speaking, the last century of Assyrian history. He gives a



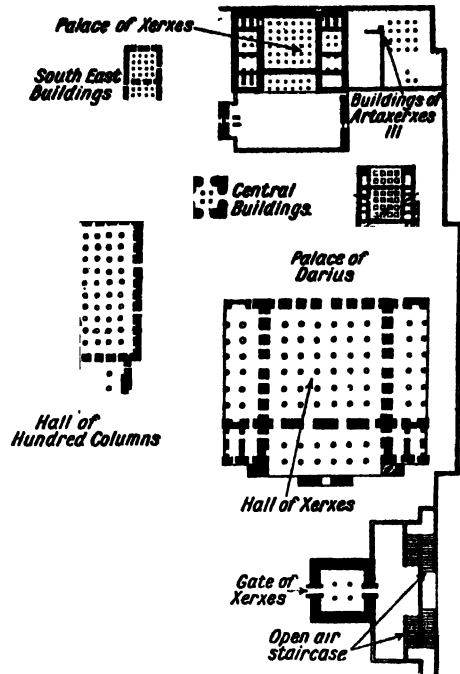


#### PANORAMA OF PERSEPOLIS AS VIEWED TO-DAY FROM THE PLAINS OF MERVDASHT

Persepolis was raised upon a vast artificial platform constructed at the foot of a spur of the mountain chain that traverses the plain of Mervdasht in the modern Persian province of Fars. The platform, made of gigantic blocks of limestone, had a greatest length of 436 yards and a greatest width of 110 yards, the whole being surrounded by a perpendicular containing wall 32 to 39 feet high. This photograph gives a good view of the sheer side of the platform, with the shell of the palace of Darius upon it to the right and, on the left, some of the columns of the Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes.

list of kings, some of whose names appear in recognizable forms in Assyrian inscriptions. But, following Median sources, he is under the impression that the Median kingdom was independent of Assyria a generation or two before such freedom was actually attained. The Medes were restless subjects of that cruel rule, and there is no reason to doubt that there were many revolts during the seventh century B.C. in which the Medes were sometimes the assailants, sometimes the assailed. But Median independence did not come till very shortly before Nineveh fell and the Assyrian kingdom vanished utterly from the world and from history.

The beginning of the end was a great inroad of the Scyths from the north into western Asia. It is plain from the Assyrian monuments that the Assyrians had employed this race in wars with Armenians and Medes, and had thus introduced it to a knowledge of the wealth of the plains of western Asia. To these



**VISION OF PERSEPOLIS IN THE DAYS OF ITS LIVING SPLENDOUR**

From the ground plan of the ruined city (top), from the ruins themselves and from particulars furnished by many extant reliefs it has been possible to prepare this reconstruction of Persepolis as it was in the days of its glory. On the right the great staircase leads up to the Propylaea of Xerxes, beyond which are the Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes, and the palaces of Darius and Xerxes. In the centre are the gardens, and to the left of the Hypostyle Hall is the Hall of a Hundred Columns. Beyond the plateau two of the seven hillside sepulchres of the Achaemenid kings are shown.

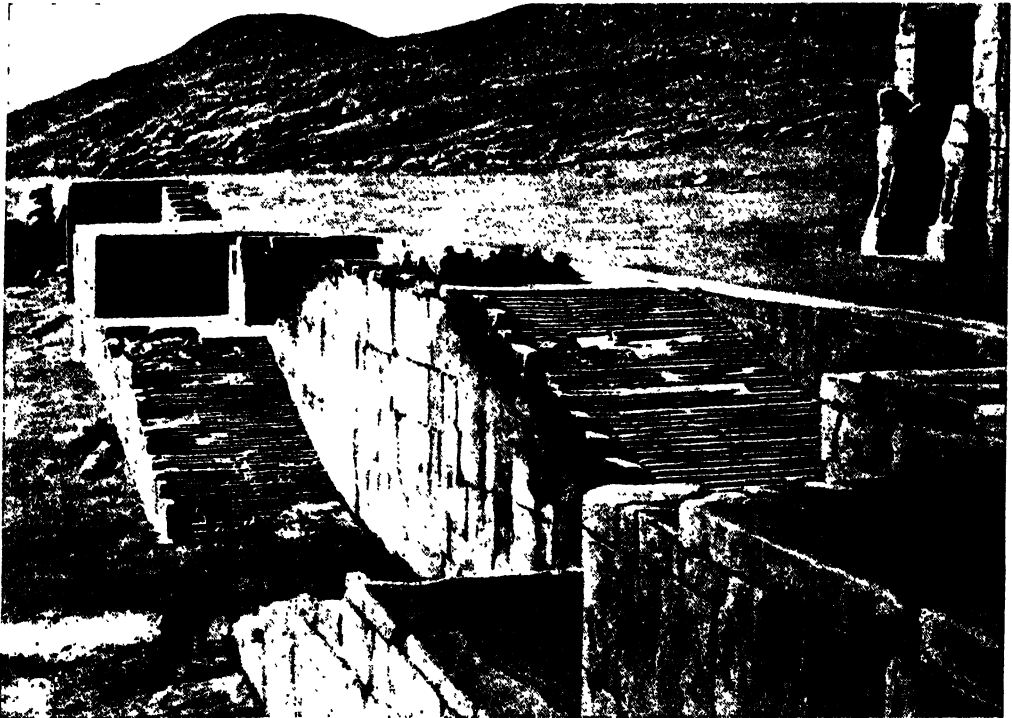
*After a reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez*

wild but by no means uncivilized nomads the temptation to acquire some of this wealth was too great to be resisted ; and so in the latter half of the seventh century they poured into Mesopotamia in such numbers that Assyria, wasted by continual war, could not repel them. It was more than a raid, for the term 'raid' can hardly be applied to an inroad which lasted for at least twenty years. The invaders overran the rich lands of the Euphrates region and Syria, where the Jews shut themselves up in their fenced cities and watched the devastation of their lands by those wild horsemen. 'Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and the wolf of the evening shall spoil them ; a leopard shall watch over their cities ; everyone that goeth forth shall be torn to pieces,' said the Hebrew prophet, Jeremiah, who saw the terrible inroad.

The Scythians did not destroy Assyria ; but they so broke its power that in 612 a

combined force of Medes and Babylonians captured Nineveh and destroyed it and the kingdom. Thus the Medes and Babylonians succeeded to the heritage of Assyria.

The previous history of the Medes is in itself obscure, and is further obscured by Herodotus' error in supposing that they won independence of Assyria at an earlier date than they actually did. Of them Fravartish, the Phraortes of Greek historians, who reigned from about 655 to 633, subdued, so Herodotus says, the Persians, and later perished in an abortive attack on Nineveh. The ancestors of the later Persian line of kings, the Achaemenids, seem to have been at this time merely chiefs of the Persian tribe of the Pasargadae. Akhamanish, the Achaemenes of the Greeks, founder of the line, is mentioned in the Behistun inscription of Darius, and is therefore not to be regarded as an unsubstantial hero of legend. His successor Chaispi, the Teispes of Herodotus, is also



**GRAND STAIRWAY TO THE PALACE OF THE KING OF KINGS**

The state entrance to the palace buildings was by the great staircase on the south-western side of the artificial plateau to which it still serves as the ascent. It consists of two separate flights of steps parallel with the wall, and contains in all a hundred and eleven steps so gentle in gradient that a horseman could ride up and down it without difficulty. The foot of the staircase is reached from the plain by a gentle slope adapted to the approach of a large body of people.



#### RUINS OF THE STATELY HALLS OF XERXES AND DARIUS

Only about a dozen broken pillars remain of the Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes, once the most imposing building in Persepolis. It stood upon a platform encrusted with carvings and reliefs and was reached by a secondary staircase from the main artificial plateau. Behind it on a level some seven feet higher still was the palace of Darius comprising portico, pillared hall and rectangular chambers.

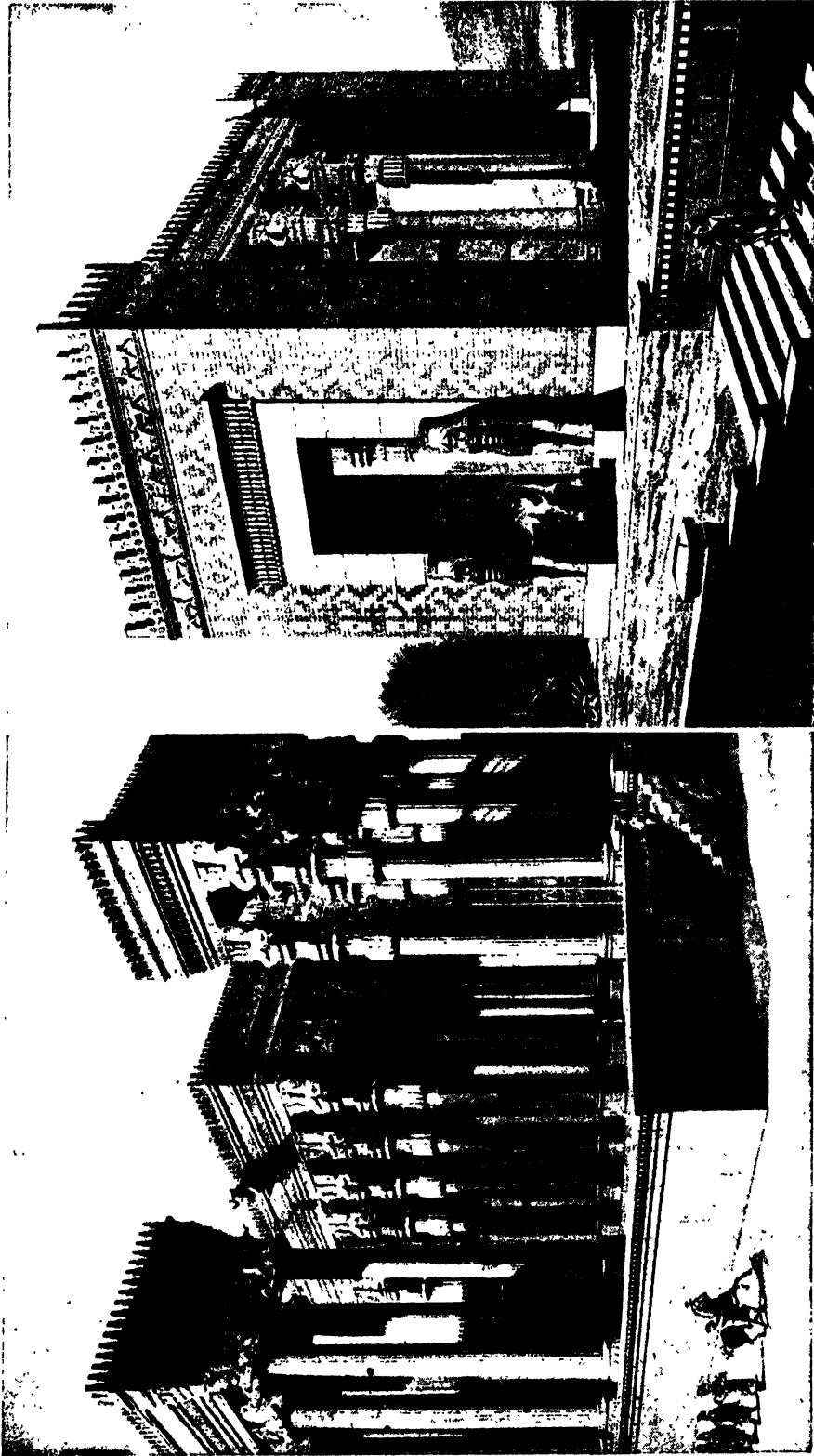
The ruins (below) give an idea of what it was like originally (see plate facing page 1141).

*Upper photo, Sir Percy Sykes; lower, from Sarre and Herzfeld 'Iranische Felsreliefs'*

mentioned in the same inscription. During the reign or chieftainship of Teispes the power of the family was increased by the acquisition of the lordship of Anshan, the eastern part of Elam, which seems to have been a reward for his having helped the Assyrians in their attack on Elam

about the year 647. It may be presumed that he at the same time freed himself from what must have been at most a brief subjection to the Median monarchy.

The successor of Phraortes on the throne of Media was a certain Huvakshatara, the Cyaxares of Greek story. He it was



# **SUPREME ACHIEVEMENTS OF IRANIAN ARCHITECTURE : THE PALACE AND PROPYLAEA OF XERXES RESTORED**

Hellenic, Assyrian and Egyptian styles were blended by the genius of the Iranian architects who designed and built for Xerxes the Hypostyle Hall and the Propylaea at Persepolis. The cedar-roofed Hall (left), set on a massive carven base, was a miracle of fluted columns crowned by double-headed bulls which supported a fretted entablature. Detached colonnades surrounded it on three sides. The Propylaea (right) stood at the head of the grand staircase shown in page 1136. It was a roofed corridor with massive piers of brick and masonry, sentinelled by winged monsters of Assyrian fashion at each end.

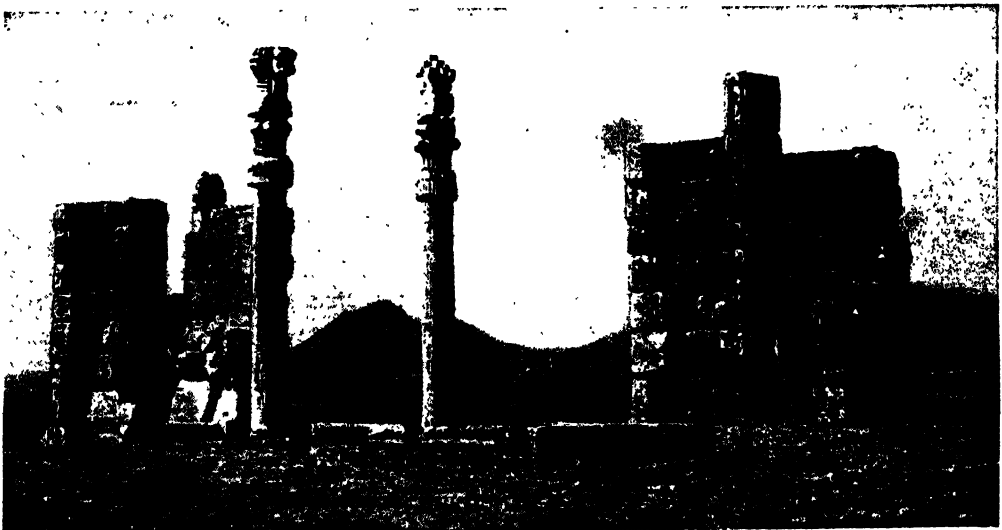
*After reconstructions by Ch. Chipiez*

who helped Babylonia to overthrow Assyria. From him therefore dates the greatness of that Median realm which was in every sense the forerunner of the Persian Empire. In the partition of the spoil of Assyria Babylonia obtained Babylonia and Syria. To Media fell the former home region of Assyria in the upper plain of the Tigris, and what was probably a nominal possession of the wild uplands of Armenia.

The history of the next fifty years may be summed up briefly by saying that Babylonia passed through a brilliant period of life under a line of kings, of whom the Nebuchadrezzar of Bible story was the most famous, to fall in the end beneath the sway of the conquering Cyrus. But little is known of the story of Media during this half century; what is known suggests that its history must have been more strenuous than that of Babylonia; and that a great part of



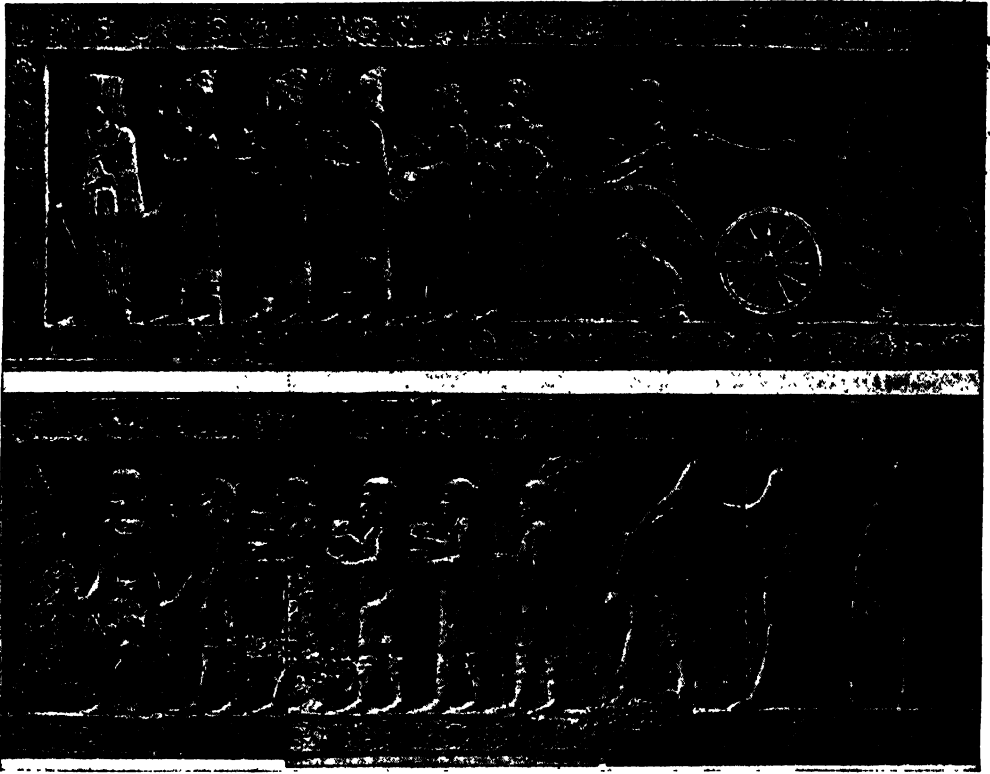
From these ruins of the eastern, inner portal of the Propylaea with their human-headed, winged colossi it is easy to imagine the erstwhile massive grandeur of the gate and its formidable Assyrian appearance when viewed from front and rear.



What the Propylaea must have looked like when perfect is shown in the reconstruction opposite. All that actually remains of the structure to-day are these limestone fragments of the piers at its extremities and the shafts of two of the inner columns. The contrast presented by the four-square masonry of the portals and the airy pillars and delicate grace of the side elevation was new in architecture, an ingenious combination of the three great architectures of the ancient world.

#### PORTALS AND PILLARS<sup>3</sup> OF THE GREAT PORCH OF XERXES

• Lower Photo, Sir Percy Sykes



#### TRIBUTE TO XERXES FROM SYRIA AND BACTRIA

Following the old established practice of oriental monarchs the Persian Kings covered all available wall space with carving in relief illustrating the glorious events of their career. The face of the supporting platform of the Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes and of the walls of the outside staircase leading up to it was thus covered with multitudes of figures depicting subject peoples bringing tribute to him.

In the upper of these strips Syrians are thus portrayed; in the lower, Bactrians.

*Cast from Persepolis in British Museum*

the remainder of Cyaxares' long reign must have been occupied with the subjugation of those former Assyrian tributaries that had fallen under his rule, which at first must have been nominal.

By 585 he had extended his dominions so as to include the eastern part of Asia Minor, a region never really under Assyrian dominion, for that power had never held real sway beyond the Taurus. In this advance he came into contact with the Lydian kingdom, which had in recent years greatly increased its power, and had extended its dominions as far as the Halys. On this river the Medes and Lydians drew up their armies in 585 B.C., in readiness to fight a battle. It was never fought, however, for as recorded in Chronicle IV an eclipse of the sun so frightened both sides that they drew off; and not very long afterwards a peace was arranged between them through the mediation of Babylon.

Thereafter, so far as is known, things remained in statu quo in western Asia until the rise of Cyrus.

It is not possible to say what was the position of the Achaemenid family and its dominions with regard to the aggrandised Media, except this, that the Achaemenids were brought by marriage into relationship with the Median royal house. This, and the close connexion between Mede and Persian, is implied in the manner in which Nabonidus of Babylon records the subsequent submission of the Meæes to Cyrus. He regards the change of dynasty as a mere domestic matter in Median history, not as the conquest of one race by another, nor even as a revolution.

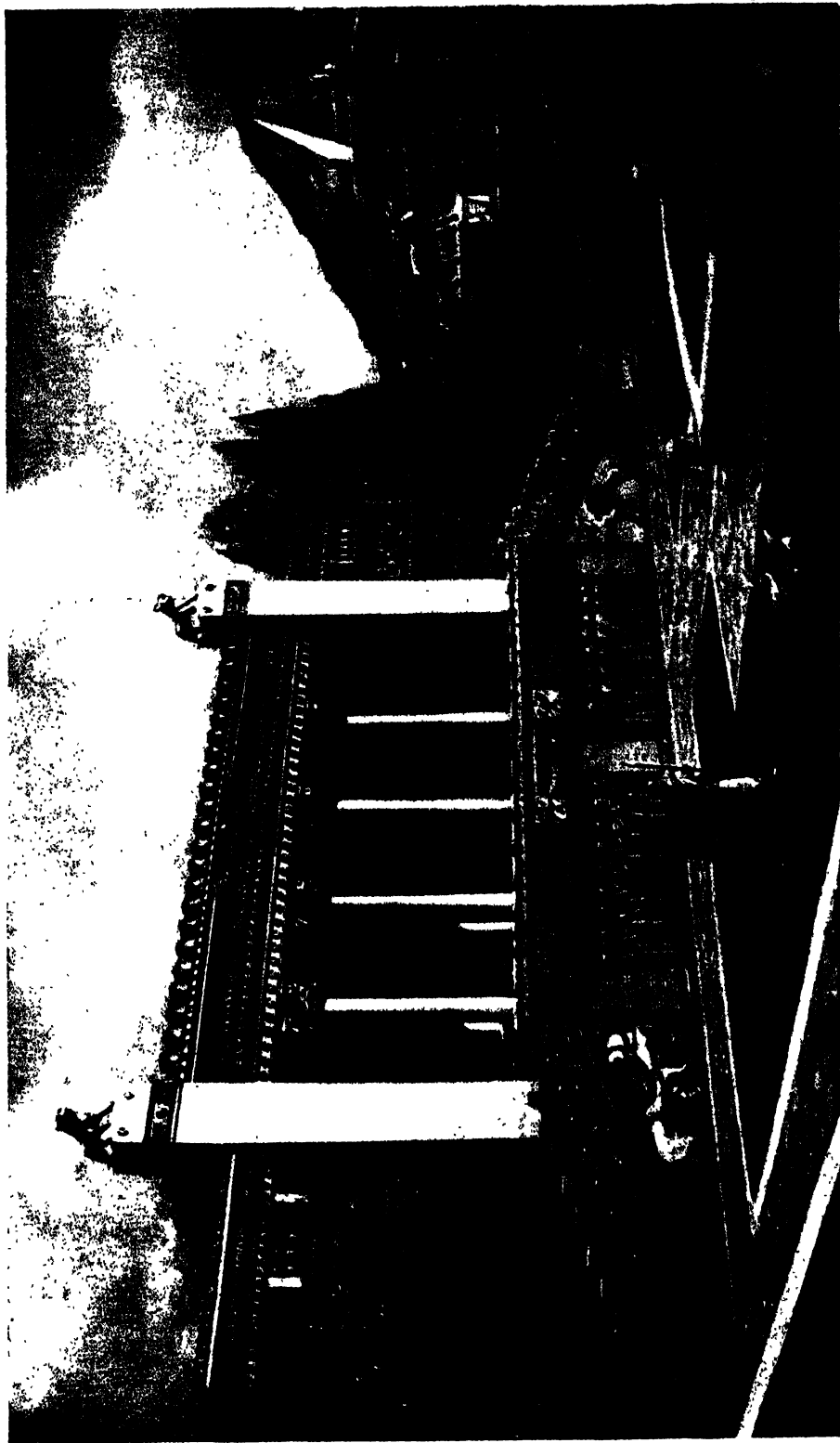
About the personality of Cyrus, one of the outstanding figures in the history of western Asia, there grew up a mass of legendary tradition, the greater part of which has, to borrow a phrase of Thucy-



#### MAKERS OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE : THE TERRIBLE ARCHERS OF DARIUS

The art of the Persian kings was thoroughly cosmopolitan and drew elements from Egypt and Ionia, but comparison with the colour plates in pages 953-56 will show that their enamel work was derived directly from their neighbours and subjects in Mesopotamia. This is a bodyguard of King Darius from his palace at Susa, consisting of the famous Persian archers; they are equipped with long spear, enormous quiver, and a short, curved bow of the Scythian type.





# **SPLENDOURS OF THE ROYAL CITY OF PERSEPOLIS IN THE DAYS OF THE ACHAEMENID KINGS**

The existing foundations, fragments of columns with their capitals, enamelled bricks such as those from Susa in the preceding page, and finally the façades of the rock-cut tombs of which one is seen in the hillside behind, all combine to show that this is a reasonably faithful reconstruction of the palace of Darius as it once stood on the great platform at Persepolis. The view is north-eastwards (see plan on page 1135) towards the Hall of a Hundred Columns; on the right is a flight of steps leading to the yet higher platform occupied by the later-built palace of Xerxes.

*The reconstruction by C. E. Dyer*

dides, 'won its way into' the realm of myth.' We know, however, that Cyrus overthrew the ruling king of Media, Astyages, by a sudden move against him, and seized the sovereign power for himself. Such reliable evidence as may be sifted from the mass of legend seems to establish the fact that Cyrus

**The advent of Cyrus** was related to the Median royal house, and so merely succeeded to the heritage of the Median line of kings. It is also noticeable that, once his coup d'état had been accomplished, there is no hint of the Medes having shown dissatisfaction with the change of dynasty, though it seems that the outlying parts of the kingdom did not accept Cyrus without a struggle. Thus was founded that great Medo-Persian empire which was destined to rule western Asia for more than two centuries.

From this time onward Mede and Persian may be treated as one race, as is shown by the indifference with which the Greeks used either name to designate the whole.

Few details of the reign of Cyrus have come down to the modern world, but such as we have are contained in the account of his victorious career in Chronicle-IV.

After conquering Lydia and the Babylonian Empire, whose dominions he added to his own, he died in 529 B.C., leaving two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis, between whom troubles arose as to the succession. Herodotus, who draws his account of Cambyses from Egyptian sources, which are naturally hostile to the conqueror of Egypt, gives the impression that he was rather a futile person. The Persians did not think so, for they said that, whereas they had found in Cyrus a father, they found in Cambyses a master. Smerdis disappeared shortly before Cambyses set out to invade Egypt, and it is said that he was murdered by his brother.

Cambyses proceeded to extend the Persian Empire by conquering Egypt; where he remained for some years, and,

so the story goes, went far towards the adoption of Egyptian manners and customs. In 522 he started on his return journey to his Asiatic possessions, and on his way received the news that a certain pretender had had considerable success in masquerading as his brother, Smerdis. But before he could deal with this pretender, whose real name was Gaumata, he died in Syria.

The tale of what followed in the Persian kingdom is very obscure. From what Darius says in the Behistun inscription, and from the somewhat romantic tales preserved by Herodotus, it may be gathered that the pretender did for a short time rule the kingdom. His reign, however, began and ended in the year 522, towards the end of which Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and certain other prominent Persians assassinated him.

Darius appears to have been at first a king without a kingdom, for the satraps of the provinces and the vassal princes who had been maintained in the rule of their principalities revolted with one consent. It seems to have taken him some years to



LIFEGUARDS OF THE PERSIAN KINGS

Of these figures, that on the left, from the Hall of Xerxes, represents a bowman of the King's bodyguard, those on the right, from the Palace of Darius, two Persian spearmen. It is noteworthy that military subjects are more common in the Palace of Darius, scenes of luxurious palace-life in his son's.

Berlin Museum

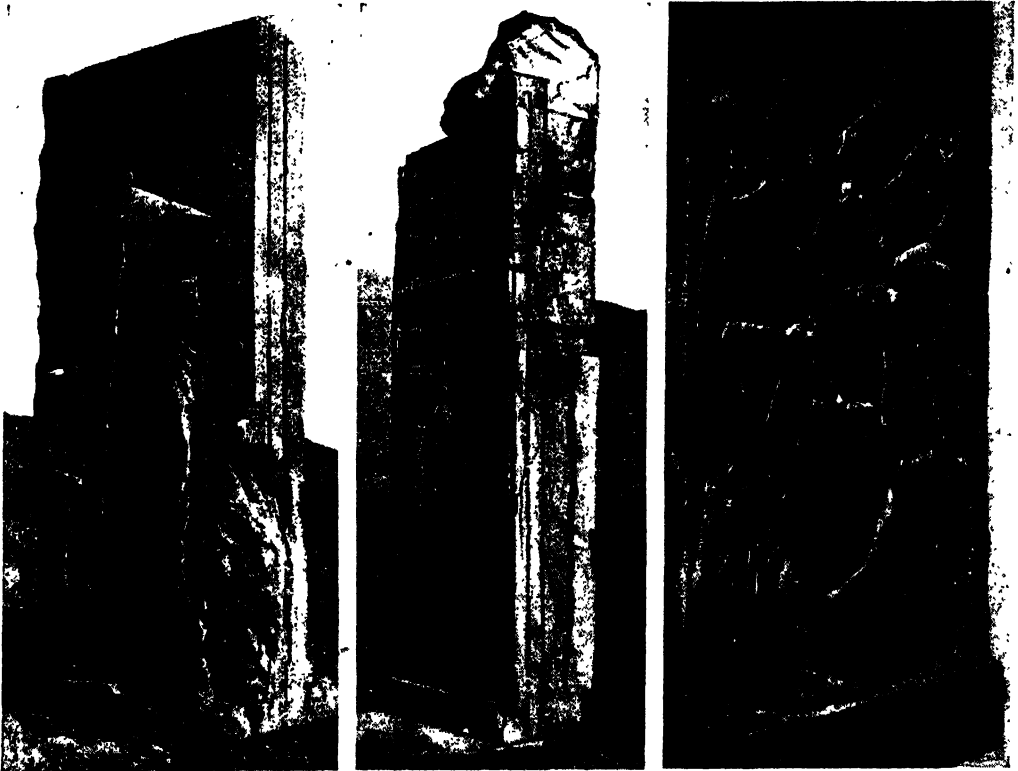
reconquer the empire; but he did the work thoroughly.

It was perhaps this great rebellion which led him to make a thorough reorganization of the administration of his realm, for neither Cyrus nor Cambyses, whose reigns had been devoted to its conquest, had had time for so great a task. Such arrangements as they had made must have been, at best, of a makeshift character.

This polity was destined to remain that of the empire up to the time of its fall two centuries later, and is a great monument to the ability and enlightenment of the Persian race at its best. In judging of the ability shown in its creation it must be borne in mind that it was designed for the government of peoples who had never been accustomed to recognize any law save that of the strong hand, and, furthermore, that its creators were creators in a very

literal sense of the term, since their work was so far in advance of anything which had preceded it in western Asia that its originality is beyond question. Its subsequent decay, like that of the Roman Empire, was not so much due to defects inherent in the scheme itself, as to the gradual decadence of those who had to administer it. The faults were due to its being in certain respects too centralised, and in others too decentralised. It was in the centre of the empire, in the members of the royal family itself, that decay first appeared.

The first danger to be provided against in the new scheme was the isolation and comparative independence of the provincial governors, especially in the remoter provinces of the empire. It was a peculiar danger in the ancient world, where communications were slow, and much

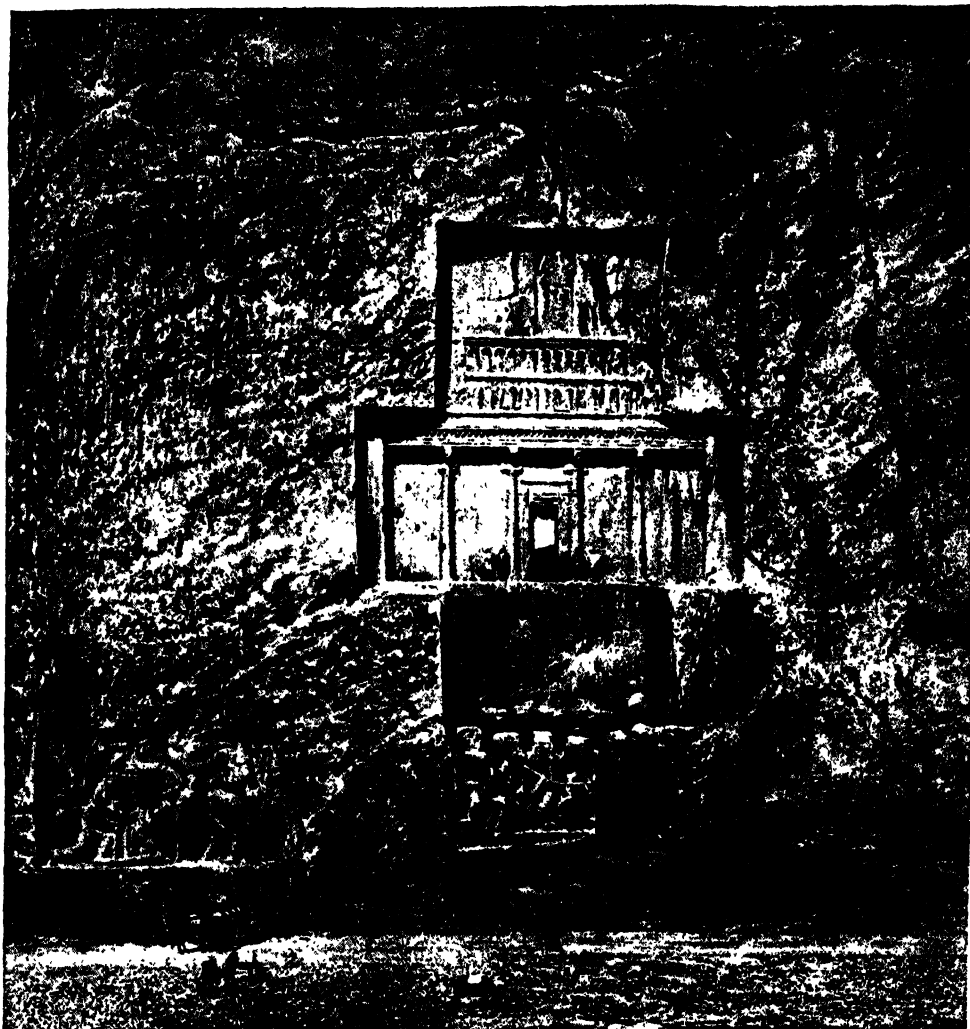


#### COURTLY REPRESENTATIONS OF ROYAL POMP AND PROWESS

Persian sculptors frequently decorated doorways with representations of the king emerging from his palace or enthroned at the entrance as if to receive the homage of the people. These designs are carved on a pier of masonry (left) rising from the platform at Persepolis, and on the jamb of a doorway (centre), where above the monarch the god Ahura Mazda is represented with his winged disk.

Another frequent subject (right) is of the king in conflict with a nightmare monster.

*Photos, Shepstone (left) and Sarre, 'Kunst des alten Persien'*



#### ROCK TOMB OF KING DARIUS AT NAKSHI RUSTAM NEAR PERSEPOLIS

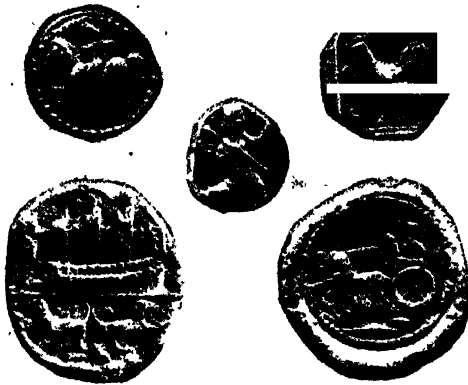
Pierced in the mountain side about ten miles from Persepolis are four tombs of Achaemenid kings. This, the first of the series, was made for Darius. The door of the sepulchre is in the centre panel, representing a palace front. Above this, on a throne supported by two rows of figures representing the nations of the empire, the king stands facing a fire-altar, and adores Ahura-mazda. The lowermost reliefs commemorate events in the later Sassanian period, dealt with in Chapter 86.

*From Sarre, 'Kunst des alten Persien'*

might happen ere the central government was aware of it. Hence the governor's powers were strictly limited to one province; and high officials with special departments of their own, and not under his control but directly responsible to the head of the empire, watched his actions.

The empire was divided into satrapies, the number of which varied from twenty to twenty-eight at different periods of Darius' reign. Persia proper alone was excluded, receiving special treatment as the home of the ruling race. • •

The civil and military powers in the satrapies were divided. Three independent officials with separate departments of administration were appointed to each. In the case of important provinces the satraps were generally drawn from great families connected with the Achaemenids; but in the case of others the field of choice seems to have been practically unlimited, governors being selected from among the comparatively poor as well as the wealthy, from the subject races as well as from the Persians. But governors who were neither



SPECIMEN COINS OF DARIUS I.

The figure of the king—as archer, on horseback or in his chariot, the obverse being a ship, symbolic of the navy which he founded—appears on the coinage of Darius.

*British Museum*

Medes nor Persians were rare. The length of tenure depended on the will of the king.

Under ordinary circumstances the governor's powers were purely civil, chiefly financial and judicial, the latter including the power of life and death. He neither commanded nor controlled the military forces in his provinces unless the state of affairs was exceptional; in fact, it was often the policy of the central government to play off the military commander against the satrap. Still, when the position was grave, as in western Asia Minor during the Ionian revolt, a governor of great capacity, like Artaphernes, might be entrusted with the military command.

The secretary of state within the province was the third official who also had direct relations with the king. He kept watch on the governor's actions and reported to the central government.

In his general relations with the subject population of the empire and the vassal kingdoms the Persian of the age of Darius seems to have followed a policy of forbearance and liberality most unusual at that period. The language, customs, religion and local laws of the various peoples were respected, and local dynasties often ruled as client princes. The Greek cities of Asia were allowed to retain such local self-government as they had had under Lydia, with the exception that, for any democracies that had existed in them,

either an aristocracy or a Greek tyrant ruling in the Persian interest was substituted. Such was the case, at any rate, before the Ionian revolt. This maintenance of native local governments within the empire was calculated to keep the various populations separate, and to prevent the spread of rebellion over a large area.

There can be no doubt that, within the confines of the vast empire, the condition of the population generally, in comparison with its life in the past, was greatly ameliorated by Persian rule. There is no reason to believe that the government of the satraps was oppressive. It is a noteworthy fact that the great intellectual period in the life of the Ionian cities of Asia falls within the time when they were under Persian rule; whereas under the later rule of Athens these same cities lapse into comparative intellectual obscurity.

Throughout western Asia the ordinary conditions of life were made much better than they had been in the past. It was to the interest of the government to preserve peace in a world which had hitherto known only the peace of exhaustion. There was for the time no more petty warfare between petty states; life became more secure; the highways by land and sea were rendered safe by the suppression of brigandage and piracy. Thus Greek travellers, traders and soldiers of fortune came to know the Near East as they had never known it before.

Trade was facilitated by the introduction of a coinage system notable for its purity; and the gold Daric became the 'sovereign' of the eastern world. The encouragement of agriculture was actually part of the Persian religion.

Revenue and taxation were established on business-like principles, taxes being paid either in money or in kind according to the nature of a province. The calls made upon the provinces, first by the central, and secondly by the local, government were perhaps heavy; but, when the revenue was paid, the subject populations were left very much to themselves. In the later days of the monarchy the accumulation of money seems to have become a mania with the royal house. But the subject popula-

tions knew that, if they transferred their allegiance elsewhere, they would only be subject to other dynasts suffering from the same complaint.

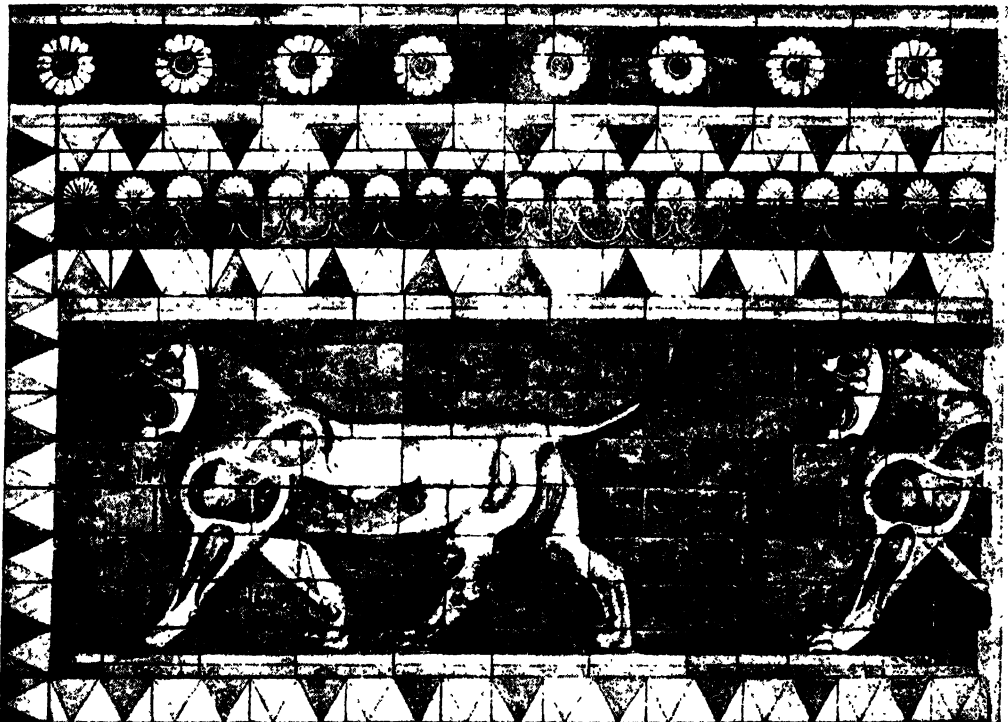
It was probably the military levy, demanded when large wars were waged, that was the heaviest or, at any rate, most unpopular burden borne by the subject populations. But in peace times they did not suffer from this imposition, for the standing army was curiously small.

It must have taken Darius years to make this system thoroughly efficient. When it was complete, however, his empire was as a result not a mere aggregation of barbarism, but a highly organized piece of machinery controlled by a people which, in certain sides of its civilization, was superior to the Greeks themselves.

With his dominions thus secured Darius could turn to the more peaceful pursuit of artistic magnificence. Susa, the winter capital, was adorned with a mighty

palace, while a marvellous complex of royal buildings arose in the uplands at Persepolis to serve as a summer capital in place of Pasargadae. It is at Persepolis that Persian art can best be studied; as the illustrations show, it reveals a mingling of Babylonian and Egyptian motives in a certain airy splendour free from the massive solidity of the one and the formalism of the other. But it should be remembered that it was an artificial, exotic production expressly designed for its royal patrons; and the indigenous art of the conquered peoples was little affected.

The history of Persia after the great war of 480-479 B.C. has come down to the modern world in very fragmentary form. We obtain fleeting glimpses of only three periods of its internal history: those years in which Persia participated in Greek politics during the Ionian War of 413-404; the first quarter of the fourth century; and the last phase of all, when



ENAMELLED FRIEZE FROM DARIUS' PALACE AT SUSAL

Enamelled tiles were made and used for architectural purposes by the Elamites from very early times, yellow and blue, apparently, having been their favourite colours. The industry is one of the characteristic crafts of the Persians to this day. This lion frieze adorned the walls of the winter palace of Darius at Susa and is a good specimen of Elamite art, the modelling of the animals comparing very favourably with the conventional style employed by the Assyrians in their delineation of lions.

*The Louvre*



# THE PALACE OF DARIUS AT SUSA AS IT WAS IN ITS PRIME AND AS IT IS TO-DAY

After its destruction by the Assyrians under Ashurbanipal, Susa was restored as a fortress town by Cyrus, possibly because of its situation on the route from Persia to Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, and as a trade depot between the Persian Gulf and the populous region about the Caspian Sea. Excavations have discovered the remains of the Achaemenid capital as shown in this drawing, and from the foundations thus laid bare it has been possible to form the reconstruction above of the Palace of Darius I, with its principal entrance to the south, another on the right, and three open courts.

*Reconstruction by M. I. Dillat*

it was conquered by Alexander the Great. Enough is known to make it quite clear that in the two hundred years which intervened between Darius and Alexander the Great, a gradual decline had taken place, not perhaps so much in the moral of the Perso-Median population as in the government and administration. Some of the causes of this decline are apparent in the fragmentary history which has survived.

The main cause was a loss of energy in the personnel of the reigning family. That is a phenomenon which is observable in the case of other countries where the harem has been a feature of court life. The earlier members of dynasties bred in such an atmosphere are, as the founders and preservers of newly-won and unsettled dominions, men of the energy which is required by the circumstances in which they conquer and rule. But, once the dynasty is firmly established, once the subject populations have settled down in peaceful acquiescence to its rule, the inherited energy of the ruling house is apt to be dissipated in the atmosphere of the harem.

The Achaemenid monarchs, and, after them, Darius and Xerxes, had to fight for empire and to maintain a strong military supremacy over the newly conquered races until these settled down into peaceful subjection to Persian rule. Their successors found themselves heirs to an empire undisturbed by the vicissitudes of war and, on the whole, peculiarly passive under their rule. Past experience had taught the peoples of western Asia that national freedom was difficult to maintain, and that, if it came to subjection, it was better to accept a present in which, under Persian rule, they received lenient treatment, than a future in which they might at best enjoy a precarious liberty, or, more probably, fall under the dominion of some race whose methods of

rule would almost certainly be more intolerable than those of Persia. So the Persian kings sat at Susa and Persepolis as superintendents of a piece of political machinery which seemed to work very well without much interference by them, anxious only to draw the profits which resulted from the working. The later Persian kings seem to have been obsessed with a greed for the accumulation of bullion for its own sake.

But though the mass of the peoples of the empire were indifferent towards a subjection which afforded them a peace such as western Asia had never before known, in which they could enjoy undisturbed the fruits of their labours, and which interfered but little with their



#### PRIVATE COURTS OF ROYALTY AT SUSA

Sufficient material for this reconstruction exists to place it above any charge of fancifulness. The ground plan and column bases are extant together with examples of the column capitals and tomb illustrations of the timber roofing of the loggia. This court is the left-hand well of the reconstruction in the opposite page.

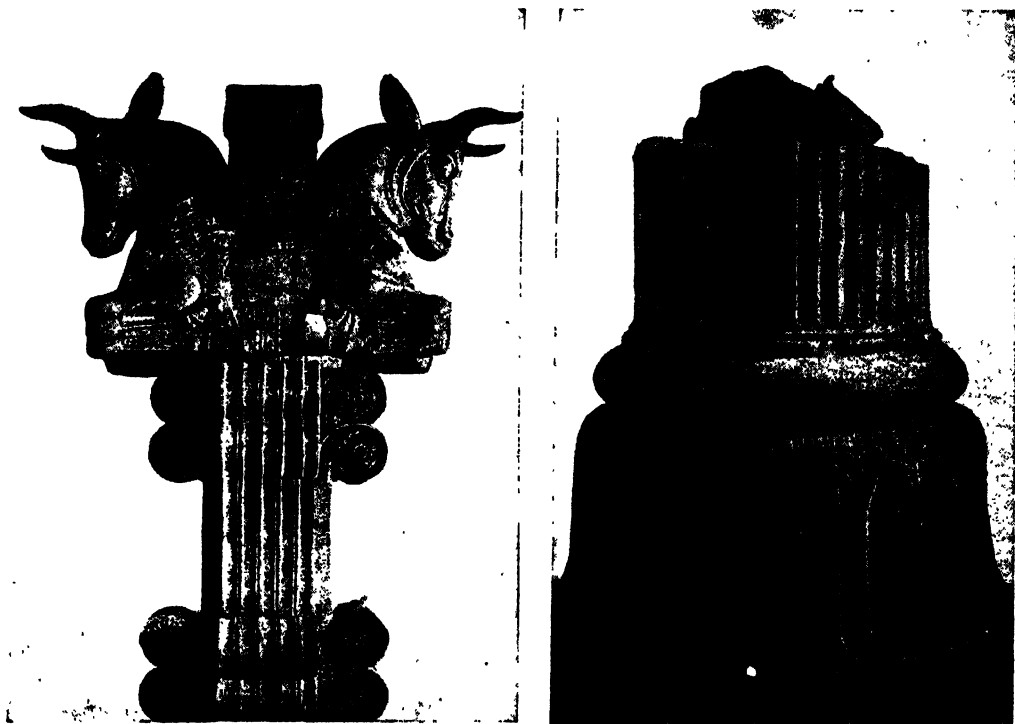
*After a reconstruction by M. L. Pillet*



local institutions and customs, yet this liberal policy of the central government, which tended more and more as time went on to degenerate into *laissez-faire*, gave to the satraps or native dynasts of the subject regions a freedom from control which was sure to encourage ambition. The peoples of these regions came more and more to look upon their local ruler, whether satrap or dynast, as a better facsimile of an earthly Providence than a king who sat far off at Susa—to them an abstraction rather than a reality. This tendency was increased by the fact that the office of satrap in some provinces tended to become hereditary in certain families, as, for instance, the satrapy of Dascylium in north-western Asia Minor, which remained in the hands of one family during the fifth century. Still the empire held together until the time of Alexander, and might have defied even him had the Persian government only learnt a practical

lesson from a fact of which many Persians were quite conscious—the inferiority of the national panoply as compared with that of the Greeks and Macedonians. Persian troops armed in the Macedonian manner would have been far more terrible adversaries than those whom Alexander defeated in the battles which destroyed the empire. The omission to adopt this military reform is all the more strange inasmuch as the Persian government, recognizing the value of the heavy-armed man, had enlisted large numbers of Greek mercenaries into its service. Still the Persian was neither the first nor the last to fail to recognize the truth of Thucydides' epigram, 'improvements ever prevail.'

Whatever its defects, the Persian rule was to western Asia a blessing such as it had never before, and has never since, experienced; and its fall was that worst of tragedies—a tragedy self-incurred.



**COLUMNS CHARACTERISTIC OF IRANIAN ARCHITECTURE**

Excavation in the mound covering the Apadana or Palace of Darius I. and Artaxerxes Mnemon at Susa has yielded many material proofs of the splendour of the Achaemenian buildings. Here on the left is the head of a fluted column with its double bull's-head capital which, caryatid fashion, supported the upper entablature, and (right) the massive base belonging to a similar pillar. In these as in other Iranian relics a blend of oriental and Ionian styles is discernible.

*The Louvre; photo, Giraudon*

# ETRUSCANS AND CARTHAGINIANS: THEIR ORIGINS AND GROWTH

Manners and Customs of Two Eastern Races  
whose Destinies were fulfilled in the West

By J. L. MYRES

Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; Author of *The Dawn of History*, etc.

WHEN Greek adventurers began to traverse the western seas, and explore the coasts of South Italy and Sicily, they found themselves confronted with two distinct kinds of seafaring rivals, the Western Phoenicians and the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans. Both peoples, like the Greeks themselves, were intruders into the west from the eastern Mediterranean, but they had begun to arrive earlier, and it was a long time before Greeks made much headway against them in the districts which they had respectively occupied. Indeed, it was not till Greek interests were championed against both these enemies by another people of the west, the Romans, that they were freed from this double menace to their individual safety.

The Greeks were not quite the only people whose political organization was that of the 'city state,' though it was their exceptional good fortune to realize and describe its possibilities in ways not attempted by others. The historical interest with which we regard the Etruscans and Phoenicians is enhanced by the fact that they, like the Greeks, had outgrown tribal forms of society, and had political institutions of much the same order, of the same exceptional utility, and liable also to the same disorders and abuses.

This is the more noteworthy, because the scenes of their adventures and of their tragic fates were not only more spacious but also more commodious regions; and perhaps, for that very reason, occupied chiefly by people who had not felt the necessity for that awakening to political self-consciousness which oversteps the limits of natural groupings by descent and

kinship, and forces persons not so related into political intimacy and co-partnership. With the sole exception, so far as we know, of the Romans, whom the Greek historian could describe as forming 'a most Greek city,' the peoples of Italy and Sicily, of North Africa and Spain, are known to us by tribal names. They occupy wide territorial areas, in villages or open market-towns, with at most a camp of refuge in some strong position, fortified rudely against a day of trouble, in the districts most liable to invasion; among the foot-hills of the Apennine highlands, for example.

Now, so long as Greek adventurers found only tribal societies on the coasts which they were exploring in search of those 'homes away from home' which we know **Greek Rovers'** as the Greek colonies, **coastwise travels** their own close-knit city-state organization gave them a very great advantage from the outset, and also minimised the extent of the disturbance which their settlement in any district caused. On the more mountainous and inhospitable—and, for that reason, the less civilized—coasts, such as the south of Asia Minor and the Illyrian eastern littoral of the Adriatic, large settlements were in any case out of the question, and small ones were at the mercy of the highlanders with their warfare of raids and snipings. But west of the Adriatic the maritime districts of Italy, with a few exceptions, are wide lowlands, or rolling hill-country at worst, with considerable streams and abundance of cultivable land; this was for the most part used for cattle-grazing then, as indeed much of it is to-day.

Here there was room for adjustment between those who introduced the skilled agriculture and tree-farming habitual in Greek communities, and the graziers and dairy-folk of the native tribes, to the advantage of both classes. As long as no general disturbance brought down predatory highlanders from the Apennines—as eventually befell—the relations between the western ‘colonies’ and their neighbours were usually friendly; though there were a few bad neighbours in the forest-clad, mountainous Calabrian ‘toe’ of Italy, and on the moorland horse-ranches of the Apulian ‘heel.’

The only real peril, indeed, was not from the land but at sea; for the Greeks were not the first foreign visitors in the west, and their intrusion was resented from the outset by seafaring folk who had forestalled them. Though there was always a certain amount of piracy, even on the home waters of the Aegean, what the Greeks began by describing as piracy in the western seas was something on a far larger scale, and surprisingly systematic and efficient. Of each of the two principal adversaries, the Greeks had—or believed that they had—some experience already in their own seas from of old. In the Homeric poems the Phoenician, ‘a swindler, cunning in deceits,’ comes and goes

at will, one day a trader, driving hard bargains for foodstuffs with goods of the ‘bead and looking-glass’ kind, familiar in later voyages of discovery; the next, a slave-raider and buccaneer. His country is somewhere out east, where Cyprus and Egypt lie, and there is a city, Sidon, ‘full of bronze,’ where silver cups are made and skilled weavers work.

Only a little less ancient is the tale which describes how the vagrant god Dionysus was caught once by ‘Tyrrhenian’ pirates, and took divine vengeance, turning his captors into dolphins and their ship’s mast into a grape vine. In the Aegean these Tyrrhenians were not clearly distinguished from other sea rovers. ‘Pelasgians’ had harried Attica and even settled there in early times, and there were people who were descended from them in Lemnos and Imbros, and small settlements on the Hellespont and behind Chalcidice, perhaps also in Thessaly. ‘Carians’ and ‘Leleges’ had once infested the central island group, and, when the Greeks overpowered them there, withdrew into their homeland in the south-west of Asia Minor, and made common cause with their Ionian neighbours in those raids into the eastern sea which eventually threw open Egypt to Greek traders and soldiers of fortune in the seventh century B.C.

But the Aegean sea rovers known to the later colonising Greeks were only survivals, whose reputations were based upon memories of the great period of ‘Sea Raids’ to which Egyptian records of the thirteenth, twelfth and eleventh centuries are contemporary testimony (see Chap. 26); and the Phoenician merchantmen from Sidon and its great successor Tyre, though familiar still, were less dreaded, as the commercial experience of Greek seafarers widened and their growing commercial skill taught competitors better manners. What was unexpected, in western adventure, was that the farther afield Greek ships and settlers went, the more frequent and annoying were their encounters with other Phoenician traders and Tyrrhenian pirates. Only gradually was the puzzle solved, by the discovery of a whole continent fringed with



#### PUNISHMENT FOR PIRACY

Legend said that Dionysus, captured by pirates, changed his captors into dolphins and their mast into a grape vine. Exekias, the Attic potter, thus painted the legend inside a cup.

From Furtwängler-Reischhold, ‘Griechische Vasenmalerei’



**CITIES WHERE A STRANGE PEOPLE DWELT IN A STRANGE LAND**

Whether the Etruscans reached Italy from east or west is not known ; but that they were foreign immigrants is certain and that they came from Asia Minor becomes increasingly probable. The centre of their power lay in the strange, broken country between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian Sea, where they established their league of twelve cities, and spread thence to the Po valley, where a similar league grew up. Latium and, farther south, Campania fell under their dominance.

Phoenician cities like those of the Syrian coast, hardly a day's sail beyond the west of Sicily, and of a vast Tyrrhenia far up the western coast of Italy, of which even the nearest ports were beyond the remotest Chalcidian settlement at Cumae in northern Campania.

Later researches have not discovered much more than the inquiries of the Greeks themselves, to explain how these western Tyrrhenians, or—to give them their Latin names—the 'Tuscans' or 'Etruscans,'

came to occupy the region of Italy which lies between the valleys of the Arno and the Tiber, a great semicircle between the Apennines and the sea with a coast-line of about 150 miles. But of their later history a good deal has come down to us from Roman sources, and of their manner of life much has been revealed through the wholesale spoliation of their splendid tombs during more than two centuries ; and, more recently, from skilful and systematic excavation of what is left.

Their country, Etruria, like the Etruscans themselves, is something of an accident in the geography of Italy. The efficient but narrow screen of the Apennines, which forms the watershed of the peninsula, leaves the western coast abruptly above Luca and Pisa, and trends obliquely towards the eastern at Ancona. South of this point the single chain is replaced by several, forming the Central Highlands, but most of these are broken off abruptly on the left bank of the Tiber, which receives most of its tributaries from the trough valleys between them. On the other bank only one stream, the Clanis, runs parallel to the main river from its source close to the upper Arno, which has in fact intercepted its headwaters. West of the Clanis and south of the Arno is extraordinarily confused country. There are straight ridges, like the Monti Chianti, which range with the Apennines; irregular masses of more ancient rock, rich in minerals; craters of spent volcanoes, some now forming lakes draining seaward through gashes in their rim; wide moor-



VILLANOVAN TOMB

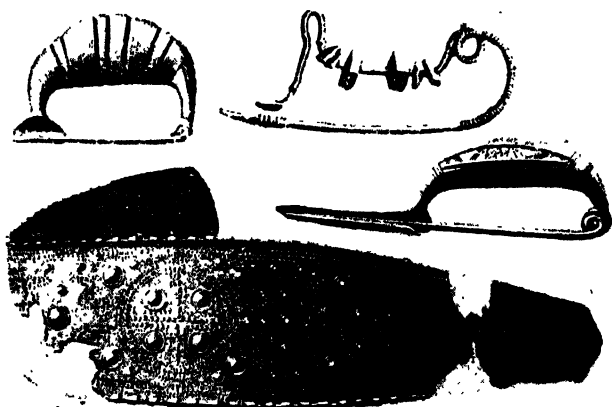
In the most elaborate form of Villanovan tombs the ossuary and its accompanying small vases were enclosed in a cist of thin stone slabs.

*From MacIver, Villanovans and Early Etruscans*

and no natural centre for human activity. Etruscan cities either look outwards—to the sea or over other regions—or have no outlook at all. Especially in the south is the discontinuity emphasised by the Ciminian forest which covered in antiquity the last volcanic patch of high ground, between the Tiber and the sea at Civita Vecchia, and made the low country beyond to be rather a northward extension of Latium, the 'broad-land' beyond the river, than an integral part of Etruria.

Complicated and discontinuous in its physical aspect, Etruria is no less difficult

to place among the cultural regions of Italy; for the human occupation of the peninsula in prehistoric times seems to have set in from both ends, over-sea from other Mediterranean shores, and over the Alps and Apennines from central Europe. The western Mediterranean, embraced on all sides by ranges of the Mountain Zone, with habitable foreshores and timber supply, was if anything earlier than the eastern basin to arrive at some unity of culture, far back in the later Stone Age. The wealth of some districts of Spain, in gold, copper and tin, continued this self-sufficiency far into the age of metals, and gave a strongly Mediterranean



VILLANOVAN BRONZE BELT AND BROOCHES

Archaeologists classify the Villanovan material in three periods: the First and Second Benacci extending from about 1100 to 750 B.C., and the Arnoaldi Period thenceforward to 500 B.C. This bronze girdle belongs to the First Benacci Period; the two upper fibulae to the Second; the other to the Arnoaldi Period.

*from Montelius, 'Civilisation primitive en Italie'*

aspect to the earliest settlements as far north as the foothills of the Alps. The material aspects of this culture it is not necessary to describe; but it is noteworthy that its representatives habitually buried their dead, and this observance remained deep-rooted in most parts of Italy.

But there came a time when the lake dwellers of the Alpine valleys spread southward with a more closely knit type of community, transposed their pile-dwellings from lake margin to river bed, and, with these self-contained and securely defended 'terramara' bases (see page 914) at their disposal, forced the double barrier of the marshes of the Po valley and the forests of the Apennines. They spread down the Tiber, where the four-square palisaded camps of Roman armies, and the old pile-bridge over the Tiber, betray their traditional mode of life; and even established themselves once as far afield as Tarentum, in a settlement of the conventional type. Probably they had similar holdings in the Arno valley, and were tempted by the lake shores of Etruria; but this is not yet certain.

Some centuries later a second culture spread, also from the north, of which the typical example is the 'Villanova' settlement beneath the suburbs of Bologna. It inherited something from the terramara culture, but far more from sources beyond the Alps; weapons were largely manufactured of iron, but bronze was worked skilfully for household gear and ornaments as well as defensive armour; the people who introduced the culture used safety-pins to hold their clothing in place; and burned their dead. More effectually than its predecessor, it forced the barrier of the Apennines, and the great settlement at Bologna kept the door open. Certainly the settlers who practised it occupied most of Etruria, and passed on into parts of Latium; probably they

penetrated into the central highlands, though this was more difficult country, and also our evidence is more scanty.

Thus Etruria had already representatives of two distinct cultures, and probably of three; and the local compromises between discordant beliefs and modes of life were diverse. From early Greek statements, to the effect that before the Etruscans came the country was 'Umbrian,' it is clear that it shared the fate of the upper Tiber valley, and was occupied by the northernmost group of the Italic-speaking peoples, who have been identified with the men of the Villanova culture.

Into this composite population, finally, were intruded the historic Etruscans. Of this Greek tradition was sure, that they were not an Italian people, but had come from elsewhere, and from overseas. It was disputed whether they landed on the Etruscan foreshore—as the name of



#### IMPROVING TASTE IN MORTUARY URNS

Earliest Villanovan ossuaries (top row) were hand-made of smoke-blackened ware decorated with maeander patterns that gradually improved. Bronze ossuaries (bottom left) appear later and about 750 B.C. vessels with much more decorative lids and handles are found.

• From Montelius, 'Civilisation primitive en Italie'

the 'Tyrrhenian sea' between Italy, Sicily and Sardinia suggested—or by way of the Adriatic, which has its name from *Adria*, one of their cities between the Apennines and the mouth of the Po. Very likely they came both ways and at various times. One tradition connected them with the pre-Greek population of Thessaly, but the general belief was that they were 'brothers of the Lydians,' who inhabited the great river valleys of the west coast of Asia Minor. Smyrna was even claimed as their port of departure. The cause of their emigration was said to be drought and famine.

As to the date of it, there was less agreement. Greek writers assigned the movement to 'the days after the Trojan War'; that is to say, to the period of intense 'distress of nations' and general confusion, of which the 'Dorian Invasion' (see Chap. 32) was a closing incident. Roman writers, more familiar with Etruscan methods of recording events, knew that Etruscan history began with an 'era' and was divided into 'ages,' the eighth of which ended in 87 B.C., and the ninth in 44 A.D. But there was difference of opinion as to whether an 'age' was normally a century or something longer; and consequently all that may be inferred is that in the ninth or tenth century 'something happened' which made all Etruscans feel a common interest in commemorating both it and their other doings henceforward. Rome, too, was not built in a day, and before an immigrant people could feel itself at home and a nation, we must presume that there had been a considerable period of gradual infiltration, progressive dominance over the extensive and difficult region, general acceptance of common aims and mutual obligations,

and eventually recognition of twelve principal communities of Etruscans, scattered all over Etruria, as co-partners in a single league for common action.

It was a loose league, for sometimes one or more cities abstained from joint action, or were excused by the rest; occasionally they quarrelled among themselves, or assisted the common enemy. But at the height of its power, in the sixth century B.C., it was by far the strongest political force in Italy. It held Rome, and therewith the chief crossing over the Tiber. It dominated Rome's Latin kinsmen, and had established a local league of Etruscan outposts in a conquered Campania. On the north it had annexed the Villanovan settlement at Bologna, which became the Etruscan city Felsina and a member of a similar league of twelve cities beyond the Apennines, the survivors of which, in part at least, found refuge eventually in the Alpine valleys, when the Gauls came in.

For the Etruscans were not only believed to be of foreign origin: their language, and also their mode of life, were quite alien. Since they borrowed the Greek alphabet from the



#### AN ASIATIC TYPE

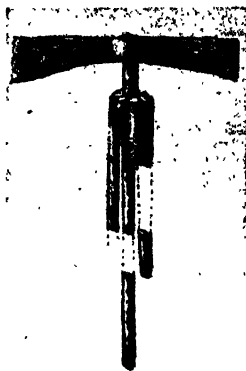
This stele of an Etruscan warrior, found in Volterra, suggests by its Hittite appearance that the Etruscans came from Asia Minor.  
*Archaeological Museum, Florence*

Chalcidian colonies in the south (with a few modifications which betray the influence of Delphi and some continuance of intercourse with the Lydians in Asia Minor), it is possible to 'read' their numerous inscriptions, so far as vowels and consonants go; but the grammar does not resemble that of any Italic or even any Indo-European language, and the resemblance of a few Etruscan words to words in Latin and other Italic dialects, and to place names in other parts of Italy, is sufficiently explained

by loans on one side or the other. Similar resemblances between Etruscan and the languages or place names of Asia Minor do not prove much, though, so far as they go, they support the tradition that the Etruscans originally came from Lydia. Two early inscriptions from Lemnos seem to be in a dialect akin to Etruscan, and may be the monuments of Aegean 'Tyrrhenians,' not merely of chance visitors from Etruria. Lemnos had a bad reputation for piracy down to the end of the sixth century, but its inhabitants were usually described by Greek authors as Pelasgians, not Tyrrhenians.

By means of the inscriptions it is possible to form some estimate of the area over which the Etruscan language was spoken. They were frequent, and of early date, in the country between the sea and the lower Tiber, where lay the great cities of Veii, Tarquinii, Volci, and the smaller and partly Latin towns of Falerii and Caere. They are found commonly also in the hill country south of the lower Arno, around Cosa, Vetulonia and Volaterrae; along the Clanis and upper Tiber, those of Clusium and Perusia are mainly of later

date, as though the art of writing had spread inland slowly. Farther north they have been noted on the Adriatic slope, as far afield as Ravenna; they are frequent at Bologna, which became the door-keeper of the Apennine pass for its new masters, as it had been in the reverse direction for the Villanova people; and in the Reno valley is a rich later site, Marzabotto. Outlying examples come from the great crossing-place on the Po, at Placentia (Piacenza), and from the north end of Lake Como. The so-called 'Rhaetic' inscriptions in the Trentino and other Alpine valleys, though in the same



**VETULONIAN FASCES**

Prototype of the symbol of the Roman lictors, this double-headed iron axe, on an iron shaft ringed round with iron rods, was found at Vetulonia.

*From Montelius, 'Civilisation primitive en Italie'*

the north end of Lake Como. The so-called 'Rhaetic' inscriptions in the Trentino and other Alpine valleys, though in the same



**MOST ANCIENT MEMORIAL OF A MYSTERIOUS RACE**

Evidence of the foreign origin of the early Etruscans is furnished by funerary memorials. Incised on one that stood on a tumulus at Vetulonia (centre) is the earliest known Etruscan epitaph and a figure of a warrior of 'Pelasgic' type wearing a crested helmet and carrying the double axe associated with the Minoan pantheon. Figure and inscription are shown clearly in the rubbing on the right. A figure and inscription essentially similar are incised upon the stele (left) discovered at Lemnos.

*Courtesy of Mr. A. J. B. Wace and Archaeological Museum, Florence*





QUAINT CINERARY URNS FROM ETRURIA

Cinerary urns modelled from dwelling-houses are distinctive of the southern Villanovans of Etruria. They show the door, windows and ornamental roof timbers. A unique urn from Volterra (left) has a representation of an Elysian feast on the lid and a figure of the king of Hades sitting on the handle. *Archaeological Museum, Florence*

alphabet, are not in the Etruscan language, but in the Indo-European dialect of the pre-Gaulish natives.

To the south there are Etruscan inscriptions from the Latin towns of Praeneste and Tusculum, and the name of the latter suggests that it had in some sense been once a 'little Tuscany,' guarding communications with the rich Etruscan conquests in Campania; where there are inscriptions at Capua, Suessula and Nola, and farther south still at Sorrento and Salerno. In Rome none has been discovered as yet; though Rome had a 'Tuscan Street' leading to the Tiber crossing, and was ruled for three generations by Etruscan 'kings.' One long document, part of a handbook on magic, has been recovered among the bandages of an Egyptian mummy of late Greek or early Roman date, but there is nothing to show how it reached Egypt nor when; the writing, however, does not look early.

While the Etruscans conserved, with very little change, their peculiar and no doubt original language, and were apparently at some pains not to learn any other, they have left very little trace of other arts which can be recognized either as Asiatic or even as foreign to Italy. For such traces among ancient peoples we look in the first place to their method of disposing of the dead; but here the facts are hard to explain. In Etruria, as elsewhere, the Villanovan settlers burned their dead and buried the ashes, contained in an urn of clay, with a few funerary furnishings, in a shallow pit just large enough to contain them. In time important families came to have their regular burying place, so that these pits occur in groups. But at Vetulonia, where the outlay and sequence of the cemeteries are most easily studied, a new ritual was introduced from elsewhere, apparently about 900 B.C., in

which the burial places were fenced with a circle of rough stones; some of the bodies were laid unburnt in full-length graves or longer trenches; and the spot was further marked by a mound of earth within the stone circle. Though there is not much change in the grave furniture, ornaments of gold and carved amber appear, and occasional amulets and beads of Egyptian glazed ware.

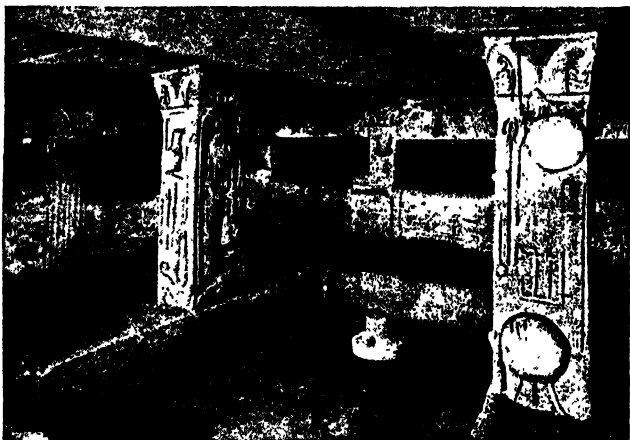
These 'mound-and-circle' tombs have a general resemblance to the characteristic stone-girt and often stone-chambered burial-mounds of Lydia and the Carian region south of it, probably of about the same age; and this likeness is enhanced when, a little later, individual graves give place to a single excavated burial-chamber lined and roofed with masonry and entered by a door and trenched gangway.

Some inhabitants of the same settlement continued to burn their dead, but

burial steadily became commoner. In the chamber tombs the equipment deposited with the dead rapidly became copious and elaborately wrought, and foreign objects are still more frequently found, especially clay vessels of recognizable early Greek fabrics, which serve to give approximate dates in the seventh and succeeding centuries. Clearly a people with alien customs and beliefs has made its appearance here, retaining for the most part its own funerary observances, but utilising native arts and crafts to adorn its tombs, and supplementing its offerings to the dead with goods acquired from abroad.

On a tombstone which surmounted one of the earlier of these mounds is a figure of a warrior with circular shield and crested helmet, of a fashion which the Greeks believed that they themselves had acquired from

the Carians of Asia Minor, and a double-edged battle-axe such as has been found, in iron, in another mound of the same cemetery; round him is rudely cut the oldest known Etruscan inscription; and in its general fashion this monument resembles the inscribed



Inside the mounds are sepulchral chambers carved in imitation of houses, with beams and rafters and representations of weapons and many domestic implements. Niches, separated by fluted pilasters, formed the 'loculi' or funerary couches for the dead.



At Cerveteri—the ancient Caere—is a wonderful Etruscan necropolis. The great mound-and-circle tombs are round drums, forty-five to fifty-five yards in diameter, carved out of the soft tufa rock which is cut away to leave them standing up above the street level, or built up of courses of oblong blocks of masonry. On the basis of this rock or masonry tambour, earth was piled into a conical mound. The wall was protected from rain by a 'grundarium' or downward sloping eaves-drip of stones.

#### OUTSIDE AND INSIDE THE MOUND-AND-CIRCLE TOMBS OF THE ETRUSCANS

from Randall MacIver 'The Etruscans,' Clarendon Press: photos, Alinari



#### INTERIOR OF ETRUSCAN BEE-HIVE TOMB

This circular tomb (reconstructed), dating from the sixth century B.C., is paved with stone flags and walled with tufa blocks. A rectangular pillar supports the vault, which is fashioned of overlapping stones in the Mycenaean manner.

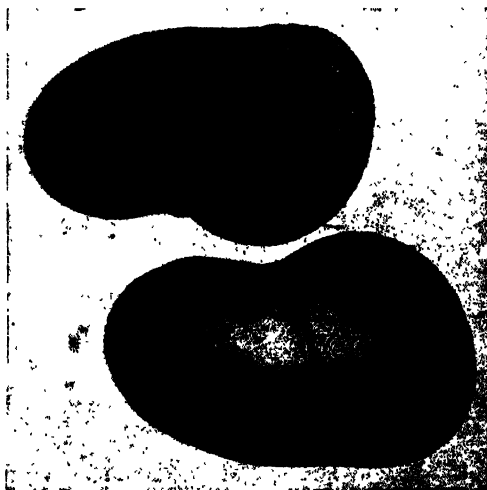
*Archaeological Museum, Florence*

tombstone from Lemnos (page 1155). Another tomb, rather later in the same Vetulonian series, contains a vase of glazed Egyptian ware bearing the name and titles of Bocchoris, king of Egypt between 718 and 712 B.C. In south Etruria a burial chamber at Volci contained an Egyptian scarab-seal with the name of King Psammetichus I (663-609 B.C.), and from this point onwards foreign objects are common enough to make dating easy and fairly precise.

That a people who conserved their original language should have been so dependent for their simplest material equipment on native industries, while able to provide themselves with ornaments and fine art-work from far countries, becomes intelligible if we accept Greek traditions that in their long voyages from western Asia Minor they had little opportunity of practising such crafts as they had known before; that they entered Etruria as marauders and conquerors, probably in many small parties; and also

that many of them brought no women-folk of their own, but took native wives. The only serious problem is this: how it was that if the mothers spoke some kind of Italic, the fathers managed to transmit their own language to the children. But the Greeks of Ionia had achieved the same result in spite of frequent intermarriage, certainly with Carian and presumably also with Lydian women; and in both instances this was probably due to the close-knit social structure of these companies of former ship-mates, which gave effect to their determination not to lose what little it was possible to retain of their traditional ways. Similarly the Pitcairn Islanders inherited English, not Polynesian speech.

For as in language so in their religious beliefs, the Etruscans kept themselves apart from the population which surrounded them. Each year they assembled for common worship at a central shrine of the goddess Voltumna; and most of their other gods bore Etruscan names, and were only superficially identified by Greek travellers with Greek deities of similar functions and attributes, as we find them depicted on painted vases and in frescoed tombs. They observed with even more scrupulous accuracy their traditional ritual and their apparently



#### DIVINATION FROM ENTRAILS

Etruscan diviners attached importance to the liver. On the flat surface (top) of this bronze liver are protuberances representing the gall bladder and lobes, and regions inscribed with the names of gods. The under side is convex.

<sup>6</sup> *From Thulin, 'Die Götter des Martianus Capella'*

Oriental system of divination, by the inward appearance of sacrificial victims, by the signs of the weather, and by casual portents of all sorts. This magical lore was treasured, when writing became known to them, in linen documents of the kind found on the Egyptian mummy; and with it other more practically useful learning—geometry, surveying and architectural construction—for which their neighbours in Rome were earlier indebted to them than to the Greeks, who eventually taught both peoples so much.

Of the social organization and political institutions by which these isolated



**MOTHER GODDESS OF MANKIND**

Besides being protector of the dead the mother goddess Thuftha was the nurse of the living. This hollow, fifth century statue of her contained the ashes of a person whose likeness is perhaps idealised in the Aphrodite-like head.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*



**THUFLTHA, GODDESS OF THE DEAD**

Dating from the ninth century B.C., this singular ossuary carries the oldest authentic image of the Etruscan goddess of the dead and of night. She wears a starry mantle and a scarab on her breast symbolises the resurrection.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*

remnants of people, who derived their civilization from the East, held themselves together and maintained themselves as a coherent nation, only meagre outlines are left. Like the Philistines in the coastland of Palestine (with whom it is very likely that the Etruscans had originally much in common, in the chaotic period of the Sea Raids when both peoples are first discoverable), they were established within the strong walls and vaulted gateways of their scattered settlements. They were ruled first by princely families, like the 'lords of the Philistines' in the Book of Judges and the 'divine-born kings' of Homeric Greece; and later by an elected chief magistrate and a



#### AN ARCHITECTURAL OSSUARY

This unusual 'hut-urn' from Volterra is of polychrome terra-cotta, and represents a Tuscan temple with a square pilaster at each corner. The roof has a decorated coping and a peculiar ornamental screen to the ridge-beam.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*

few subordinate officials whom the Romans likened to their own praetors and aediles—justices, that is, and superintendents of temples, markets and other public works. The Roman device of 'collegiate' magistracy, with its checks and counter-checks on the abuse of personal initiative, has no parallel in Etruria; it was the 'one-man' government established temporarily at Rome by its three Etruscan kings that made the 'proud house of Tarquin' so fatally detested by its Latin and Sabine subjects. It was naturally from Etruria that the Romans believed that they had acquired the ceremonial trappings of high office, the purple-bordered robe and ivory seat of their magistrates, and the rods and axes borne by the lictors in token of authority to strike or to kill.

For war, each Etruscan community raised its own forces, as we find them mustering in Virgil's description of the 'gathering of the clans' to oppose Aeneas. They were armed with heavy spear and short thrusting sword, not with the slashing blade with which the North had ravaged the Aegean in the sea-raiding age; but the Vetulonian warrior

illustrates their debt to their cousins in Asia Minor for an efficient defensive armour; and the Greek belief that they (or their Aegean cousins) had invented the trumpet reflects the efficiency of their handling of large bodies of warriors.

It was in this array that, under the leadership of this or that war-lord accepted by their federal assemblage, the Etruscan cities combined to extend their domination outside Etruria proper. For their conquests in the Po valley there are no precise dates, but, since their rule there was wrecked by the invasion of the Gauls, it must have been established not later than the early sixth century, and may have been earlier. In the south we have at least some traditional dates: the occupation of Rome in 616 B.C. and of Capua, their principal city in Campania, in 558 B.C. To seaward, meanwhile, they had long been active. Elba was theirs, with its rich mines of copper and iron; and they had had earlier encounters with Greek colonists from Phocaea, on the east



#### LATE ETRUSCAN VIEW OF DEATH

A certain brooding sense of terror of the after life is suggested in some of the later Etruscan tomb frescoes—as in this picture of a dead woman being borne away by a swarthy winged spirit.

*From Deamì and Giglioli, 'Arte Etrusca'*

coast of Corsica, some time before the great fight with a fresh flotilla of Phocaeans, off Alalia, on the same coast, in 535 B.C. Exploits farther afield are difficult to distribute between the settled and relatively civilized Tyrrhenians of Etruria and the piratical rovers who haunted all western seas, and made Greek colonists and traders their especial prey, because the Greeks stood more than any other folk for the freedom and security of the sea-ways.

This Etruscan empire, as it may well be called, did not, however, last long. The Etruscans had, in fact, been too busily engaged in making themselves at home in Etruria; and, when they were ready



**ETRUSCAN ARMS OF DEFENCE**

It is doubtful whether the Etruscans derived their helmet and defensive armour from the Greeks or directly from their Asiatic home. At least the trappings of this late fifth century bronze of a warrior are typically Greek.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*



**SPECIMEN OF ETRUSCAN TASTE**

Like so much Etruscan work, this bronze statuette of Ajax falling on his sword is probably modelled on a Greek original. It was a subject likely to appeal to the later Etruscans, who seem to have originated gladiatorial combats.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*

for the conquest of Italy, other forces were also gathering strength. The Gauls, if Roman traditions are to be trusted, were pouring through the Alpine passes quite early in the sixth century; the great Phocaeen adventures in the West culminated in the foundation of Massalia (Marseilles) about 600 B.C., and spread a long line of smaller colonies along the Riviera coast, extending as far east as Genoa; the Chalcidians, after very early occupation of Prochyta island, had founded Cumae, and then Neapolis (Naples) and other cities along the Campanian coast, and had penetrated to some degree also within Etruria itself, at Caere and Falerii. Above all, the great outward movement of Italic-speaking tribes and clans from the Central Highlands had reached the hilly coast district between the plains of Latium and Campania, where their raids

forced the Latin lowlanders into closer political and military union around their old sanctuary and citadel on the Alban Mount, and contributed a sturdy highland element of Sabine families to the ramshackle outlaw-community which was to become the City of Rome.

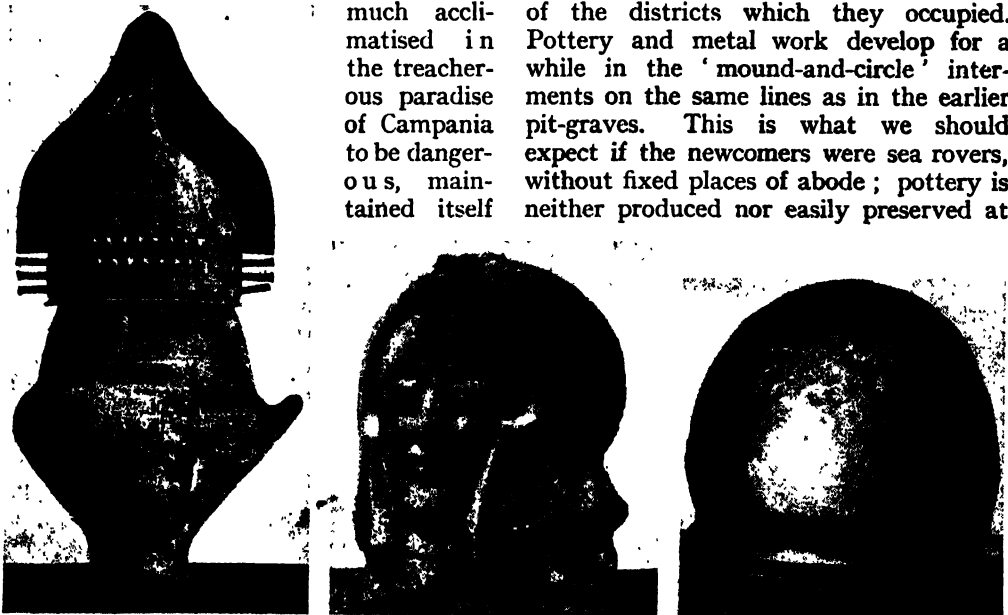
The Etruscan rule in the south, then, had lasted only two generations, when in 524 B.C. Aristodemus, a Greek adventurer who had made himself master of Cumae, defeated the Etruscan army of occupation, and turned the tide. The combined Latins and Sabines of Rome expelled their Etruscan overlords in 510 B.C.; even 'Lars Porsena of Clusium,' the last of the great war-lords of all Etruria, failed to restore the banished 'house of Tarquin' to the vital bridge-head on the Tiber; and what the Romans and their Latin allies had done on land, was done also at sea when Hieron, ruler of Syracuse, caught the Etruscan navy at a disadvantage off Cumae, and dedicated an Etruscan war-trophy in the Greek sanctuary at Olympia. In Capua, it is true, an Etruscan community, too

much acclimatised in the treacherous paradise of Campania to be dangerous, maintained itself

till it was crushed by Samnite highlanders from the interior, between 445 and 425 B.C.; and in 414 B.C. only three Etruscan ships came south to meet that Athenian armada which so pitifully failed to dominate and remodel Greek Sicily.

In Etruria itself, however, this was by no means the end. For nearly two centuries longer Etruscan cities, more or less numerous, *Lingering end of* and more or less hampered *Etruscan power* by their own feuds, by Roman intrigues and by raids of Gauls from beyond the Apennines, were persistently engaged in a losing fight with the Romans, till the great Roman victories in 310 and 283 B.C. broke their military resistance, and the last Roman triumph over an Etruscan enemy was celebrated in 281 B.C.

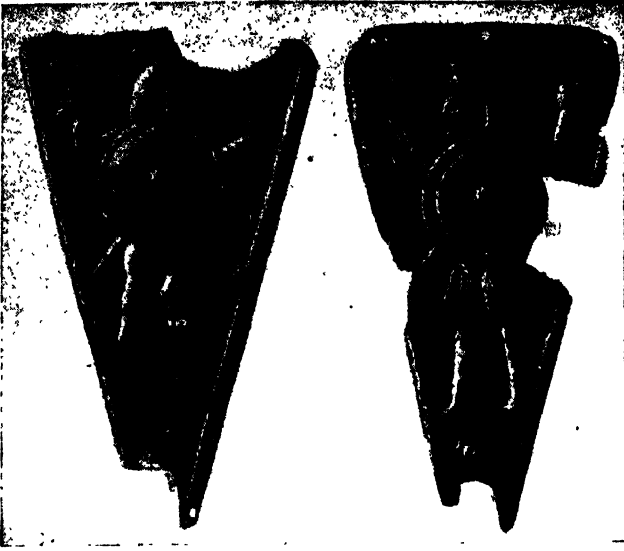
It remains to estimate the achievements of the Etruscans in the arts and habits of peace. Immediately after their arrival in Italy, as we have seen, it is difficult to detect any change that can be ascribed to their influence in the material civilization of the districts which they occupied. Pottery and metal work develop for a while in the 'mound-and-circle' interments on the same lines as in the earlier pit-graves. This is what we should expect if the newcomers were sea rovers, without fixed places of abode; pottery is neither produced nor easily preserved at



TYPES OF HELMET WORN BY THE SOLDIERS OF ETRURIA

Among the many different forms of helmet used by the Etruscans the commonest was a round cap like the one on the right, which was dedicated at Olympia by Hieron of Syracuse as part of spoils captured from the Etruscans in 480 B.C. In the centre is the head of a warrior, but the crest of the helmet has been shattered. On the left is an ossuary surmounted by a ridged helmet of beaten bronze—the first step towards giving these ossuaries the human masks seen in page 1175.

Archaeological Museum, Florence



**HOW ETRUSCAN WARRIORS WERE EQUIPPED**

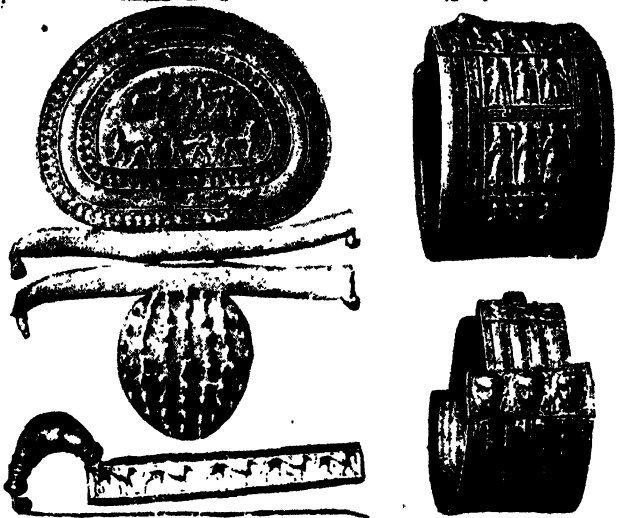
Each of these triangular bronze plaques is decorated in repoussé with the figure of a soldier showing the equipment of an Etruscan fighting man. The ornaments, about 8 in. long, were probably frontal pieces used for protecting the horses' heads.

sea, and articles of luxury occupy space which can ill be spared on shipboard. At most we should look for personal ornaments, and especially amulets and keepsakes, acquired in port, or as loot. These we find: a few fresh types of brooches, strings of foreign beads, little charms of Egyptian glaze, or imitations of it; and, in the forms of the finer pottery, glimpses of a new familiarity with metal jugs and cups, fluted and gadrooned, with riveted handles. The local potters were imitating, as they alone can, for the use of ordinary households, the display of wealth among the rich.

This rather vulgar and gaudy fashion finds fuller expression in the use, first, of engraved punches, then of roller stamps, to impress bands of relief ornament on the larger vessels, in imitation of silver-smiths' work, but repeating monotonously a small repertory of favourite patterns and scenes: processions of animals, chariot-races and groups of fighting men. It was an art

which was practised occasionally in Crete and other parts of the South Aegean during the early Iron Age, but never won there the popularity which it achieved in Etruria. Later, along with clay copies, there are occasionally the metallic originals, sometimes of Greek fashion but oftener in that 'mixed oriental style,' combining Egyptian and Assyrian designs in an unintelligent way, which is found on bowls, shields and other objects of thin bronze and silver plate, in the palaces of Assyrian kings at Nineveh, in the sanctuaries and tombs of Cyprus, in the sacred cave on Mount Ida in Crete, and at Olympia, Delphi and the Athenian acropolis. There was traffic in similar metal work up the Adriatic,

among the later Villanovan folk of the Po valley; and it was prized and imitated locally, even beyond the Alpine passes, among the peoples of Hallstatt culture in Tirol and along the Danube tributaries.



**DAINTY WORK OF THE ETRUSCAN GOLDSMITH**

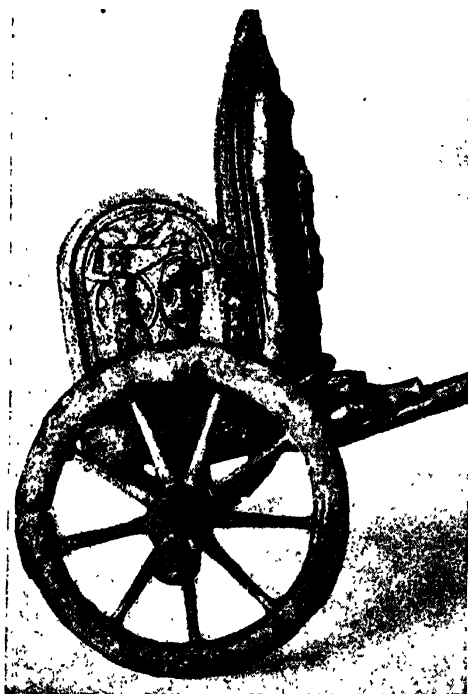
Ornamented in Oriental fashion with birds and figures of animals, the large fibula dates from the early seventh century B.C. The other fibula is also ornamented with animals; but the bracelets bear figures and heads in repoussé with details in granulation—a characteristic form of Etruscan decoration.

*From Randall MacIver, Villanovans and Early Etruscans, Oxford University Press*



The richer tombs in Etruria are lavishly furnished with metal work of all sorts, in a variety of styles, some certainly Oriental, others local and more or less influenced by these foreign models. The largest and most magnificent objects are whole chariots framed and panelled in highly wrought and gilded bronze; but the finest craftsmanship is that of the gold brooches and jewelry with ornament of fine filigree and

Luxurious and gorgeous as was the taste of the living Etruscan, it was in his preparations for the after-life that he squandered his wealth and expressed his character and interests most frankly. Little as we know of his religious beliefs, it is at all events certain that his mode of life on earth made him horribly uneasy about what happened after death. Many ancient peoples, such as the Egyptians,



FROM THE TOMB OF A CHARIOTEER

The richer Etruscan tombs in the sixth century B.C. were sumptuously furnished with metal work. This chariot of gilded bronze has its panels (above) ornamented with soldiers fighting and female figures. The soldiers are wearing greaves like those of the Greeks.

*Metropolitan Museum, New York*

granulated work, of microscopic delicacy and superb technical skill.

More important as evidence of date are the foreign fabrics of pottery, which were seemingly prized as rarities at first, for their graceful forms and painted decoration, so unlike the dull brown or monotonously polished black of the native 'bucchero' vessels. The majority of these vases are of recognizable Greek workmanship, of which the age and places of origin are known. The earliest are of the eighth century; in the seventh they begin to be common, and in the sixth and fifth the trade in them was enormous, especially with Corinth, the cities of the Ionian seaboard of Asia Minor and some of the central Aegean islands.

took elaborate precautions to ensure to the departed some continuance of the comforts and the delights of the living, and some respite from the consequences of wrong-doing; hence the copious equipment of the tomb with furniture and maintenance for the use of the dead, and the decoration of it with scenes such as they had enjoyed in their lifetime. In Etruria too the foreign art of fresco painting was lavishly employed on the walls of the more stately burial chambers. But along with these scenes, which reveal a delight in acts of violence, cruelty and impropriety, only too faithfully confirming Roman beliefs about the character and behaviour of their hated neighbours, there are horrible demons of the underworld,

and souls in torment, anticipating, and probably originating, some of the least Christian aspects of medieval superstition about the fate of sinful souls. Even in representations of Greek legends, such as the rescue of Alcestis from the tomb, there are pictured these grisly attendants, the fiend with the hammer and the hell goddess snatching at her prey.

A people in panic about its own destiny could hardly be expected to be scrupulous about the means of salvation. If the fiends wanted souls to persecute, souls they should have as a gift, so long as they spared the soul of the giver; human victims were accordingly sacrificed, and buried alive at the funerals of those who could afford them; prisoners of war were massacred publicly, less as a spectacle,



#### ETRUSCAN FUNERARY CUSTOMS

The crude features on the lid of this bronze ossuary seem to be an intermediate stage between the helmet type (page 1162) and the more completely anthropoid urns of pottery that developed later (see page 1170).

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*



#### THRONED IN DEATH AS IN LIFE

A curious custom by which funerary urns were placed on chairs of beaten bronze shows the kind of furniture that one might have found in a wealthy Etruscan home. They apparently indicated the high rank of the deceased.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*

probably, than as ransom to the 'gods below' for the souls of Etruscans killed in battle; quarrels and injuries were avenged by means of horrible curses scrawled on a sheet of lead and slipped into a tomb, as into a post-box, so that the dead might pass the message to the powers below. Hardly an occurrence of everyday life was without its sinister meaning, and its proper spell or charm to avert the wrath of the demon responsible for it. And if the after-life was to be so terrible, and this life, too, was so perilous, what wonder that in Etruscan cities men lived by the day, and crowded what pleasures they could into their lives, without consideration for others, or self-respect. If we may judge,

from these tomb frescoes, the women were no better than the men, frivolous and dissolute; and it was a goddess who led the orgies of hell.

The same lack of restraint or sense of proportion betrays the Etruscan temper even in artistic design. Greek craftsmen, trained in a very different atmosphere, lost their heads when they worked—as apparently some did—for Etruscan patrons; and the native craftsmen who tried to imitate the Greek style sacrificed its gracious spirit, while they borrowed

its technical skill, its designs and its traditional subjects. Only one branch of higher art seems to owe anything to Etruscan patronage; from the realistic pageantry of public festivals and funeral ritual arose one of the rare ancient schools of portraiture (graphic rather than ideal); a custom that was passed on with much else to the Romans. In particular, the quaint but convenient habit of modelling, on an urn or casket for the cremated ashes, not the whole figure of the dead man, but only his head and neck, gave



#### FOREIGN STRAINS IN THE ART OF THE ETRUSCAN BRONZE WORKER

Etruscan craftsmanship at its best appears in the metal work, but even here much of the art was imitative. Thus, on the bronze bowl (top left), consecrated to the cult of Jupiter, there are little figures of the god in a conventional, mixed oriental style reminiscent of Phoenician imitations of Assyrian work. And the earlier bucket below, which from the circumstances of its finding must be called 6th century Etruscan, is practically indistinguishable from those shown in pages 942 and 943.

*From Randall MacIver, 'Villanovans and Early Etruscans,' Oxford University Press.*

rise to the modelled 'bust,' which has its name ('bustum,' tomb) from this original purpose.

Such was the exceptional people which, more than any other, influenced the beliefs and thoughts as well as the public life and material culture of the Romans, its eventual neighbours to the southward and its successful competitors for the mastery over the rest of Italy. And it was the circumstance that the Romans themselves had been for a time under Etruscan domination, and had been among the first to free themselves from it, that gave Rome the opportunity to pose as the liberator of other victims of Etruscan oppression, and to weld them into an anti-

Etruscan league, and eventually into a fighting machine for the liberation of yet other peoples. For the Etruscans themselves had never been more than a closely organized and desperately self-

determined minority, among a population conquered but not assimilated; and the difficulty which Etruscan cities found in rallying to defend their common interests seems very largely to have resulted from the peril with which each group of Etruscan conquerors was threatened by its own native subjects; just as in Greece the conquest-states, such as Sparta, Argos and the close oligarchies of Thebes and Thessaly, were ever hampered in their foreign policy by the watchful ill will of their own serfs.

This is especially evident in the region of Etruria nearest to the Tiber frontier. Not only was it separated from the rest of Etruria by the Ciminian forest, but it was linked with the Latin cities beyond the river by ancient community of blood and traditions. It was no accident that the Romans found at Caere, which had been the principal Etruscan post in this region, but had earlier been, in some sense both a Latin and also a Greek



ETRUSCAN FAMILY SCENE DEPICTED IN A TOMB

Though the man and youth in this painting are naked, the woman is becomingly clad—Etruscan women seem to have taken more trouble over their appearance than those of Greece or Rome. The husband and wife recline before a table, while the servant on the right proffers two ladles and a wine strainer.

*From Waage, 'Etruskische Malerei'*

community (so Greek writers at all events believed), the opportunity to make one of the boldest political experiments of the ancient world, when they offered to the population of this city, on its liberation in 353 B.C., nothing less than participation in their own civil rights. For this 'franchise of Caere,' restricted though it was, became a model for subsequent enfranchisements, and was thus the first step towards that extension of Rome citizenship, to people not of Roman descent, which was the principal agency by which Rome eventually incorporated in one body politic, not only all Italy, but the Mediterranean world.

While the spread of Greek colonisation in Italy was thus checked by the sea power of the Etruscans, until the political situation was entirely changed by the rise of Rome and its Latin League, a quite different danger beset it to the southward, from the Phoenician settlements in North Africa and especially from the greatest of them, Carthage.

The Phoenicians, like the Etruscans, were immigrants from farther east, and their establishment in the western seas was probably not much, if at all, older than the league of cities in Etruria. But their Greek rivals formed an exaggerated,



# ETRUSCAN FRESCO OF MOURNING DANCERS ACCOMPANIED BY A FLUTE AND CASTANETS

Apparently the dance was as important as the 'lament in Etruscan funerary ritual. The fresco shown above dates from the beginning of the fifth century a.o. and is one of the best representations of Etruscan mourning dancers. Male and female dancers are performing among the trees, one man playing a double flute. Animal life abounds: the trees are full of birds, and the tail of a cat climbing the central tree (the rest has flaked off) can be seen. Upon another tree is hanging a strap with bells: pictures representing banquets in honour of the dead often show similar straps hanging on the walls.

*From Poulsen, 'Etruscan Tomb Paintings,' Oxford University Press*



Two great cats snarling on either side of an altar give its name to the Tomb of the Lionesses at Corneto. This quasi-heraldic decoration occurs frequently in Etruscan art. The frieze depicts a revel, symbolised by the large wine jar with musicians playing beside it; on one side a male attendant capers with a female cup-bearer and on the other a woman in Ionic garb dances to castanets.



Another convention of Etruscan art is shown in these terra-cotta panels from a tomb, at Cervetri, in the differentiation of sex by the colour of the skin; dark brown for men, and pale, almost white, for women. This doubtless originated in the more indoor life of the women, and is found in Egyptian, Mycenaean and archaic Greek art, but it survived in Etruscan painting after it had disappeared elsewhere. Another archaism is the retention of the full eye in faces otherwise represented in profile.

#### ETRUSCAN MEN AND WOMEN IN THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C. -

*From 'An'ike Denkmaler' (top) and British Museum*



From the second half of the sixth century onwards Etruscan painting shows development in increased fineness of line in the figure drawing, and also in more elaborate composition, and the multiplication of details. These characteristics are apparent in this banquet scene from the so-called Tomb of the Maiden at Corneto at the end of the fifth century, mature compared with the scene below.



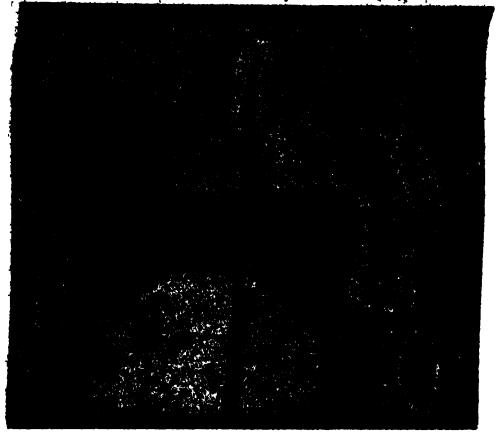
Mythology furnished the subject for the principal painting in the Tomb of the Bulls at Corneto, which dates from the first half of the sixth century B.C. It represents Achilles waiting in ambush at the sacred spring of Apollo under the walls of Troy for young Troilus who, suspecting no danger, comes to water the horses. The straps with bells and the chaplets hung on trees remained conventional in these frescoes throughout the next century, and show Etruscan belief in magic and charms.

**DAILY LIFE AND GREEK LEGEND PAINTED IN OLD ETRUSCAN TOMBS**

*From 'Antike Denkmäler'*

notion of the Phœnician claim to priority, and though archaeological research has now corrected this belief, many important sites are still unexplored, and only outlines of their early history can be traced.

The Phœnician cities of the Syrian coast, however, have a long history. Byblus, one of the most venerable, though not in later times the most distinguished, was in regular communication with the Nile Valley by sea from early dynastic times, certainly before 3000 B.C., exporting timber, spices and drugs, and probably also oil and wine. What it received in return is less certain; most probably the imports consisted mainly of grain, flax, textiles and other manufactured goods, and objects of luxury. But it is not till the Egyptian conquest of Syria by the Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1500 B.C., that most of the Phœnician cities are recognizable, and only during the decline of the Egyptian Empire is there contemporary record of their doings. In the period covered by the Tell el-Amarna letters from Egyptian officials in Syria to Amenhotep III and IV, between 1420 and 1350, Sidon, Tyre, Arvad and several others were self-governed cities. They made the best terms for their own interests



ETRUSCAN RACING CHARIOT

Colours in Etruscan wall paintings are not naturalistic. Horses, as in this tomb at Chiusi (where the usual plaster between paint and rock is omitted), may be red, blue or grey, with red hooves and blue manes and tails. Compare the colour plate facing this page.

From Weege, 'Etruskische Malerei'

with their Egyptian overlord, and also with his enemies the Hittites from North Syria, the predatory Khabiru from the desert inland, and the Sea Raiders from the 'islands in the midst of the sea'; among whom we have glimpses, already discussed (see page 794) of several peoples of the Aegean, including 'Tursha' folk, who may be early Tyrrhenians.

This period of 'distress of nations' culminated in the great raids from the north-west, by sea and by land, which were stayed by Rameses III soon after 1200 B.C.; and about this time Tyre at all events seems to have made a fresh start of some kind. Perhaps it was destroyed by sea raiders, and repopulated. As both Cyprus and the Philistine coast received large fresh settlements from overseas at about this time, there was in any case unprecedented opportunity for intercourse with western regions; and it has been suggested that as Sicily, Sardinia and Etruria seem to have had their names from the sea-roving Shakalash, Shirdanu and Tursha, known to us from Egyptian documents, the African coast may also have been visited by adventurers returning from eastern waters, and so become known to the sailors and merchants of the Phœnician cities. It is in any case noteworthy that in Homer the Achaean adventurer Odysseus describes how he was,



GREEK ARTISTS IN ETRUSCAN PAY

This horseman is from the Tomb of the Baron, named after its discoverer, Baron Kestner. It has been demonstrated that the paintings in this tomb are the work of a Greek decorator.

From Weege, 'Etruskische Malerei'





These three pottery urns show an interesting development from the bronze ossuaries in page 1165. The first two with their punch-marks and sham rivets imitate their bronze prototypes; but whereas the first retains the original handles, the second has a rotating arm (the projection probably represents the warrior's shield), and the third has utilised the handles to support two pivoted arms.



Eventually the anthropoid characteristics of the urn extended from the head to the whole body: thus the central object here is sixth or fifth century B.C., while the upper three are ninth or eighth. But the process seems to have been accompanied by degeneration, for the last example shows all the marks of stylised and mechanical art — unless it is merely a cruder contemporary effort. Note how the magnificent chairs of the older burials have become mere egg-cup-like sockets.

**ORIGIN OF THE 'BUST': ETRUSCAN BURIAL CUSTOM THAT LASTED FOR CENTURIES**

*Archaeological Museum, Florence*

captured in Egypt during a sea raid, made friends there with a Phoenician merchant, joined him in a voyage to Libya, and was wrecked 'out beyond Crete' and cast ashore in Ithaca on the west coast of Greece, much as S. Paul was stranded in Malta through similar weather. Another yarn of Odysseus, concerning the 'lotus eaters' with their honey-sweet tree-fruit, which grew wild and was their entire diet, hints that something was vaguely known to the poet about the southern parts of Tunis, where the date palm grows wild within reach of the Mediterranean shore; in modern Tripoli, too, palm groves line the beach for miles.

But it was not the low-lying palm-fringed coast of Libya which made the fortunes of the western Phoenicians. Beyond it, the whole structure and climate of the continent change rather abruptly,

where the eastward-trending mountains of the great Atlas Range abut on the margin of the eastern Mediterranean and swerve towards their Sicilian continuation. This rugged region offers also a strong contrast in climate, for it is highland, and has the sea on two sides which are both open to the prevalent winds. Its vegetation is hardly less European than that of Sicily or south-eastern Spain, even on the coast. There are remains, even, of formerly extensive forests, on seaward slopes, increasing in area westwards, where moister air comes in from the Ocean.

In general the Atlas mountain zone is twofold, the 'Tell' country or 'Little Atlas' closely following the north coast of Algeria and running out to sea in Cape Blanco, while the 'Greater Atlas' and its eastern extension, the Aurès, looks down as abruptly on the desert



ETRUSCAN TERRA-COTTA PORTRAITS OF A MAN AND HIS WIFE

From the sixth century B.C. onwards we find the wealthier Etruscans being buried in elaborate sarcophagi, mostly of terra-cotta, but, in later examples, of more precious materials such as alabaster. These are oblong chests, decorated with scenes of mythology or civic life and bearing figures of the occupant or occupants, usually somewhat less than life size. In this early example from Cervetri even the 'archaic smiles' inherited from Greek art cannot disguise the attempt at portraiture.

©British Museum



RECONSTRUCTED INTERIOR OF A ROCK HEWN FAMILY TOMB OF LATE ETRUSCAN DATE

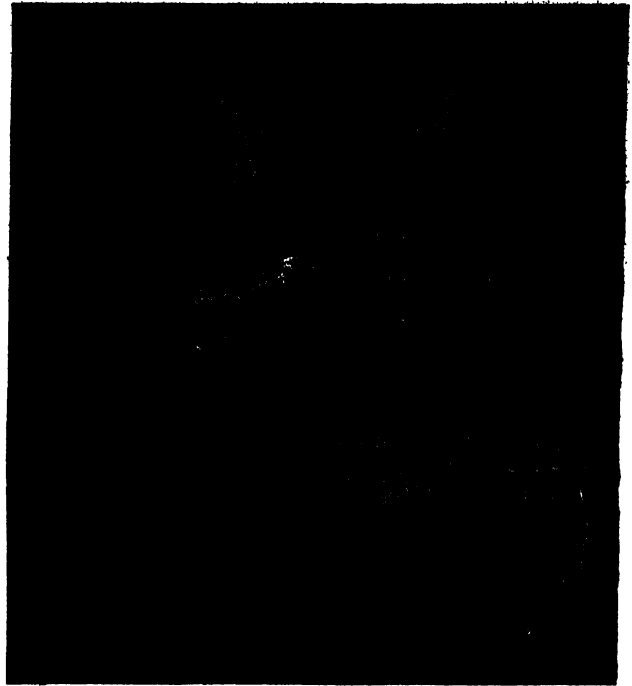
Primitive mound-and-circle burials developed into elaborate mortuary chambers appropriated to a single family. This is a reconstruction of one such found at San Girolamo, near Volterra; but the original door has been retained, together with the alabaster caskets, each containing the ashes of a member (probably) of the Atia family, some forty in number and suggesting the length of time during which the tomb must have been in use. The caskets have lids of the later anthropoid type shown in the preceding page, and the sides are decorated with scenes mostly drawn from Greek mythology.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence. Photo, Alinari*

flat-land southwards. Both ranges rise to peaks of 6,000 feet; the Aurès to 7,000 or more. Between them there is a plateau, at about 3,000 feet, not unlike that of Asia Minor, but narrower and not so well watered, because its mountain screens are loftier. Its barrenness is increased because, unlike Asia Minor, most of its winter moisture is not drained off through the hills, but forms a chain of lakes; and these, when they evaporate in summer, leave the ground encrusted with salt. There is, however, much grassland and esparto steppe round the margins of this plateau, and it is the home of the clean-limbed Numidian horse, the 'barb' of the Moorish and modern Algerian cavalry, as of the Carthaginian.

In the easternmost section, on the other hand, the two ranges converge, rising also in height, to form the twin highlands of the Aurès and Khrumiria. Between these, what is left of the central hollow has been deepened into the fine valley of the Mejerda (ancient Bagradas) river, which reaches the sea between Cape Blanco, already mentioned, and the longer and more easterly promontory of Cape Bon, formed by the southern range. Between these capes, and also along the east coast, south of Cape Bon, there is much rolling country of softer texture, better watered by the sea winds and fringed by fertile coast plains which widen southwards into the Libyan lowland where the palm groves begin.

Like the central plateau, a large district south of the Aurès and its Tunisian extension has no seaward drainage, and is covered with salt lagoons, the Shotts, for about two hundred miles from the coast, so that the whole of this section of the highland is practically a peninsula separated from the Libyan continent, with which it only communicates by caravan routes to oases among and beyond the Shotts. It is to this extensive and well-favoured



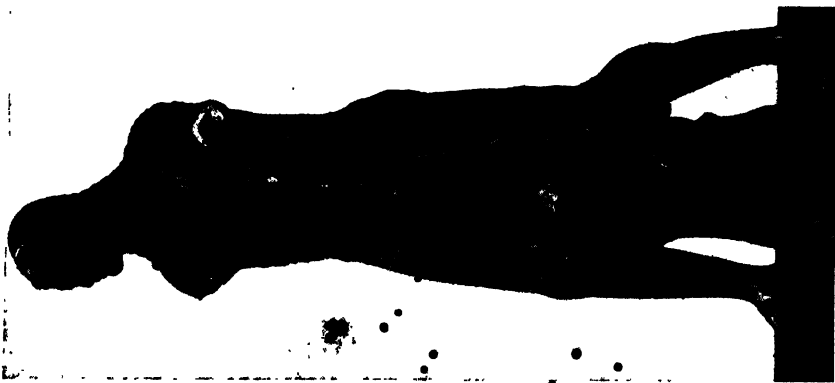
#### MOST PRETENTIOUS ETRUSCAN BURIAL CUSTOM

The final and most sumptuous stage in Etruscan burials was when the casket containing the ashes developed into a sarcophagus showing the dead man reclining full length on a couch, in many instances with his wife. But even these sarcophagi degenerated, and finally became a large head on a scamped body.

*The Louvre; photo, Mansell*

region that the name 'Africa' properly belongs; it was the Roman province of that name, and it was only in late Roman times that this term superseded the older name of Libya for the continental flat-land of Sahara as well, which separates it from Egypt and extends westward along its southern border. To the Greeks this highland 'Africa' was almost unknown; Herodotus, for example, ends his description of Libya with the Shotts and the Aurès; and the reason for this is the same as for their grotesque mistakes about the shape of Italy—that other explorers, who were also their commercial rivals, had been beforehand, and kept Greeks aloof.

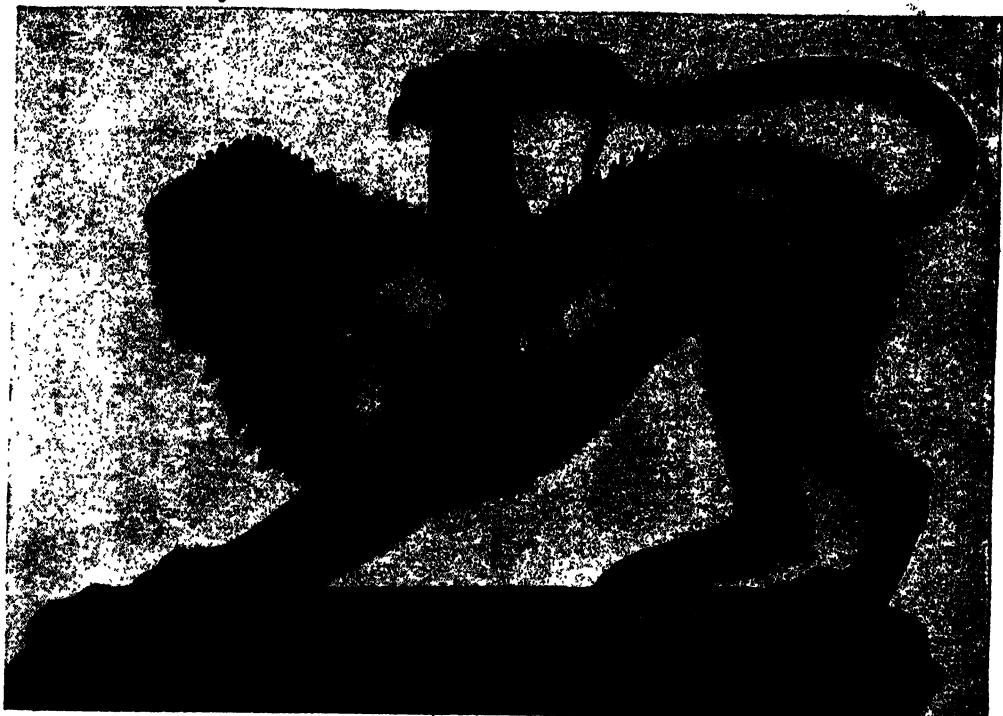
The native population of this ancient 'Africa' was a hardy, virile branch of the same Mediterranean type as the peoples of Sicily, South Italy and Spain. In spite of Carthaginian and Roman and Arab conquests, it has retained its simple mode of life and tribal societies till to-day.



### NATIVE ETRUSCAN FICTILE ART UNDER STRONG INFLUENCE FROM EASTERN GREECE

Veii had a reputation among the Romans for its school of sculpture, so the discovery among its ruins of the extremely fine hollow terra-cotta statue of Apollo (left, two views) was appropriate as well as interesting. It formed a group with Heracles, Hermes and Artemis; the date is late sixth century, and the rich drapery and dressing of the hair betray Ionian influence (compare the statuette in page 1047). Next is a bronze winged demon bearing a hollow column (cut short in this photograph) that perhaps served to hold a votive candle; and a bronze lady from Perugia, also markedly Ionian in style.

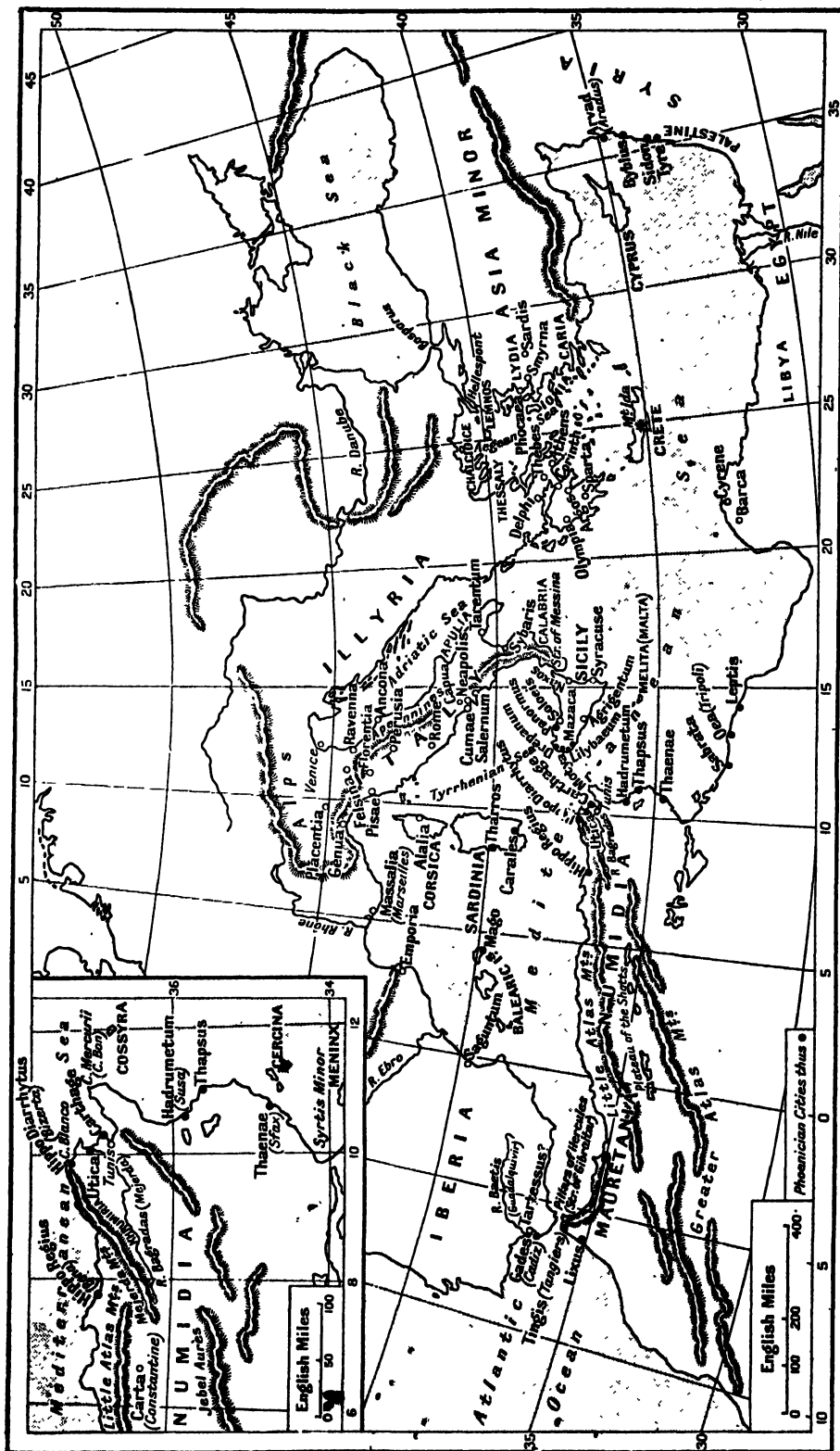
*Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (photo, left, Alinari), Archaeological Museum, Florence, and Berlin State Museum.*



# **MONSTER ADOPTED FROM GREEK LEGEND BY AN ETRUSCAN MASTER CRAFTSMAN**

Thought by some to be a Greek importation into Etruria, this bronze figure of the Chimaera is more probably of native Etruscan workmanship based on a Greek original of the fifth century B.C. It was discovered in 1553 and restored by Benvenuto Cellini; the inscription on its right foreleg refers to its dedication to the god Tin (Jupiter). The Chimaera was a fabulous monster compounded of lion, goat and snake, killed by the hero Bellerophon. Note the wounds in the goat's neck and the lion's thigh.

*Archaeological Museum, Florence; photos, Brogi*



### CITIES AND DEPOTS PLANTED BY THE PHOENICIAN MERCHANT ADVENTURERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Up to the time of the 'distress of nations,' c. 1300-1200 B.C., we hear, it is true, of the Phoenician cities from Egyptian sources, but not in a sense to suggest merchant adventurers. Perhaps, therefore, an infiltration of 'Peoples of the Sea' first gave them their seafaring propensities, resulting in an exploration of the North African coast and the foundation of such cities as Utica, Lixus and Gades. The real exodus, however, must have been due to the invasions of Ashur-nasir-pal II and Shalmaneser III between 876 and 846 B.C., and it is to this period that we may assign the foundation of Carthage.

In the highlands it is mainly pastoral; on the plateau are bred the characteristic, game little horses; among the coast hills and lowland plains are cultivated grain crops, the native fig, the olive and vine, not necessarily introduced from abroad, though improved by foreign strains; and to these ancient resources have been added latterly tobacco, cotton, carob, oranges and the like. The tough esparto-rush, on the moorlands, has always furnished excellent material for basket-making, matting, cordage, thatch, sandals and other articles of attire, and in modern times is exported in large quantities for paper-making. Africa was indeed the Manila of the ancient world, as well as one of its principal granaries, when improved methods of agriculture and more insistent demand resulted in the breaking up of large sections of the central prairie, as well as the moors along the eastern seaboard.

Ancient tradition drew but little distinction in point of date between the first Phoenician settlements in Mediterranean Africa and those beyond the Strait of Gibraltar on the Spanish and the African shore. Probably there is good reason for this. When once this section of the coast was discovered, and its general likeness to the Syrian homeland was appreciated—for this, too, has a double mountain structure and a hollow interior, though it is neither so extensive nor so arid—there was little reason why its whole length should not be explored within a few years. Even the rarity of harbours west of Cape Blanco drove explorers onward in hope of better, once the skill was acquired to play off the daily shore breeze against the steady eastward current; for in case of accident or miscalculation it was an easy drift back to home waters. The belief, then, that Utica, at the mouth of the Bagradas, under the lee of Cape Bon, Lixus at Larache, south of Tangier, and Gades near the mouth of the Guadalquivir were all founded by adventurers from Tyre soon after 1200 B.C. is probably well warranted; they were the direct reaction of the reconstructed Tyre, already noted, to the new geographical perspective

Phoenician rovers' extensive range

revealed by intercourse with the sea raiders, the 'Peoples of the Sea.'

In habitual rivalry with Tyre, Sidon is believed to have founded Campe, in the southern corner of the same bay as Utica, probably where Carthage afterwards stood, and also one or both of the two cities called Hippo, west of Cape Blanco, at Bizerta and Bona respectively. No precise dates, however, are given; no details are known of these early settlements; and it was not till three centuries later that a fresh adventure opened a new page in the history of the region. And this new enterprise stands, like its predecessor, in direct relation with the fortunes of Tyre.

Early in the ninth century Assyria entered on the second of its three periods of aggression and empire. In 876 B.C. Ashur-nasir-pal II received homage and tribute from Tyre, Sidon and Byblus; and Shal-

Carthage founded by Dido

maneser III in 849 and 846 B.C. Both the disturbance to inland commerce during this period of conquests and revolts, and the general disorder which resulted from the collapse of the Assyrian rule before the close of the century, brought distress and discontent to these merchant cities. There was internal feud in Tyre, and a first experiment was made in emigration, before 850 B.C., to an island settlement at Auza not far from Algiers. Then, about 840 B.C. according to the Greek writers, the malcontents, led by Elissa the king's sister, better known as Dido 'the refugee,' withdrew, or were ejected, to found in Phoenician Africa a 'new town' (Qarth-hadasht) which the Greeks knew as Carchedon and the Romans as Carthago. Its site had been occupied already by Sidonians, but the quaint legend to the effect that a native chief granted 'so much ground as could be contained by the skin of an ox,' and that Dido cut the skin into as many strips as would enclose the lands she wanted, is a hint that the place had to be quite refounded. It was believed, however, that the New Town attracted a number of more or less civilized natives, and was planned on a generous scale.

The site is indeed large and commodious (see map on page 1615). Within the great bay enclosed by the two promon-





RIFLED SEPULCHRE AT TYRE

About six miles from Tyre is this massive monument known as the Tomb of Hiram, the king of Tyre, who was Solomon's friend. Though its age is uncertain, it is ancient and probably antedates the migration to Carthage.

*Palestine Exploration Fund*

tories already mentioned runs a transverse ridge of low hills about four miles long, nearly five hundred feet high near its northern end and about two hundred at its southern, the Mejerda valley lying inland. Once this ridge was an island about six miles from the nearest solid ground, a similar but longer ridge behind Tunis town; but it has long been connected with the mainland by the lateral spread of the Mejerda silt. As the river now reaches the sea some miles to the north-west, this deposit is more copious at the north end, and has advanced the coastline abreast of the ridge, leaving, however, a large area of swamp and lagoon behind it. To the south, however, there is still the navigable lake of Tunis, about seven miles in length; it stretches from Tunis town to the sand bar which already separated it from the sea at the time of the last Roman siege. West of Tunis and the inland ridge, to which we have referred above, there is again a wide lagoon. The ridge, therefore, though no longer sea-girt, is protected by lagoon and impassable fen on either hand, and is only approached, even now, by a neck of alluvial land about

three miles wide; in ancient times this was probably much narrower. Its sea-front is mostly cliff, except at the south end, where there is a foreshore a few hundred yards wide, with firm frontage and a level surface, an ideal site for a harbour-quarter, and commanded by the steep southern summit of the ridge, which became the citadel. The great city that was built upon this site, however, is more suitably described in Chapter 54.

The new settlement was admirably placed for the headquarters of a commercial system. The great bay is protected against all winds but one, and lies at the junction of the two coasts of the region, with easy ways of communication with its fertile eastern frontage, where the great grain port of Hadrumetum was to be, with the date-country round Gabes in the south and with Saharan caravan-routes beyond the Shotts. The broad basin of the Mejerda was a natural avenue to the central plateau, with branch valleys among the highlands on either hand. If fighting men were wanted, there were the Berber ancestors of the Zouaves in great numbers, and if mobile cavalry, the 'barbaric horses' of the prairie. There was abundant forest for shipbuilding, copper mines up in the hills, and access indirectly across the southern deserts to the hinterland of the Gold Coast, whence Herodotus had a traveller's tale about native gold-washings and Carthaginian traffic.

Between Carthage and older settlements there was natural jealousy; and in later days Utica and Hippo Regius were at best half-hearted friends. **Rivalry with Older Settlers** At times they aided the enemy, and Rome gave them their reward for a while. But, apart from that, their day of prosperity was over, and in Greek writers the Phoenician west consists of Carthage and its dependencies, an African empire, with a home territory twice as large as Wales; ports and depots as far east as the frontier against Greek Cyrene, behind the Greater Quicksands, and as far west as the coast of Morocco; and tributary chieftains among the native 'Numidian' peoples, to use the Roman name for the horse-breeding nomads of the plateau. Of the relations

between Carthage and the old settlement at Gades on the Spanish shore beyond the Strait of Gibraltar we know less, perhaps because they were easier than those with the cousins next door.

If the traditional date for the foundation of Carthage is correct, there was an interval of about a century before the first Greek colonies were established in Sicily, at Syracuse and Naxos, about 735 B.C. But there are reasons for believing that Phoenician settlement in this island did not anticipate Greek by much. There was indeed a good reason why fresh emigrants should have been leaving Tyre and the other mother cities about that time; for the third and most extensive aggression of Assyria, which originated with the accession of Tiglath-pileser in 745, reached the Phoenician seaboard in 741 and took heavy tribute from Tyre both then and again in 734 and 725. Small earlier trading stations, indeed, there seem to have been in Sicily at many points afterwards occupied by Greeks; but the permanent Phoenician cities in the west of the island, Motya, Soloeis and Panormus, are of a more substantial quality, and appear from their situations to be elements in a deliberate scheme of exploitation directed from the Carthaginian base.

There was, indeed, another reason why the west of Sicily should have become

so securely annexed to the Phoenician system, whereas the remainder fell easily under Greek influence. Not only is the western country itself more rugged and much less fertile except in a few secluded coast plains, the native population is different, more akin (in ancient belief) to that of Spain, and little affected by the repeated intrusions of tribes of Italic descent across the Strait of Messina. The same difference of outlook and fortune is seen in medieval times, when the west became Arabised early, and remained so for long, while the east never lost touch with Christian and Roman tradition. As in this later period, moreover, so in the earlier, it was the possession of the western fortresses, and especially of Panormus (Palermo) with its safe port and the extraordinary fertility of the 'Concha d'Oro' lowland, that eventually decided the fate of the whole. Consequently Greek colonisation, after rapid and almost unbroken spread from 735 to about 580 B.C., was checked rather suddenly when it reached this western region, just as it had been checked in Italy by contact with the Etruscan regime.

But in the same way as the Phocaeans found another route to the farther West, up the Corsican coast and so past the

**The Phoenicians  
in Sicily**



**SITE OF ANCIENT CARTHAGE, BESIDE THE GULF OF TUNIS**

Founded by Phoenician settlers from Tyre under the leadership, so legend says, of Dido, Carthage became the capital of an empire that dominated the Mediterranean. There were two excellent harbours, the inner, known as the Cothon, being reserved for warships. The circular Cothon, in this southward view from the Byrsa citadel, is in the foreground, and upon the island once stood the Admiral's headquarters. The outer harbour is much silted up. For further illustrations see Chap. 54.

Etruscan dominion to the vast field of enterprise of which the principal base was Massalia and an advanced post Emporia ('the Depots') by the mouth of the Ebro, with a friendly and perhaps partly Hellenised town at Saguntum some way beyond it, so the same bold explorers, avoiding Phoenician Sicily, made acquaintance with the country known to Greeks as Tartessus, in southern Spain, and enjoyed a monopoly of its trade and friendship from about 600 B.C. till the destruction of Phocaea itself by the Persians (circa 540 B.C.).

Exactly what was included in 'Tartessus' is not clear; there was certainly a port and place of business beyond the Strait of

**Tartessus and the Tin Islands** off as Gades, in the territory of a friendly tribe, perhaps the same as was known later to the Romans as the Turditani. But it was a depot, not a colony, and even its site is now unknown. Like Gades, Tartessus gave access to the great mineral wealth of the hill country on either side of the wide Guadalquivir valley, and to the routes which traversed the valley towards other mining districts. Like Gades again, it seems to have been a base for expeditions along the Atlantic coast, and somewhere in this direction were believed to lie the famous 'Tin Islands,' whether the Scillies or the rugged Breton coast or the reefs off Finisterre it is not easy to decide. Ancient explorers cared more about monopolies than advertisement; and it was only in the generation of Alexander the Great that the scientific expedition led by Pytheas of Massalia popularised what was known about the Far West, and filled the principal gaps in Greek knowledge.

On the Atlantic seaboard, then, as in Sicily, the Phoenicians had a certain priority over the Greeks; but they were steadily losing the advantages of this lead, when Greek expansion had once acquired vigorous impetus, and were consequently driven farther away to fresh fields for their enterprise.

Two such fields obviously awaited them, in Sardinia and along the West African coast. Sardinia consists essentially of two regions, a vast oval dome of ancient rocks

and rough forest country, well watered owing to its sea-girt position and considerable altitude, and rich, too, in metals; and a smaller upland lying apart to the south-west, and connected with the larger by a broad, fertile lowland of softer and more recent structure. Since early times it had been visited occasionally by voyagers from the East Mediterranean, but it was only about 600 B.C. that it was occupied by Phoenicians, who had a regular city, with tombs rich in oriental ornaments, at Tharros on the east shore of the lowland. Here there was no Greek competition, though a body of adventurers put in once at Cumae in Campania, saying that they were the 'descendants of companions of Heracles' who had been settled in Sardinia and had now been expelled. The great design of 'colonising Sardinia, the greatest of the islands,' tickled the imagination of politicians more than once in the sixth century, after the fall of Sardis in 546 B.C., and during the Ionian revolt against Persia in 500-494; but nothing seems to have been done, and Sardinia remained a Phoenician monopoly till it was surrendered to the Romans in 238 B.C. For the rest of Sardinia, the Phoenicians of Tharros seem to have had little use, though they may have explored its minerals through native agencies; and in Corsica they were definitely forestalled by the Phocaeen settlement at Alalia, early in the sixth century.

Phoenician exploitations of Africa attracted less attention than those of European coasts, mainly because here there were neither Greek witnesses nor competitors. **Exploitations of Africa** The famous circumnavigation undertaken by Phoenicians for Pharaoh Necho late in the seventh century started down the east coast, and was probably organized in Tyre; according to Herodotus it accomplished its object in the third year, and returned to Egypt by the Strait of Gibraltar. This was exploration only, and Phoenician commerce in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean need not concern us here. But the voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian, about 500 B.C., was a purely western venture, and the record of his discoveries was set up in the chief temple of Carthage. It seems certain that

Hanno reached Cape Palmas,\* where the coast turns east into the Gulf of Guinea; and that he captured some 'hairy women,' whom the interpreters called 'gorillas.'

The voyage of the Persian Sataspes, about the same time, was probably undertaken with Carthaginian help. It is thought that he went rather farther than Hanno, since the reason given for his return was that 'the ship would not go forward,' and the adverse Benguela current is no obstacle till the Congo mouth has been passed. But neither on the very harbourless mainland of West Africa, nor in the 'Islands of the West,' of which even Greek geographers had heard, do there seem to have been settlements.

Still more obscure, and necessarily unaccompanied by colonisation, is the Carthaginian caravan traffic across the western Sahara. For trans-Saharan trade follows two distinct routes separated by the wide and desert 'Red Plateau.' Of the eastern route through Fezzan to Lake Chad and the Benue river we hear something from Greek sources, because it was accessible from the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Barca, directly south of the Greek homeland; but the western, by Ghadames and Rhat to Sokoto and the middle Niger, was entirely controlled by Carthage, and our information about it only begins in Roman times. That the Carthaginians interested themselves also in the eastern route is, however, clear from their successful assertion of a protectorate over the habitable, palm-bearing and, eventually, oil-farming foreshore between the two 'Quicksands,' later known as 'Three Cities' (the modern Tripoli), but in the fifth century as the 'Depot' coast (Emporia).

When Dorieus, prince of Sparta, attempted to found a colony there, on the

Cinyps river, about 515 B.C., he failed because the Libyans were hand-and-glove with Phoenicians; he had in fact

come too late to do what had been so effectually achieved at Cyrene little more than a century earlier, where only the place name Barca survived to suggest that there had ever been Phoenicians there. That the expedition of Dorieus was something more than filibustering is clear from the reproach of Gelon, ruler of Syracuse in

480 B.C., that the Spartans had failed him when he 'tried to recover the Depots.' The romantic story of the foot-race to establish an equitable frontier at the 'Altars of the Philaeni' in the no-man's-land behind the 'Great Quicksand,' however, only covers the fact that Greek enterprise made no further claim to the 'Three Cities,' so that it remained for Rome to open up this region to European traders after the Second Punic War.

Thus at all important points around the western Mediterranean—in the Tripolis, in southern Spain, between Sardinia and Corsica, and above all in Sicily—Greek and Carthaginian interests began to clash, all the more severely because the methods of the two peoples were as different as their objects.

It is commonly said that whereas the Greeks went abroad as settlers and especially as farmers, and consequently displaced or absorbed the various occupants of the soil, the Phoenicians devoted themselves exclusively to trade, and left the native population undisturbed as well as uncivilized. This, however, does not quite account for all the facts. Certainly the older and more important Phoenician centres in the west were 'city states' like those of their mother land, and are always so described by the Greeks. Aristotle, for example, included Carthage in his comparative study of political constitutions. Greek cities, like Phoenician, made working agreements with native tribes and princes, sometimes of a quite intimate kind; at Cyrene the 'Libyan neighbours' were enfranchised along with newcomers from other Greek states; and at Sybaris, Syracuse and Tarentum there were tributary natives under the protectorate of the Greek community. But the mother states in Phoenicia, though they held territory beyond their walls or inshore islands, held it precariously, and only on the small scale that their rugged back-country allowed. They had also long since passed through that economic revolution which many Greek states hardly experienced at all, and some modern states are still undergoing, the result of which is to surrender their primitive self-sufficiency for a higher type

Greek failure  
in Libya

of culture based on interchange of specialised products between communities politically independent.

Such interchange was a matter of degree; it depended mainly upon local conditions, and these varied infinitely. Sidon was famous already in Homeric times for its jewelry, silverware and bronze work; Attica only gave up the struggle to grow its own grain-crop, and specialised in olive oil, in the sixth century; the Bocotian potteries were only established at the end of the fifth, using Attic labour disorganized by a disastrous war.

Some states, such as Corinth, and eventually Athens, welcomed and incorporated foreign craftsmen, and regarded even slavery rather as an enforced apprenticeship to their own way of living. It is here that we touch the vital difference between the Phoenician city states and those Greek cities which did most to make Greek civilization the force that it has been in the world.

Like those states of Greece which continued to restrict the privilege of full membership to their own 'free-born' members, the Phoenician communities, both in Syria and in the west, remained exclusive and inbred. The opportunities for wealth which they enjoyed they reserved for their own closed circle of incorporated clans; they remained 'aristocracies' at best, and usually were what the Greeks called 'timocracies,' meaning that variety of minority rule in which political privileges accumulated with increase of wealth.

They were capitalist societies, in the sense that the first concern of their members was to conserve, and opportunely increase, their stock and reserve of valuable commodities, and maintain the system and organization under which these were amassed. The result was a public (and also a personal) morahy in which the end justified the means. 'At Carthage,' as Polybius puts it, 'no one is blamed, however he may have acquired his wealth.' The citizens of such states were hereditary stockholders in a co-operative economic concern, and were expected and trained to take a 'business view' of public affairs. This appears most clearly in their conduct

of war, which is studied in Chapter 54, together with their constitution.

In a community of this nature, the business quarter and the trading and shipping interests counted for everything, the countryside for very little; if it secured good prices for its produce in the urban market, it had its reward: and at Carthage, agriculture, like war, was a subordinate department of 'big business,' to be managed on neglected arts economic lines with all of leisure expert aids. That the Carthaginians successfully achieved the ends to which this policy was directed is demonstrated in Chapter 54. The absorbing and continuous attractiveness of a business life, and the endlessness of the pursuit of wealth on a national scale, are sufficient explanation of the failure of Phoenician cities to cultivate the arts of leisure.

Such, in so far as its origins and growth are concerned, was the second rival people with whom Greek settlers were in even more frequent and hostile contact than with Etruscans, as the Western world became more widely populated: its society and achievements, its character and empire, are described elsewhere. And it is not surprising to find that Carthaginians and Etruscans made their common hostility to Greeks the ground of a great friendship between themselves. There were other reasons for co-operation. The metal-wealth and amber-trade of Etruria, and the grain, horses, textiles and oriental amulets of Carthage, were complementary resources. Etruscan landing places offered through-routes to the Alps and beyond; and as Etruscan dominion spread southward, friendly ports multiplied, the regions open to Greek rivals were restricted, and difficulties were increased for the long Phocaean voyages between the Strait of Messina and the countries round the Rhône and Ebro. The direct route to Tartessus seems to have been summarily closed (perhaps after the destruction of Phocaea itself by the Persians, and of Alalia by the Etruscans) through the Carthaginian practice of sinking all foreign ships between Sardinia and the Pillars of Hercules. East of Sardinia, presumably, such matters were left to Etruscans.

# GREEK IDEALS AND ORIENTALISM: THE GREAT CLEAVAGE

A Study of the Forces that have raised a Mental  
Barrier between Western and Eastern Man

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ON the twenty-third daybreak of a certain September there came a bustle of oars and tackle and a sound of rhythmic chanting from behind a headland that projected into the crisp blue of a landlocked strait. Then, before the very beaks of an eagerly watching fleet, whose crews leapt to the rowing benches and pressed forward into the narrow, treacherous waters, there defiled a long line of three-banked vessels that turned to face their blockaders, wavered, backed water and seemed to flee.

It was a redoubtable trap. Caught between the lobster-claws of the sagging line, the attackers lost formation, fouled each other, wallowed helpless in the troughs of the waves and were rammed or boarded. Many escaped, it is true, but they the least trustworthy; and the disaster was utterly decisive. Bodies strewed the sea, and a captain of infantry, Aristides by name, was able to put over to a little island in mid-strait and cut down its hostile garrison. The victors breathed for the first time in a nerve-racking campaign of many months; and the fate of a continent was decided.

Eurybiades had been in the van, little fitted, one supposes, by the discipline of his inland home for an admiral's career, but certainly apt from long training to command, and not to be despised with a man like Themistocles in his councils. Themistocles himself, with a vastly greater contingent, was in the other wing; among his captains Ameinias, who drew first blood in the battle, and his more famous brother Aeschylus who made a deathless play of it in after years. Between them, the men of Aegina outdared all others.

Now these names ring familiar to the ear; for they belong to those Greeks who fought and defeated the Persians in the most famous battle of naval history—Salamis. Rough biographies attach to them, little anecdotes even, and they stand, rightly or wrongly, each for a defined and easily imaginable character. In spite of their remoteness in time—close on two millennia and a half ago—a feeling of kinship spans the years between.

But what of their enemies—barbarians, chattering monkey-like among the rigging in the contemptuous Greek view? The Phoenicians who, as Aeschylus says, were bashed and hewed with broken oar-butts like a draught of tunny while they struggled in the sea, or the Egyptians (men with strange knowledge whom one had to respect) away guarding the farther entrance to the strait? Their admirals we know by name, and Herodotus records the deeds of two captains from among the Ionian allies; but, broadly, the Armada of Xerxes the Great King has no historian. The names are few, and for us there are no men behind the names.

This, then, is the first thing to bear in mind in any inquiry into the significance of that far-off contest between the Greeks and Persians, and of the spiritual and intellectual issues behind it which Salamis, the campaign's decisive though not its last encounter, fitly symbolises. The Greeks are not only related by intellectual parent-hood to us the inquirers, that is to the whole of Western civilization, but have left behind them a keenly self-conscious literature; the Orientalism now for the

first time perceived in opposition to the West is alien and, in a sense, dumb, because not self-conscious. This means a snarl of bias and prejudice to be overcome at the very outset.

Moreover the Greeks, for all their complexity and many-sidedness, were a small and homogeneous pebble compared with the wide shingle beach of nations from whom we pick them to turn from side to side for a moment in the hand; whereas Orientalism, we shall see, is as elusive as a pile of dust between the fingers. For Xerxes gathered men from all the peoples between the Nile and the Indus to take part in that crusade of the East against Hellas; yet which of them can we call the seat and abiding-place of Orientalism—one, all equally, or each in its own degree?

Either there is inherent in the mental content of the world a definite and deep-rooted schism between some-

**World schism of thought** thing and something, or at least mankind has persuaded itself that there is; so much is made certain by the events of this period and by the whole of ensuing history. And in either case, with the world to-day forced to attempt new relationships in an era of unprecedented interdependence, it becomes a task of peculiar importance to examine the grounds for the belief, especially when at the outset of the inquiry we are led to acknowledge that of the two 'somethings' involved one is suspiciously hard to define. But indeed its logical counterpart, Occidentalism, would set just as difficult a problem were it not that by common consent one ethnic group, the Greeks, has been accepted as its earliest and purest exponent, its archetype; a proposition that cannot be examined in this place, but is dealt with in Chapter 55.

For observe that the world, as is its way, has adopted convenient geographical labels for what it scarcely troubles to understand. Yet the obvious inadequacy of an arbitrary distinction between East and West should not obscure the possibility that the symbols stand for a genuine cleavage. And in searching for the truth of the matter the best chance of success lies in going back in time as far towards the source of fission as the materials for study permit—to the period of the Greek genius at its prime.

Granted, then, that a mere statement of longitude will not serve to explain Orientalism, was it a question of blood? The Phrygians, very type of Orientalism to the Greek mind, were apparently of the same racial stock as the Greeks, and both occupied regions subject to infiltration by the same broad-headed strain, the one from the Balkan section of the mountain zone and the other from the Anatolian plateau. Of language? Persians and Greeks both spoke an Indo-European tongue. Of religion? It was a Semitic religion that the Greeks eventually took over and moulded for the Western world. Of environment? Inevitably; but from what branch of human activity can that word of elastic meaning be divorced? Or is the whole tangle of ideas a delusion? Whatever the conclusion, the last possibility should always be kept in mind as a corrective to prejudice.

The only firm ground on which to stand is Hellas, and before attempting to pin down Orientalism it were well to look at the world for a space through Greek eyes; thereafter proceeding by comparison and rejection, to see whether the rest of the world contains a contrast sufficiently strong to constitute a separate category of thought.

Let it be said at once that could we ask a Greek—at least a Greek before the days of Socrates—what his ideals were, he would **Ideals and scarcely understand us; or, their meaning** to be more accurate, we should find it hard to select Greek words that adequately expressed our meaning. True, the word itself is Greek (in a Latin dress); but Plato, by whom the train of concepts was first started, was scarcely a typical Greek, and since his day it has undergone considerable change. Apart from more vulgarised uses, it virtually means an unattainable perfection; helped by the verbal assonance, ideal stands in definite contrast to real.

Now whatever qualities of mind and body a Greek might think worthy to be striven after, they were all, in his view, inherent in human nature and eminently attainable. It was a case of putting the human material at his disposal to the best possible uses, encouraging here,

'sublimating' (as we should say) there, striking a mean between this and that. If a modern Occidental expounded a list of the virtues that his religion prompts him to profess, the Greek would applaud some and question others, but of a certain class he would exclaim, 'Why, that is contrary to human nature.' The idea of original sin clinging about Man's footsteps and only to be dissipated by an act of divine grace would have been repellent to him, if not incomprehensible.

But stay; our Greek may have been a Pythagorean. The devotion of that philosophic sect to mathematics had made familiar the idea of asymptotes, and this the more religious of its followers seem to have applied to the constant but never completed approximation of the human to the divine, in connexion with a theory very like that of original, or at any rate antenatal, sin. Our lack of sure knowledge about the mystery cults forbids us to say how far the idea proved sterile, but it was not developed by the greater schools of philosophy that in part grew out of the Pythagorean teaching. Let this example, however, serve as warning that there is scarcely a generalisation that might be made about the Greeks to which an exception could not be found. The Greeks enjoyed no standardised culture such as seems to be the aim of Western civilization to-day.

Hereafter little note will be taken of exceptions. The remedy is to keep our eyes fixed upon what is

Was there a most typically Greek as typical Greek? exemplified in the philosophers, artists, statesmen, scientists, who have left us materials by which to judge them; the common denominator of those patterns to whom the ordinary man may be supposed to have looked for guidance, if ever he looked above the ground his feet were treading. For indeed not all the Greeks, nor yet the best of the Greeks at every moment of their lives, were those paragons of mental balance and bodily perfection who pose with calm detachment in certain schools of pseudo-classical painting. Lying and lust and cruelty walked abroad in Hellas, whose inhabitants shared fully the keen temper and quick passions of

the South; and if amid the distractions of an ampler life than ours they could imagine rules of noble conduct and abide by them in a measure that men of these latter days cannot afford to belittle, it entitles them all the more to our respect.

Let us ask our Greek—a very ordinary, unphilosophic but well-educated Athenian—what he considers the things most worth having in life, and his answers shall provide the text for those average qualities of mind in which all ideals must find their soil. Certain of his omissions would be instructive if we were comparing modern with ancient styles of thought; others will prove more to our purpose as pointing the way to things that he takes for granted, things that he would no more think of including in his list of life's boons than would a well-fed man deliverance from starvation.

Take Liberty. He would be certain to place Liberty, not necessarily first, but somewhere on his list. Pressed to define himself, he would reveal what appears to us a curiously narrow conception of the term, the freedom of his own little city state to govern itself as it thought fit without interference from its neighbours. Further inquiry would elicit the admission that this liberty, this self-government, even in an extreme democratic state like Athens, was wielded by a compact body of 'free' citizens perhaps outnumbered by a slave population; and that the state demanded of its citizens such service that there would hardly seem to have been more room for individual freedom than in a community of bees.

Nothing could give a falsier impression. It is true that the communal spirit was more highly developed among the Greeks than among us, with whom it has been dissipated over wider allegiances; also that the duty of the individual to himself, indeed the whole conception of individuality, was not worked out until Socrates applied himself to it in the latter half of the fifth century B.C.; but for complete freedom of conscience no organized society has come within measurable distance of the Greeks. Our informant has made no mention of it because it was the very air he breathed.



Not that there was no word to do duty for the idea. Few words occur more often in Greek than 'parrhêsia,' freedom of speech. Its meaning broadened somewhat; but its very limitation in the first instance to 'speech'—the only point at which such freedom could be threatened—gives added proof of the degree to which conscience was untrammelled.

To explain this intellectual liberty it is necessary to review the antecedents of the Greek-speaking peoples, the circumstances of their arrival in the Aegean and their first contact with the more ancient civilizations around them.

Before the new chapters in history headed 'Hittite,' 'Egyptian' and 'Babylonian' had come to be

**First contact with the East** written, all that we mean by the word Hellenic was regarded as a god-given and inexplicable fruit without root or stem, like those melons that desert travellers find cool upon the parched sand after the rest of the plant has dried and blown to dust. To-day we recognize the debt that the Greeks owed to their predecessors, can in a measure watch their restless minds at work on the material presented to them, and our admiration of their achievement is enhanced rather than lessened by a fuller comprehension.

Whether in their remote past they had suffered from the dead hand of sacerdotal authority or tribal conservatism we shall never tell; at least few peoples avoid it. But probably the manner of their entry into Greece from more northerly homes (at whatever period we are disposed to place that event), and certainly the experience of those dark ages when they were flung homeless and rapacious on the coasts of Asia Minor, were just such as to foster personal initiative, breaking ancient taboos and liberating a questing intelligence.

Religion was in a strangely critical condition. Gods are home-loving and do not take kindly to travel. Uprooted from their ancestral abiding places they lose something of awe and power, though they may gain in geniality. In the *Iliad* we see the Olympic deities treated almost with flippancy, like the rollicking Norse gods of the Viking

wanderers. Such feeling for them as survives finds expression in a wholesome open-air communion round a common board; but in a crisis a man is apt to place more trust in his sword-arm. 'In my spear is kneaded bread, in my spear Ismaric wine, and I drink as I lie upon my spear,' to quote that hard-bitten scoundrel, Archilochus.

Of course, in a new and settled home these gods would be prone to coalesce with or give way to their long-established predecessors in the land; even in Homer the only genuine religious feeling seems to be reserved for the indigenous sea and river spirits of the heroes' homes—Poseidon, Thetis, Spercheus. Such conditions must have recurred frequently in the history of the human race and borne no fruit; gradually a new hierarchy would be built up, new ritual, an hereditary priesthood; and all the old inhibitions would raise their heads. But just at this moment in the story of Hellenism, when the spirit of intellectual agnosticism might have starved for want of nourishment, the Greeks stumbled upon the garnered wisdom of the East.

The spirit was forged, the material prepared and presented. With no Bible to shepherd the footsteps of the mind, no Book of the Dead, no Babylonian Creation Legend writ fair on lasting clay and stored in temple libraries, the Greeks were free to accept or reject, their own experience or good sense the only tests. And in a few generations, in the realm of science alone, they had by hard thought outstripped the knowledge pieced together by empiric means in the past two thousand years. Comparable in many ways was the outburst of intellectual activity in Sicily when the Normans, similarly 'déracinés' and almost as receptive, fell heirs to the civilizations of Arab and Greek, and set up the most brilliant kingdom of the Middle Ages in a spirit of healthy independence towards Pope and Emperor.

In two centuries the Greeks reached conclusions for which men were being burnt at the stake eighteen hundred years later. From Pythagoras onward the spheficity of the earth and the other

**Good sense  
the only guide**

heavenly bodies was recognized. Heraclides of Pontus in the middle of the fourth century B.C. taught that the earth rotates on its axis and that Venus and Mercury revolve round the sun. Aristarchus of Samos in the next century said that the earth too revolves round the sun—and he only excited the ire of a single Stoic. Empedocles foreshadowed the Doctrine of Evolution, Democritus the Atomic Theory. Now with intellects of such astounding boldness it might be thought that conservatism was the last trait to be looked for in the Greeks; yet we find conservatism well developed—conservatism of a kind.

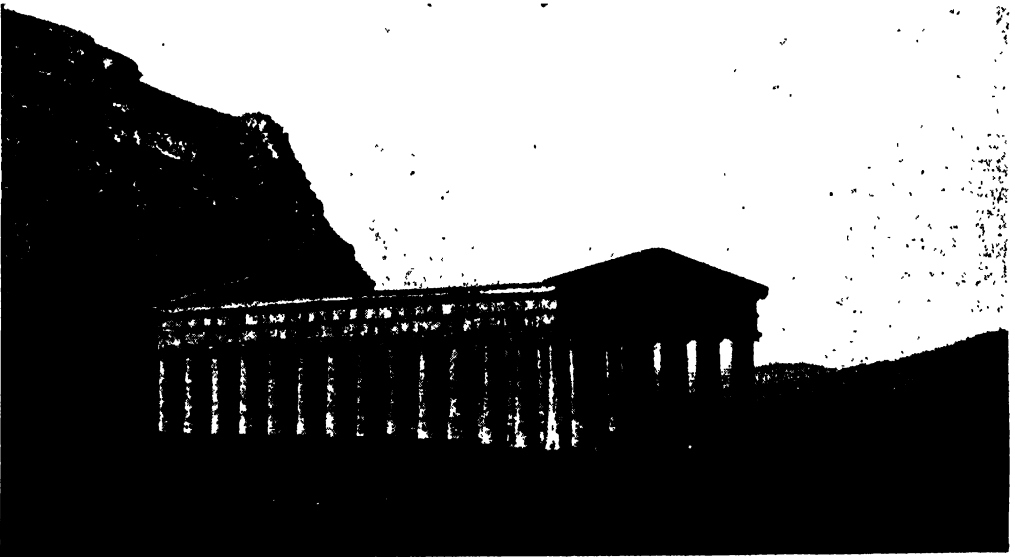
No people could display the amazing political genius of the Greeks without a deep-rooted respect for law and order. That any set of opinions or canons of taste had held their place in the social scheme for a length of time was good reason for abiding by them, until they could be shown to have become outworn. Hence their most daring speculations will always be found to have had roots in the past and to have resulted from a steady process of organic growth, however rapid. It may be doubted whether anything of benefit to

mankind can be brought to pass otherwise. But the operations of conservatism can best be seen in architecture and the drama.

Tragedy grew from a chorus or group of dancers with their leader. When the leader began to engage in dialogue with the secondary leaders of the two halves of the chorus, Conservatism drama in our sense was in Greece launched on its career.

Soon, one would think, the chorus would be discarded, only the leaders, now become actors, remaining. Yet the great masters of Athenian tragedy produced their immortal works with this unwieldy convention hampering the freedom of their art.

In architecture the case was somewhat different. After fumbings and experiments in the seventh and sixth centuries a type of Doric temple was evolved that seemed to the Greeks the ultimate perfection of form attainable for its particular purpose. Hence it lasted unchanged, save for minor alterations of detail, until it withered before the decadent preferences of Rome. Countless limitations were imposed by the refusal to make use of the arch, although its principle was well known, as is made almost certain



**SUBTLE HARMONIES OF THE TEMPLE AT SEGESTA IN ITS LOVELY SETTING**

The ultimate principle of Greek temple construction was the antiquated one of horizontal architraves supported on pillars, and the arch was never used because no need was felt for the mere added size which was all that it could confer. This temple at Segesta in Sicily is of interest on two further counts; it shows better than any other the Greek instinct for appropriate natural surroundings, and it typifies the proselytising spread of Hellenism, for the Segestans were not a Greek people.

*Photo, Autotype Co.*

by investigation of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, a tomb built by a Greek architect for a foreign prince. But the temple as it was satisfied Greek taste, and no mere desire for change, or for increased size, availed to alter it.

Thus, checked by a respect for the past, was born into the world liberty of conscience, for which the very idea, let alone the words, had been completely lacking before. Indeed the rarity of the quality may be judged from the

**When Conscience** fact that not yet has  
**was first liberated** the English language  
been constrained to coin  
a single word for it; a clumsy phrase  
has still to bear the burden. And we  
need not therefore be surprised that  
somewhere on his list, in a groping fashion,  
our Athenian has placed Liberty.

What will surprise us is his placing of Health and Wealth. In whatever order, these two will certainly occur, and occur towards the very beginning of the list. Few people to-day would be found to deny that these are very desirable things; but most of us, in compiling a similar list, would hesitate to stress such material longings, and feeling that our souls were on trial would pass them by for more spiritual or intellectual qualities. And it must not be forgotten that throughout the two thousand odd years that separate us from the Greek heyday most thoughtful men would have substituted for Wealth, Poverty, and for Health, oblivion to the body and its needs.

This last thought should guard us from the facile consideration that poverty, sickness and old age held more terrors then than in these days of maternal government and no less maternal medicine. At least ill health can have been no more insufferable in an age that saw Hippocrates of Cos and the Asclepian hospital at Epidaurus than it was in the times of the plague-pit and the Lazar-house. No, the explanation goes deeper than that, and must be sought in a quality of mind which, like liberty of conscience and for the same reason, has no sufficiently comprehensive word to cover it, but is expressed in such phrases as lack of hypocrisy, avoidance of self-deception. Possibly directness is the best simple equivalent.

Truthfulness is inadequate, for your Greek loved a good lie as well as any man.

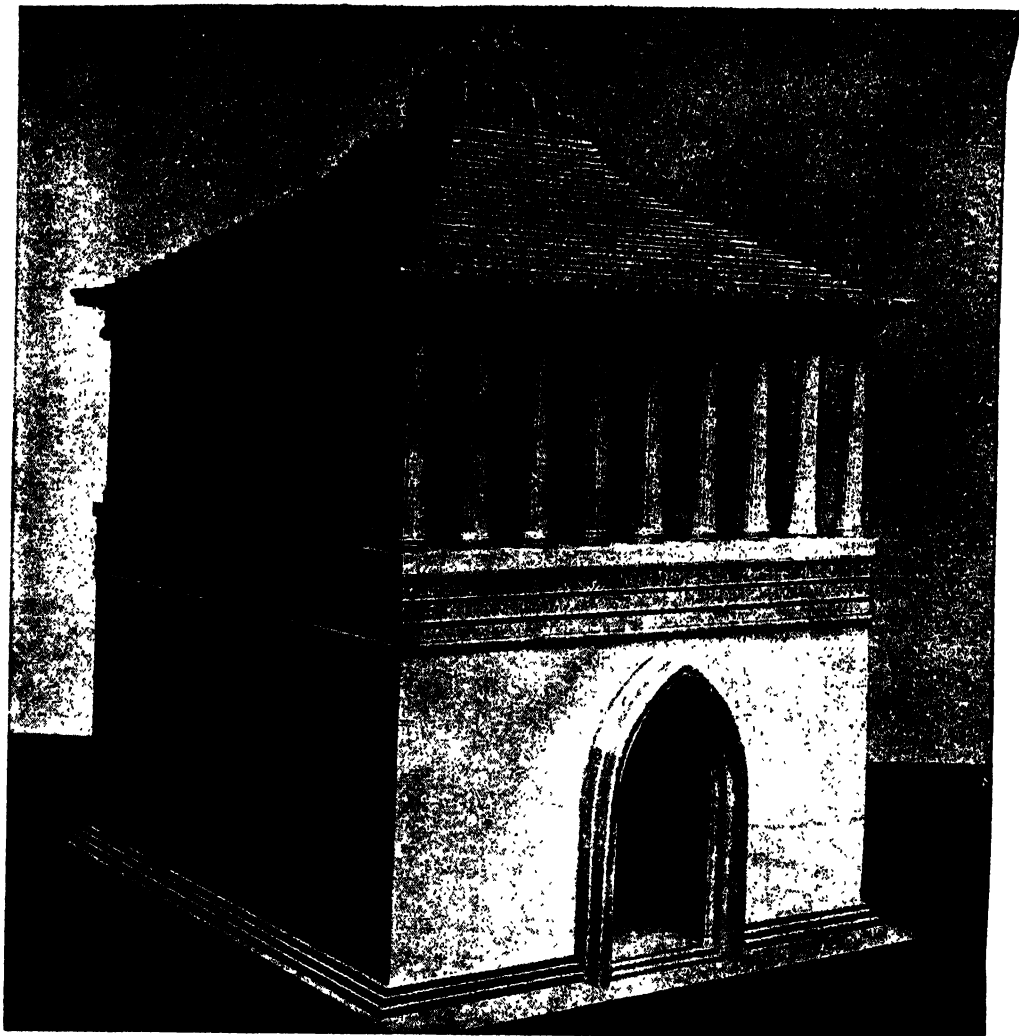
It needs a mind of a peculiar and rather admirable temper to entertain this attribute without coming to grief—without falling into what Aristotle would have called its perversion or 'caricature.' The prevalence of words for this perversion tells its own tale: pessimism (in its proper sense), or cynicism (in any of its many senses save the proper one). Steady contemplation of things as they are is bitter medicine; yet the best of the Greeks did not shrink from it. Most men prefer to shelter half unconsciously behind certain dear deceptions, or weave a blanket of comfortable words against the cold winds of circumstance.

The way in which death and old age are treated almost throughout their literature is sufficient measure of the clear-sighted view of life and its afflictions taken by the Greeks. Death was not made beautiful with words, nor was it an opening of the gates upon a prospect fairer than this world can offer. It meant a quitting of warm life with all its intense and varied interests for a shadowy, cold, ill-conceived existence in a gloomy realm such that one would prefer to be

a slave on earth rather than **Greek views**  
a king in Hades; for friends **on death**  
it meant bitter grief, and for  
aged dependents, poverty and starvation.  
Its one mitigation was that it brought  
surcease from the more positive evils of  
life; at the best it came unawares at the  
height of prosperity, before the arrival of  
compensating misfortunes or the inevitable  
onset of senility. The only advice that  
Pericles in his Funeral Speech could give  
to the parents of the slain was to beget  
more children. If they were past the age  
at which this is possible, then life was  
almost over for them; for the greater  
part of it they had been fortunate, and  
now their grief could only be short.

Old age, too, was just a slow withering of one's powers. Added dignity or the respect due to wisdom were but poor compensations for failing eyesight, pains in the back and the chewing of tough food on toothless gums.

And so it was with all the realities of life—birth, love and marriage, friendship,



#### ARCHED DOORWAY IN THE LATEST RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MAUSOLEUM

Proof that the Greeks could have used the arch if they had wished is forthcoming from the latest investigations into the problem set by the tomb of Mausolus, a Carian prince: they are embodied in this model restoration constructed by British Museum officials. Fragments of the springers of the arch have come to light, and indeed nothing else could have supported the immense weight of the superstructure. The work was carried out by Pythios, a Greek architect, c. 350 B.C.

*British Museum*

good health and the uses of money. This perturbing directness of vision, which in lesser men would have led to a slough of pessimism, resulted at the worst with the Greeks in a certain brutal frankness, as when in a strange fragment we find Archilochus saying:

Of the seven corpses that we trampled under foot, we were a thousand murderers;

or else in the graceful hedonism which informs so much of the Greek anthology:

Let us bathe, my Prodice, and crown our heads, and raising larger cups quaff wine

unmixed with water. Brief is life for merry-makers, ere old age brings it to a close; and at the end waits death.

At the best, however, it resulted in a determination not to be lulled by specious deceptions; not to cloud the clear light of intellect with a fog of pleasant fancies; to trust human nature to make the best of the world as it is instead of giving it blinkers to keep it on the straight path; in fine, to pay Matthew Arnold full tribute for his often quoted words, 'to see life steadily and see it whole.'

Bearing this in mind, we need no longer be surprised if our Athenian includes Youth and Beauty in his list. Youth is obviously the time when the employment of a versatile intellect and the exercise of a healthy body can best be enjoyed; and 'Solon, you Greeks are ever boys,' as the withered old Egyptian priest said to the Athenian sage. But let us take Beauty.

At one time, according to the fashion of regarding the Classics that then obtained, a pervading desire for beauty and a persistent realization of it was thought to be the outstanding if not the only distinguishing mark of the Greek character. Thus it may seem strange that the matter has received no notice hitherto. But what has been said is sufficient to show that the Greeks had many other traits, some of them of more fundamental importance; and it could be quite legitimately argued that our sense of beauty is broader and more comprehensive than the Greek sense, which was certainly not extended to cover the sordid, the perverted or the macabre. Euripides saw beauty in things that surprised his contemporaries, but he would have been puzzled if asked to admire such a modern commonplace as factory chimneys suffused with a misty sunset: or even a Crucifixion.

No; the Greek, if we will, can be convicted of a definitely narrow sense of beauty. The point is that in virtue of its very restriction it was more intense, more sensitive; and, seldom dissipated in curious aesthetic experiments, was carried into every walk of life as a touchstone on which to test the excellence—the 'virtue,' as was said—of persons, deeds and thoughts.

There are two avenues by which to approach the analysis of a sense of beauty; what was meant by the word 'beautiful,' and to what class of things was it applied? We have already seen reason to suppose that the Greeks placed no restrictions on the things to which the criterion of beauty might be applied; and it can be shown that it pervaded the realm of thought to which we give the name of ethics. One of the commonest words for 'good' in the Greek language was the same as the word for 'beautiful'; and the nearest

equivalent for the English word 'gentleman,' in its best sense, was a strange compound meaning 'beautiful and good.'

Of course, the argument from this fact can be pushed too far. The aesthetic sense did not replace the moral sense, as the deep preoccupation of most schools of philosophy with 'goodness' and its meaning amply proves. But we are justified in inferring that the two were not so completely divorced as they have been in other lands and ages, and that the feelings provoked by a good action and a beautiful thing were in large measure the same. Factory chimneys stand for so much that is evil, and therefore ugly, that in no light could a Greek forget their associations.

It has often been said that the Greek sense of beauty stopped short at landscape. The only answer is a flat denial. The reason for the heresy will be shown later, but the unerring instinct with which temples were placed in exactly the right natural surroundings, as well as countless touches in every class of literature, proves that it is a heresy.

Listen to Sappho:

The stars about the lovely moon  
Forthwith conceal their presence bright;  
When shining full she covers all the  
earth with light.

Or read the whole long chorus in the *Iphigeneia* of Euripides that begins:

Bird that singest thy pitiable plaint along  
the rocky ridges of the sea, thou Halcyon . . .

It must be to the frequency with which the sea and its works enter into such passages that the writer owes his fancy that the salt and the freshness of the waves are somehow bound up with the Greek genius; as though a folk bred to the sea from infancy might rise no higher than Maglemose raft-dwellers or Sea Dyaks, but coming down from inland homes to the sight of the surf, and crying 'Thalatta, Thalatta' like Xenophon's Ten Thousand, could not help but feel a stimulus and an inspiration.

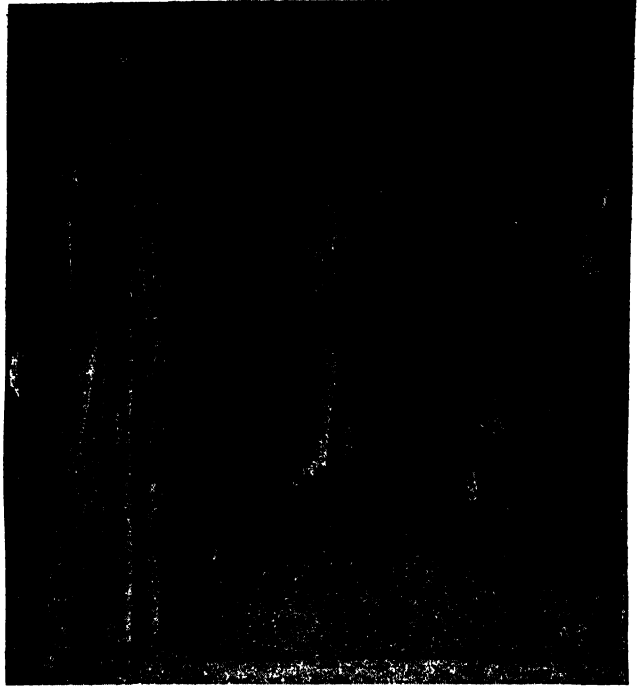
What then were the Greek standards of beauty, and equally of goodness? They were not so very different from ours, except in the method of their application; but there is one that deserves attention, both because it was the most stringent and

because it is the one upon which least emphasis appears to be laid to-day.

There is a word in English with a double sense, which it inherits directly from the uses of the corresponding word in Greek. Measure means the proportions of a thing, and by implication its just proportions ('he is impetuous beyond measure'); it also means the rhythm of music or verse. The connexion is reasonably obvious; a contrary word, excess or 'overstepping,' helps to point it. Proportions and verse-form are limits that cannot be overstepped without the thing losing its comely form or the verse ceasing to be verse. And in art and conduct with the Greeks restraint, due measure, harmony were the first laws; excess at all costs to be avoided.

This spirit of rhythm and restraint can be traced in morals, art and poetry. In morals it shows itself in the apotheosis of 'sôphrosyne'—sobriety, moderation, literally 'sound-mindedness'—and in the feeling that good conduct meant steering one's way between two extremes. In art, which is static, it appears as a perfect sense of balance and proportion—consider the Parthenon frieze, or better still a pediment or metope where the artist set himself the task of conforming to exacting conditions of space. In poetry the simple statement that metre was first invented by the Greeks should suffice.

But the same cause also produced a characteristic of Greek poetry that may serve to explain the idea, already noticed, of Greek indifference to landscape. A Greek poet seldom allowed himself to labour his point. It was sufficient for his effect to make a significant statement and leave his hearers to supply the emotions. Thus in describing natural beauties he gives a touch, a few words, that might easily be passed over by a modern reader accustomed to effusion.



**FIGURES BALANCED IN A GREEK METOPE**

Balance of figures in a group is well shown by the metopes of Greek temples—those oblong spaces between the grooves representing the ends of the beams. This, from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, portrays Heracles, helped by Athena, supporting the heaven while Atlas fetches the apples of the Hesperides.

*Olympia Museum; photo, Alinari*

The following fragment of Sappho, exquisite by itself, might escape notice in the poem of which it once formed part :

Roundabout, a waterfall  
Gives a sound of coolness through  
the branches of the apple trees,  
And sleep flows downwards from  
the rustling leaves.

Yet what more is needed to call up the whole scene ?

In face of grief and death there is the same stark simplicity which should never be mistaken for lack of emotion. The restrained carving on the gravestones shows it, as well as many surviving epitaphs; that composed by the poet Simonides for the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae is the best and the best known :

Wayfarer, go tell the men of Sparta that  
here we lie obedient to their behests.

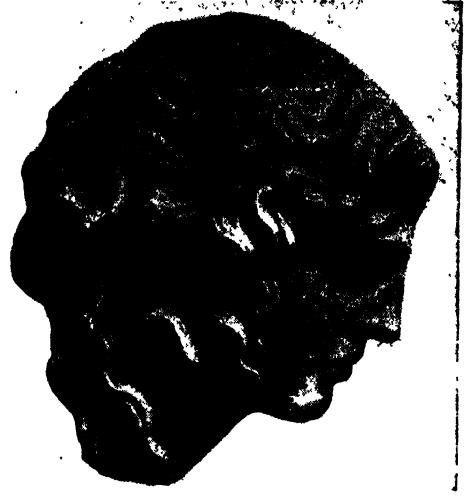
No high-flown comment; no immoderate expression of grief; but the very spirit

of noble self-devotion breathing from the lines. And remember that they commemorate a ghastly defeat; how often in the histories of the ancient empires is a defeat so much as recorded?

Not that simplicity of thought and expression necessarily involved simplicity of diction. The Greek poet, with a language of unsurpassed beauty and lucidity at his command, took delight in weaving words into brilliant patterns, Daedalus-like, as a cunning craftsman fashions many-coloured mosaics. Pindar, 'swelling the gale of song' in praise of 'golden-crowned youth,' rises to the most glittering heights; but as a slight example take even the words just quoted. They are usually translated, in an effort to accentuate their baldness:

Stranger, tell the Spartans that here we lie obeying their words.

Now the Greek word is not the colourless English 'tell.' 'Announce,' an ugly



**HUMANISED HEAD OF A FURY**

Furies were the avenging spirits who pursued the guilty in this world and the next; yet humanised by the Greeks they could be represented thus, while losing nothing of austerity. Compare the Etruscan devil in page 1203.

*Naples Museum*



**EXAMPLE OF GRIEF RESTRAINED**

Athena leaning in pensive mood on her spear—this is all that the Attic sculptor required to express the grief of the city for its slain, where craftsmen of other nations might have indulged in a riot of extravagant attitudes.

*Acropolis Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari*

expression, better conveys the idea of deliberate message-bearing, and perhaps 'go tell' gets the flavour best. The Greek equivalent for 'words' was appropriated to poetry, being used in prose only comparatively late; and besides, words to a Greek were almost magic things like arrows that failed not of their mark. Even 'obeying,' with its suggestion of the nursery, is not quite right; but English cannot convey the idea of willing intellectual as well as mere physical persuasion that the Greek achieves. And so with 'xenos,' stranger; a Greek could not walk many miles without leaving the territory of his little city state and so becoming technically a stranger; thus 'xenos' is the normal word for wayfarer.

Finally, let our Greek, with one last wish, provide the text for what was perhaps the most characteristic mark of Hellenism. 'Friends,' he would say, 'let me have friends!' The reasons he would give might be prosaic—the reasons actually given by Aristotle certainly do seem most material; the Greek spirit of directness at work again. But at the back of this desire for companionship we must recognize that all-pervading humanism that, more than anything else, marked off the Greek from his neighbours. 'Many are

the wonders of the world and none so wonderful as Man'—Sophocles in these words sums up the view of his countrymen.

All nature was interpreted in terms of Man. The gods were formed in Man's image, their kinship with the earlier animal gods surviving only in harmless attributes. Man was not half beast and half god, but a glorious entity that only needed to fulfil the possibilities inherent in itself. All the old ugly things were assimilated to this ideal of attainable human loveliness, like the head of the Sleeping Fury in which the avenging demon has become an austere and sorrowing woman, only the sinuous curves of the hair suggesting the snakes that once writhed there.

This preoccupation of the Greek with his fellow-man runs through his literature—another reason why the appreciation of purely natural beauty took second place—but it finds its crowning expression in statuary. What is not so apparent is the ideality of the sculptor's work. Those glorious Greeks who crowd our museums are not portraits but ideal embodiments of human beauty, each craftsman adding to the common stock some newly appreciated excellence of form until the perfect Attic type was created. The process only took about thirty years—advance in the arts was measured by generations and individuals instead of the eras and dynasties of the ancient empires. The end of the archaic period yields such works, stiff but wonderful in their way, as the seated goddess from South Italy; the Aphrodite Anadyomene of the Ionian altar relief trembles into life; and then between 470 and 440 B.C. Alcamenes, Polycleitus, Pheidias and their schools fix the canon of Hellenic beauty. Portrait-work, it is of importance to



#### TRIUMPH OF ARCHAIC STATUARY

Interesting as being one of the few genuine Greek cult-statues that we possess, this goddess from South Italy is the fine flower of the late archaic sculpture. But it is still stiff in its attitude, and has not yet 'come to life.'

*Berlin Museum*

observe, was not a product of directness or realism. Among the two races of antiquity who excelled in it, Egyptians and Etruscans, it was connected with strange ideas about the after-life.

Occasions have already arisen to compare the Greeks and their manner of thought with the peoples around them—their daring, restless science with the stagnation of empiric knowledge, their freedom of conscience with the apathetic submission to theocratic control. But, after all, the Greeks were a magnificent exception, a suddenly kindled torch; and the aloe that blooms after a hundred years





Interpretations vary, but most probably the goddess (below) is Aphrodite rising from the sea attended by the Hours or Graces; certainly the texture of her clinging drapery suggests the watery element. On this basis the figures on the side pieces above, a courtesan playing the double flute and a draped lady feeding incense to a thurifer, would symbolise profane and sacred love.



Apart from their arresting beauty, these Ionian altar reliefs show the level of Greek sculpture at the end of the archaic period, just before the outburst of activity that in thirty years produced the perfect Attic type. Note that the legs of the courtesan are imperfectly articulated; the breasts of the goddess are incorrectly placed; and the facial angles still show a trace of that acuteness which was a legacy from pre-Hellenic times (compare the profiles in pages 786 and 1191).

#### **FRESH LOVELINESS OF GREEK SCULPTURE ON THE THRESHOLD OF MATURITY**

*From Antike Denkmäler*

is no different in essence from its sister plants that have not yet felt the mysterious inward urge. Was the difference in kind or in degree? Is it possible to point to another aloe that has blossomed, but with a different flower?

China to-day is considered the very type of Orientalism, so that Oriental is almost a synonym for Chinese. Now there were no Chinese among the forces of the Great King, and if indeed we are to find in China, far beyond the uttermost bounds of the known world, the sharpest contrast with Hellenism, a contrast diminished perhaps but not extinguished until the very shores of Hellas are

China the seat of Orientalism? reached, we are almost faced with the conclusion that Orientalism is the normal state of mind of the human race at large: the great undifferentiated matrix from which the Greeks were the first to struggle clear. In this case Orientalism would lose its claim to any positive qualities sufficient to justify giving it such a resounding name. But the common ideas about China need questioning.

Not much is known about China, it is true, at the period of which we are speaking. The long dynasty of the Chous was flickering to its feeble end amid strife and incompetence. But this is of little import; if at any period of her history China can be shown to possess unexpected affinities with Greece, it is enough for our purpose. And at least, by an interesting coincidence, Confucius was even now thinking things out for himself.

We find the Chinese, as early as we can see them with any clearness, an agricultural people growing millet in the north and rice mainly in the south. For these purposes irrigation is necessary, for the rice because it is a water plant and for the millet, where possible, because North China is a naturally dry area. Irrigation means toil more or less unrelenting, which provides an immediate contrast with Greece and the Mediterranean lands generally, where owing to the spring and autumn rainfall part of the year is free for other than agricultural pursuits.

But observe that the contrast is not as marked as it might be. For the rice grows in a monsoon country where water



#### CANON OF HUMAN PROPORTIONS

In a single generation, roughly between 470 and 440 B.C., Greek art took the final steps that separated it from surrounding mediocrity. This is a splendid bronze of the school of Polycleitus, embodying his canons of bodily perfection.

National Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari

is plentiful and not dependent upon the seasonal rises of a river, while much of the millet grows on fertile but non-irrigable loess land. Hence we have a people to whom irrigation has taught the advantages of co-operation; not too busy to think though too busy to think as much as Mediterranean folk; quick-witted and intelligent in just that measure, and able to supply good material to the 'leisured' class always made possible by the surplus wealth accumulated through co-operation. Their stolid impassivity is merely a myth, as any photograph of an animated Chinese crowd will show; it is a prerogative of the upper classes, among whom it is considered a mark of breeding just as it is in the West—an ideal not unlike the Greek 'sôphrosyne,' restraint or self-mastery.



#### GREEK HARMONY IN STATIC ART

The funerary stele of Panaetius, excellent as an example of restrained sorrowing, is here given for comparison with the Egyptian and Chinese subjects in this and the following pages. Note the balance of masses about the clasped hands.

*National Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari*

It is scarcely to be supposed that such a busy folk, living moreover in a land not minutely split up by nature into regional cantons like Greece, should entertain the Greek particularist ideals of political liberty. Indeed a strong, central and paternal government is the ideal always

aimed at. But in the realm of thought there is surprisingly little theocratic tyranny. Even Buddhism, a strict system of philosophy with supernatural sanctions rather than a religion, underwent a complete change when introduced into the country, and opened its arms to all the habits of thought, and superstitions, native to the people. Christianity was eventually excluded for political and economic rather than religious reasons; at an earlier date the Nestorians had enjoyed considerable success.

If such toleration permitted the multiplication of superstitions as much as of rational thought, we must not forget the degeneration into charlatanry of the Pythagorean and Orphic cults in Greece, so similar to the fate of Taoism in China. It is not to be expected that the same scientific attitude towards nature should have arisen, especially in the absence of that vivifying contact with other cultures at a crucial moment of development that Greece enjoyed. But at least it is well to remember that to China we must look for the invention among other things of block-printing and the mariner's compass—and gunpowder.

As regards directness, again there is not quite the arresting Greek penetration to fundamentals; but on the other hand there is never the sentimentality of the modern West nor the system of rewards and punishments in an after-life with



#### FIGURES OF EGYPTIAN PEASANTS IN PERFECT BALANCE OF ATTITUDE

For balance and incisiveness this relief from a Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian tomb at Mer (c.2000 B.C.), showing peasants gathering the papyrus harvest and making a reed boat, cannot be said to fall far short of Greek standards. Neither subject nor treatment is Greek, and there are anatomical inaccuracies from which the Greek artist freed himself; but there is surely something of his spirit.

*From Blackman, 'Rock Tombs of Mer,' Egypt Exploration Society*

which so many religions have sought to gloze the injustices of the world. Mysticism there is, but not the mysticism of the Sufi; and much of it when analysed turns out to be an incurable delight in parable and allegory. After a series of moral tales made glamorous with deathless magicians and wonder-working elixirs, a philosopher like Lieh-tze can end with the words:

That which has life must by the law of its being come to an end; and the end can no more be avoided than the living creature can help being born. So that he who hopes to perpetuate his life or shut out death is deceived in his calculations.

It is instructive, too, to compare the native Taoist philosophy with the imported Buddhism. The latter regards all material things as 'maya,' illusion; to the Taoist the visible universe is the outward expression of an ultimate reality that works through the laws of nature, which, be it noticed, are recognized quite in the Greek spirit as immutable and discoverable, not the caprices of a deity. The poet may be carried away on a wave of symbolism, like Ssü K'ung T'u (as translated by Prof. Herbert Giles):

Freighted with eternal principles  
Athwart the night's void  
Where cloud-masses darken  
And the wind blows ceaseless around,  
Beyond the range of conceptions  
Let us gain the Centre,  
And there hold fast without violence,  
Fed from an inexhaustible supply.

But again and again the poet will return to the beauty of this world for its own sweet sake, to the valley 'where the peach trees are loaded with green leaves, the breeze blows gently along the stream and willows shade the winding path'; or struck by the sorrow of death or parting will express it with no words of mystic solace, but in a few poignant, unembroidered lines that might almost be a Greek epitaph. And if it is a question of



#### WORK OF A CHINESE COURT PAINTER

Chao Meng-fu, court artist to Kublai Khan (c. A.D. 1280), was the painter of this spirited pair of tethered horses. Again subject and treatment are un-Greek, but the picture relies for its effect on balance and incisiveness of drawing, revealing standards of art very different from Mesopotamian work.

*British Museum*

seeing starkly what a thing like war really means, read Li Hua's description of a Tartar victory, or *The Recruiting Sergeant* by Tu Fu. No false chivalry nor false patriotism there.

Perhaps it is in their sense of beauty that the Chinese come closest to the Greeks. At first thought no two things could be more dissimilar than a Chinese painting and a Greek frieze; but compare the methods. In both there is the same restraint, the same seizing of a thing's essential quality and expressing it with a spare economy of line; in the best periods of both, nothing florid, nothing unnecessary, but a perfect balance and proportion. And though the type of thing portrayed may be different, a fondness for natural scenery making itself felt among the Chinese, there is the same quality of ideality.

Another striking similarity shows itself in Chinese poetry. The great majority of poems are short, their aim being to say just enough, and no more than enough, to suggest the appropriate emotions to a



#### INSTANCE OF EGYPTIAN IDEALITY

Amid much that is conventional and theriomorphic, this statue of Khons the moon god from Thebes stands out to prove that an ideal conception of austere divine majesty was not beyond the powers of the Egyptian sculptor.

*Cairo Museum*

sympathetic reader; at the end of them all there is, as it were, at least one unwritten verse, and the reader is stimulated to write that verse for himself. Just so the Greeks, as we have seen, never elaborated emotion nor piled on effect; it was sufficient to state the facts in a majestic simplicity of exquisite language without telling the reader what he should feel.

And finally, though we must admit that conservatism tended to an exaggerated reverence for the past that the Greeks never knew, yet the cardinal doctrine of Confucius, that Man is fundamentally decent and needs neither the terrors of religion nor the restriction of penal laws, but only a sound education to make him behave, would have found an echo in every Greek heart. It is the pure doctrine of Humanism. With the considerations before us are we justified in setting Greeks and Chinese apart in two distinct categories? Surely not.

If we go to the other end of the ancient world, however, and examine Egypt, the problem is more critical. Here we meet a people raised to a high level of material

prosperity by the practice of a form of irrigation that involved a continuous round of toil the year through, and can have left no leisure for speculation. Science was shackled to the most immediate needs of daily existence, and though it reached surprising efficiency in the narrow sphere allotted to it, attempted no flights of imagination and discovered no universally valid laws. Egypt, too, at first sight would appear the very type of a theocratic state. Of uncompromising facing of facts there is hardly a sign, the whole outlook on life being a pathetic attempt to shirk the unpleasant realities of death and dissolution.

Yet doubts obtrude themselves again. For one thing, the Greeks always had a certain respect for the Egyptians; which indeed proves little. But, apart from that, behind all the phantasmagoria of strange beliefs and animal-headed gods there is something about the Egyptian rather sane and genial. It is as though his religion imposed a code of outward observances upon him but claimed little tyranny over his mind. The one great struggle for Truth put up by Akhnaton failed, but it failed for political—one might say mercenary—rather than religious reasons. The priests of Amen found their dividends curtailed. And that such an ideal was ever seriously fought for is to be held significant.

And in the matter of beauty, if we discount his rigid conventions, it must be admitted that few have ever excelled the Twelfth Dynasty engraver in balance, restraint and harmony of design. It would be interesting to set one of his works, a Greek relief or vase-painting, and a work by one of the Chinese masters such as Chao Meng-fu side by side. In perfect adaptation of his art to its surroundings, too, the Egyptian deserves all praise: imagine the tawdry effect of even the best Greek wall-painting in the fierce glare of an Egyptian sun.

Moreover, a certain broad humanism obtained; the Egyptians were not over-cruel, judged by the standards of their times. And they were clean. One can still sympathise with old Sinuhe, exiled among Beduin tribesmen and yearning

Qualities of  
Egyptian art

for the clean linen of his home. Indeed the Egyptian looked eastward and found people—Syrians and such, dirty folk with matted beards—whom he regarded very much as the Greeks afterwards regarded all 'barbarians.'

Let us then take the hint and look eastwards too, while admitting that there was much about Egypt that might justify such a term as Oriental. Our thoughts are led straight to that ancient seat of culture that lay athwart Tigris and Euphrates, but spread itself all the way round the Fertile Crescent and up over the high table-land of Anatolia.

Those whose interests take them back to the early history of the country will probably be impatient of adverse criticism; and rightly. Acquaintance with the astonishing art of the Sumerians, and with the delightful portraits that they have left of themselves, breeds a feeling of kinship scarcely less than that which the much better documented history of early Egypt produces in those who study it. The common law of the city of Lagash

shows signs of humanity as well as political genius; and when the days of the Semite Hammurabi are reached there is something of the freshness that comes with the contact of two cultures.

But, as the history of the land unrolls, a sense of disappointment, of thwarted promise, surely makes itself felt. The later Babylonians appear senile, almost fatuous, in comparison with their predecessors; Assyria gross and revolting. A Sumerian like Gudea seems more modern than Nebuchadrezzar. From which it may be inferred that Orientalism, if we have tracked it down, is not characteristic of the 'Ancient East,' but a growth probably not long antecedent to Hellenism.

What is this alien spirit, then? Is it Orientalism, and can it be defined by comparison with the spirit of Greece?

Instead of liberty, which must have been a sentiment once apprehended in a communal fashion by the city states of Sumeria, we find an absolute despotism over the bodies of men exercised by a king, and over their consciences by a



#### SIMILARITY OF EGYPTIAN AND HELLENIC TECHNIQUE IN STATUARY

With the reservation that the first is probably a portrait statue (of a daughter of Akhnaton) and the second an imaginary conception of a weeping Siren, the similarity of technique between these Egyptian (left) and Greek fragments is arresting. The Greek is a fourth century work, of no outstanding merit, but shows one of those few half-animal monsters that persisted in mythology; the beginning of the bird's leg can be seen, but the grotesqueness is almost all humanised away.

*From University College, London, (Sir Flinders Petrie) and Boston Museum*



SYMBOLISM IN GREECE AND THE ORIENT

These two figures embodied roughly the same ideals: the man-headed bull was the Assyrian symbol of strength, the flying spirit the Greek symbol of victory (Nike). Both go to the animal creation for their symbolism (note the broken wings on Nike's shoulders), but with what a difference! The Nike is by Paeonius.

*British and Olympia Museums*

priesthood more conservative than the world has ever known. As for a free, questing intelligence, it is hard to say that the twenty-five centuries between the artist-craftsmen of primitive Ur and the fall of Nineveh saw material advance in any branch of knowledge—save the science of war. Even Hammurabi was a codifier rather than an original thinker; certainly the whole history can show no such figure as Akhnaton or Confucius.

Of directness, the absence and the perversion are seen startlingly side by side. On the one hand there is the pathetic blindness to the facts of this world shown by the conservative priesthood of Babylon, chanting their prayers to doomed gods while empires tottered about them, and summed up in their last incompetent antiquarian of a king, Nabonidus; on the other, the ruthless cynicism of the

Assyrian butchers. Instead of simplicity there is involution—the sprawling mazes of the royal palaces, a complicated social order exemplified in the minute grades of the priesthood, the elaborately appointed ritual of the temples. Instead of humanity there is a groveling abasement before gods not made in Man's image, who rule a universe wherein Man seems of less account than the demons who plague him.

Instead of youth and freshness there is an oppressing sense of immemorial age. And instead of beauty—the Greek kind of beauty—there is an art that can, indeed, exercise a dread fascination over the human mind, but whose central quality is excess. Consider the teratomaous brood, half-human, half-bull, placed to symbolise strength and protection beside the gates of town and temple, where the Greeks might have set a Winged Nike;

or the reliefs on palace walls, exquisite perhaps in detail but without form or balance and overwhelming in their interminability; and carved to express what human ideals?—a king's grisly triumphs in battle or the chase.

Excess, too, runs through the moral sphere. Passionate revulsions of feeling from extreme to extreme are characteristic. When the pendulum is at one end of its swing there may be born, it is true, some of Man's deepest spiritual experiences; for it is not to the Greek, looking at his world with clear and steadfast eyes, that we should turn for spiritual solace, for humility, faith, hope and charity. Christianity is typical, and its significance for the modern world lies in the fact that it reached the West after being adopted and transmuted by Hellenism, before the pendulum could reverse its swing and corrupt or obliterate it.

Orientalism thus stands defined by contrast ; to explain it would need more knowledge than the science of Man commands. But certain circumstances of its growth may be discerned and are suggestive. Its seat was that Fertile Crescent which encloses the north end of the Arabian Peninsula, between the highlands and the grasslands, and derived its culture and its outlook from the great river civilization of its eastern arm, where men lived by practising unrelenting irrigation as in Egypt but in a climate far less clement. Unlike Egypt, however, which through much of its history was immune from invasion, or was only subject to infiltration of peoples not radically different in culture, the Crescent is open on all sides. As it happened, it separated two completely different racial stocks and, what was more important, two almost incompatible regimes of existence. There were the broad-heads of the mountain zone and the long-heads of Arabia ; the agriculturists of the river valley and the pastoralists of the grassland.

Contact between these two forces possibly gave rise to the first flowering of Sumerian culture ; but no enduring balance was struck as in the Mediterranean



#### CREATION OF THE ORIENTAL MIND

Brutal and unbeautiful, this square-hewn god of black stone with its monstrous attendant, found in the Late Hittite city at Carchemish on the Euphrates, seems to sum up the worst and most morbid qualities of the Oriental spirit.

*Courtesy of British Museum*



#### MORBID PHANTOM OF ETRURIA

The Etruscans, Anatolian by origin, found delight in what was sensual and cruel. The gladiatorial contests of the Romans originated with them, and they peopled their Other World with demons such as this in the Tomba del Orco.

*From Poulsen, 'Etruscan Tomb Paintings,' Clarendon Press*

world, where Man habituated himself to the delicate adjustments of a peculiarly suitable regime. The climate made too great demands on the human frame ; the intrusive stock degenerated ; and the way was paved for a fresh irruption from one side or the other, the inelastic environment moulding each in turn to the peculiar stamp of the land. This resulted in a permanent sense of insecurity, a lack of faith in Man's powers and a profound maladjustment cutting to the roots of social life that has endured to this day.

Men shelved their burdens. Heaven was left to look after fate, while personal freedom was bartered to a king or a class in return for guidance, or for liberty to gain a livelihood without having to think of politics. The population was enslaved, not necessarily in a technical sense but economically. Like causes produced a similar spirit in India, where the Aryan invaders, instead of becoming assimilated with the earlier population, attempted to preserve an aloof, if fictitious, purity of



race. The caste system was the result, involving a social dislocation just as deep ; and Buddha was an example of the characteristic revulsion. The monstrosities of southern Indian architecture, as at Srirangam, for instance, are also typical.

It was the tragedy of the Persians, perhaps racially and certainly linguistically akin to the Greeks, and so like them in many ways, that they should have had to champion such a spirit against the West ; for they too succumbed.

Once formed, the spirit seems to have been hard to shake off. Carthage in the distant west perpetuated it in her gross religion ; Etruscans, spawned into Italy from Asia Minor and, though care-free enough at first, mentally unbalanced at last by the task of keeping a virile population in subjection, showed some of its worst characteristics. No one wishing to get an idea of what Orientalism might lead to could do better than look at the frescoes in the Tombe del Cardinale, dell' Orco or delle Bighe at Corneto.

It is interesting to see a trace of it even in Greece. Sparta also had a serf population and was frightened into an excess of military puritanism ; but it was the

Spartan Pausanias, victor at Plataea, whom success drove to the opposite extreme of Oriental luxury and insolence.

It seems then that Hellenism and Orientalism do represent a great cleavage in the ideals of mankind ; we can see them forming out of the .

neutral matrix at a roughly assignable date, like two Widening of Spiritual Gulf nuclei in a cell that is about to divide. And from that date forward every physical contact has only tended to widen the spiritual gap. Alexander failed signally to heal it ; his too early death is one of the world's tragedies. Rome stepped into the shoes of Greece and against Carthage re-enacted the Persian War. Moreover both are proselytising forces, the first having conquered Europe and the second having been spread by one of its typical products, the Moslem faith, far eastwards from its source and westwards along the shores of Africa, orientalising a not unresponsive Egypt. Byzantium was long the champion of the West in the wider struggle, and when Byzantium, already half orientalised, fell before the Turks it appeared that the tide had turned. But the world was not

to have a chance of seeing what the victory of Xerxes at Salamis would have meant ; and to-day the British Empire in India has been given the opportunity of fulfilling Alexander's ambitions. Yet it seems to have produced nothing more than Kipling's sterile apothegm.

The important question is whether the cell has yet divided. On the whole it must be admitted that the difference is not yet profound and some of its most exaggerated expressions must be put down to an almost morbid racial selfconsciousness—a trait not foreign to the Greeks. But it is wise to remember what evolution teaches, that the superficialities of to-day are apt to become the fundamentals of to-morrow.



#### FORMLESSNESS OF RELIGIOUS ART IN SOUTH INDIA

Hindu and Greek temples make a striking contrast. This is a great open-air portico in the temple to Vishnu on Srirangam Island, possibly the largest temple in the world. But consider the oppressive monotony of the horrible columns, and, in spite of the exquisite detail, the formless grotesquerie of the whole.

Photo, F. Deaville Walker

# RISING RELIGIONS OF THE FARTHER EAST

A Sketch of the Spiritual and Philosophic Developments in India and China of the Sixth Century, B.C.

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH D.C.L. D.Litt.

Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Edinburgh University;  
 Author of *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, etc.

WHILE their close kinsmen, the Iranians, hardened by the life of their mountain lands and led by rulers who were ardent adherents of the mighty Ahura-mazda, were usurping lordship of Asia and sweeping onwards to the great conflict which opened the struggle between East and West, the Aryans of India were developing two religious systems destined permanently and vitally to affect the beliefs and actions of millions of men. A singular contrast is indeed presented between the ephemeral conquests of Persia in the material world and the amazing achievements of India in the field of metaphysics and morals.

Yet it would be utterly misleading to picture India as a land of philosophers, of men of thought, not of action. India did not, as Matthew Arnold's poetic vision held, bow deep before the onslaught of Alexander the Great. It desperately resisted it, and the fatigue of his veterans induced the conqueror to desist from an enterprise for which he possessed no adequate equipment. The territories attached for a period to the Macedonian kingdom by the force of Alexander's arms (see *Chronicle VI*) and the skill of his diplomacy hastened, on his death, to free themselves from Greek sway, and the advent of the great empire of Chandragupta, the Maurya, rendered Seleucus only too ready to come to terms with so formidable a rival, and to conclude a treaty under which India was freed from foreign rule.

Asoka, greatest of the Mauryas, treated as an equal with the successors of Seleucus; and not until after his death did the slackening of the bonds of empire open the

way to the inroad into India of Bactrian Greeks (see Chap. 49). What India lacked was not fighting men nor the love of war, but skill in organization, and her emergence as a great power under the Mauryas is easily explained by remembering that the Persian Empire effected considerable conquests on the Indian borders, and that the Indian mind has ever shown itself swift to note and to imitate the achievements of foreign rulers. The overthrow by Alexander of the Persian Empire merely accelerated a movement of Indian reaction which must have proved far too strong for the luckless successors of Darius on the Persian throne.

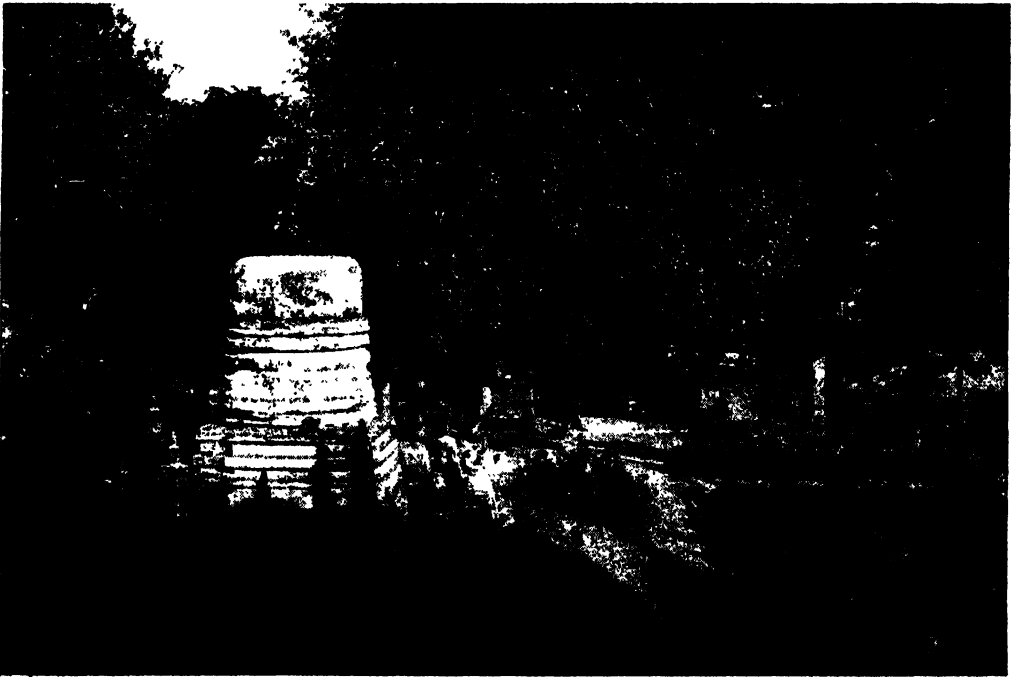
But the intellectual achievements of India were directly promoted by the steadily growing distinctions of class among the people, the forerunners of the modern **Beginnings of caste system.** The early **the Caste System** Aryans may have known no great distinction between priest, warrior-ruler and man of the people—Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaisya—all Aryans as opposed to the aborigines, Sudras, who were reduced to slavery when they were not exterminated by the invaders. But invasion gave place to settlement, and Sudras were too useful as cultivators and servants to be lightly destroyed. Warriors and husbandmen alike were willing to turn into landed proprietors on a large or small scale, much of the actual work of their holdings being done by Sudras. In other cases, however, no effort was made to reduce the Sudras to such extremities, but they were permitted to accept the suzerainty of a conqueror, and to abide in their villages and

to cultivate their plots on condition of payment of dues to their overlord, who again might confer his claims on one or other of his family or his war-band.

Social inequality rapidly developed; the invasions had begotten the king as war leader, as in England in the days of the Teutons. His office now tended, though not invariably, to become hereditary; his children and their descendants contributed to form a class of Kshatriyas, 'men of the ruling class,' to whom were added the chosen companions of the king. The royal duties caused the separation of priestly and governing functions, if, indeed, these were ever normally united in early Aryan India. The king relied more and more on skilled aid for the due performance of the ritual of the royal house, and above all for the spells which assured him success alike in the government of his people and in his attacks on rival Aryan princes, or on the vast masses of aborigines who remained on the borders of the Aryan pale. The priest, in primitive

times doubtless marked out by vocation and temperamental fitness, came more and more to require a regular training in the craft of his office, and hereditary tenure of the post grew normal, for the wealth of the new settled life afforded abundant means wherewith to maintain a large body of non-workers. These two classes, priests and nobles; formed a close alliance, conscious of their mutual dependence, for if the material aid afforded by the nobles was invaluable to the priests, many of whom indeed amassed considerable wealth from this source, the royal power received no less valued aid from the priestly office, which not merely by its skilled ministrations secured divine favour and averted the hostility of evil spirits, but inculcated on the people the duty of obedience to the royal authority.

The two classes thus formed a mutual support against the people, among whom, again, great differences in wealth steadily manifested themselves. The rich householder whose land was cultivated for him



**TREE-SHADED BIRTHPLACE OF THE BUDDHIST FAITH**

It was while meditating under a bo-tree in the forests of Gaya, in the modern Bihar, that Siddhartha Gautama received enlightenment. Beside this tree King Asoka built a shrine, succeeded later by a large temple, the famous Buddh-gaya; and near the west wall of this is the large fig tree seen in the right part of this photograph, perhaps the descendant of that under which the Buddha sat. A brick platform encircling the trunk affords a resting place for countless pilgrim worshippers to-day.

*Photo, F. Deville-Walker*



### THE BUDDHA PREACHING TO TREE-DWELLING NAGAS

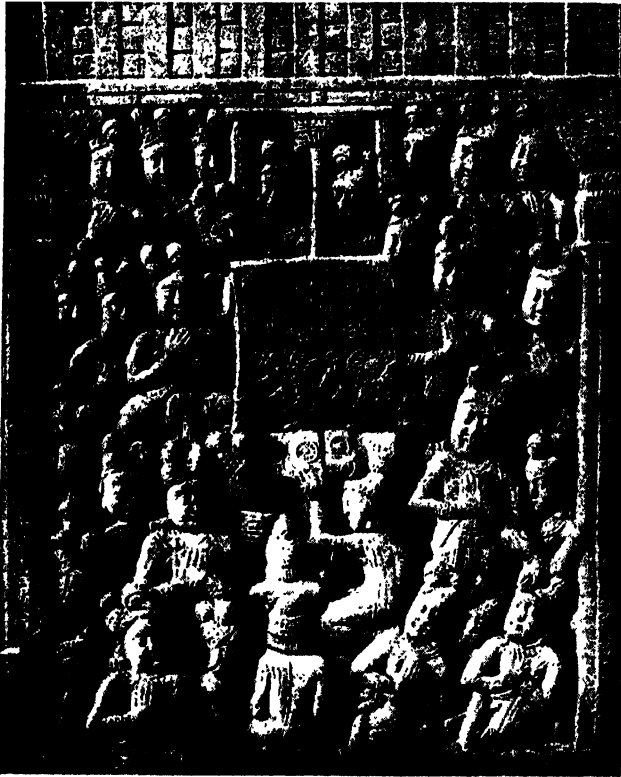
Numerous super-human beings or demigods were worshipped by the early peoples of India. Among these were the Nagas, this term including siren serpents—in their ordinary shape cobras—and dryads, powerful tree deities believed at will to assume human form. In all the early stories the Nagas are represented either as adherents of the Buddha or as hostile to him until overcome by his teaching, to which, as represented in this carving at Takt-i-bahi, they thereafter listened with pleasure.

*From Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*

by serfs had comparatively little save race in common with the poor man who was either landless or owned but a small lot, and who could not rival him in cattle, which at that epoch were the most cherished of possessions. Below all these stood the semi-free population. But these economic differences and divisions of function were strengthened and transmuted by racial issues. Brought into close contact with a dark aboriginal population, the light-coloured Aryan was rendered deeply sensible of his distinction from his enemies; dislike of marriage with the aborigines spread a disinclination to wed outside the circle of those of like rank and occupation, and gradually paved the way by which a simple class system, such as may be paralleled in many other countries developed into the rigidity of caste. Needless to say, while mixed marriages were disapproved, *mésalliances* between

men of the higher classes and women of the lower were far from rare. The mixed offspring of these alliances constituted another source of casté, for they were often grudged recognition as appertaining to the rank of the father, while naturally they declined tamely to sink to the status of the mother.

However, throughout the period of the sixth century B.C. there was little or none of the rigidity of medieval or modern India; the factors which made for caste were already present, but they had had no decisive effect. Life was still simple in the villages; there was much equality and good-fellowship among the cultivators, though many arts and crafts were entrusted to persons definitely regarded as inferior, certain occupations were deemed as excluding from presence in the village, and on the other hand trade was enriching a number of the villagers and raising them



#### ADORATION OF THE BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINTS

Footprints of the Buddha were objects of reverence from a very early period. In this bas-relief they are depicted on an altar before which a royal personage kneels, his hands laid upon them. Both footprints are marked with the wheel symbol, one of the 32 birthmarks of a child destined to attain Buddha-hood.

*From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'*

in public estimation as well as their own far above their fellows.

It was inevitable that a hereditary priesthood in the employment of wealthy patrons, whether royal or of the people, should delight in the elaboration of ritual and in the devising of magic rites whereby to secure their patrons the power or wealth or offspring on which their hearts were set. The Brahmana and Sutra texts bear abundant witness to this elaboration of ritual. Temples indeed were still unknown, but sacrifices might last for a year or more, and demand the constant presence of sixteen or more priests with an indefinite number of acolytes.

In every action of the officiating priests a mystic potency might be read, and the Brahmanas proudly intimate how the priest may, by manipulation of the rite or of the formulae which accompany it, secure

the boon craved by his patron or bring him to utter ruin, if he so will. The sacrifice comes to rank in the eyes of the priest as no mere effort to attract the attention of the god, perhaps busy elsewhere or sought at the same time by a rival worshipper; it becomes a magnificent piece of magic which puts complete constraint on the deity and secures the object desired, or at least would secure it if some hostile influence did not intervene; and even this in its turn can be overcome by sufficient generosity to the priests, who, as they proudly claim, are the gods on earth.

It is not surprising that the elaboration of the sacrifice caused repugnance rather than pleasure to some thoughtful minds, and that there developed in conscious protest a school of thought which cared nothing for the sacrifice, but sought instead to read the riddle of the universe. It is, however, characteristic of the background against which the movement rose that the term by which it sought to

describe the underlying reality of the world was the Brahman, a word denoting the prayer or spell which commanded the gods, and thus controlled in ultimate essence the course of the world. The holy power inherent in the prayer thus serves to describe that which lies at the base of the manifold of sense, and of which all things that Man knows are but manifestations.

To this idea was joined another. The early thought of India penetrated to the truth that, however infinite the world, however varied its people, there was nothing greater than the soul of man, the Atman. Hence by a bold synthesis was developed the doctrine that the universe and the self of man, the Brahman and the Atman, are but one, an assurance firmly held, though the difficulty of

**Doctrine of  
the Atman**

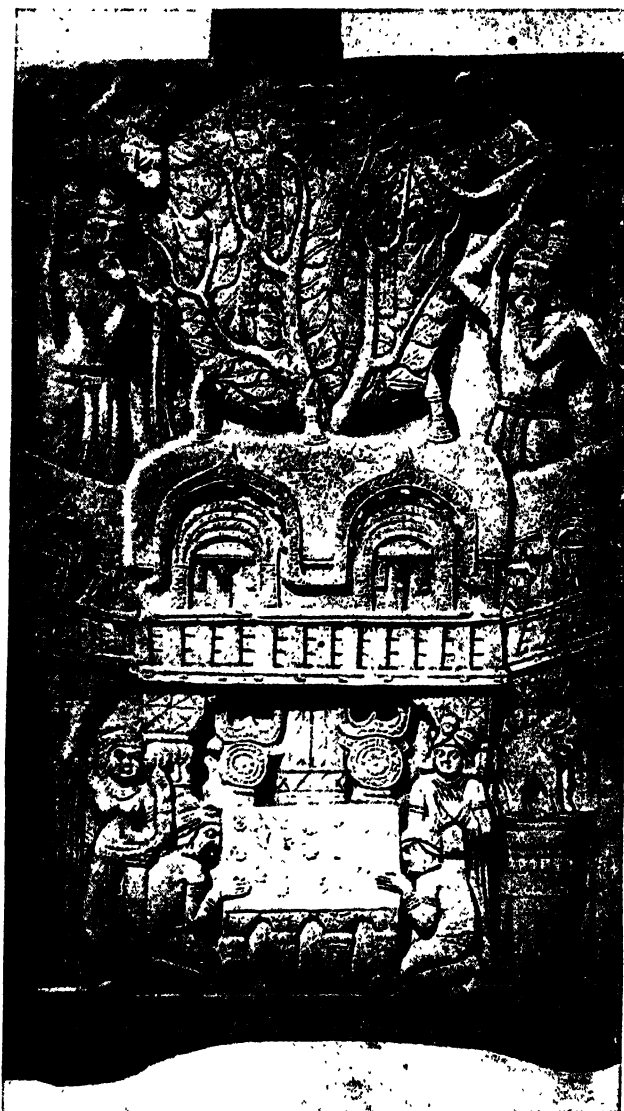
expressing effectively the relation between the two was fully recognized. The Upanishads, which date from 600 B.C., show us the delight of these early thinkers in their formula as well as their difficulty in applying it.

The absolute, they argued, is beyond all knowledge, ineffable, but at the same time it is the self in man, the seer who is not seen, the thinker who is not thought. It exists, and is therefore Being; yet is not such being as we know in this world of empirical reality, and so again it may be described as Not-being. It is above the ordinary conceptions of time and space, and causal relations are not really applicable to it. None the less, it lies at the root of the whole universe of which in a sense it is the cause.

To this subtle conception a fresh complication is added by the acceptance by these thinkers of a new dogma, unknown to the early Vedic Indians. It is impossible to say exactly what caused the great popularity of the doctrine of transmigration or metempsychosis in India, though we may fairly note that among the aboriginal tribes there doubtless prevailed then as to-day the ready belief in the souls of the dead passing into some animal, or tree or other thing. But its significance and value in India are inseparable from the growing pessimism of Indian thought, on the one hand, and a deepening sense of morality on the other.

Death was doubtless repugnant to the early Vedic Indian, but his outlook was not unduly cumbered by fear for the morrow. Longer experience perhaps of the fatal climate of his country reduced him to a more gloomy frame of mind, to which Death, the ender,

appears as the most insistent foe of Man. But a new terror was added to life and death when the idea grew that even in the shadowy existence of the next world the arch enemy might make his onslaught and the dead be forced to die again. Transfer this idea to a second death on earth and not in the next world, and the system of transmigration is all but ripe;



#### INDIAN ARCHITECTURE OF ASOKA'S TIME

This sculpture represents the original shrine built by Asoka (c. 250 B.C.) for the Buddha's holy tree. It was a square building of two storeys separated by a broad railing. In the upper storey is the tree flanked by two large figures; in the lower is the sacred seat whereon Gautama spent years of meditation.

From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'.

and in fact the transference was made in the Brahmana literature just before the period of the Upanishads. In them, however, it appears linked with a most important and novel conception, the belief that what a man sows in one life, that must he reap in another, so that whatever he may be on earth to-day is the outcome of deeds in a past existence.

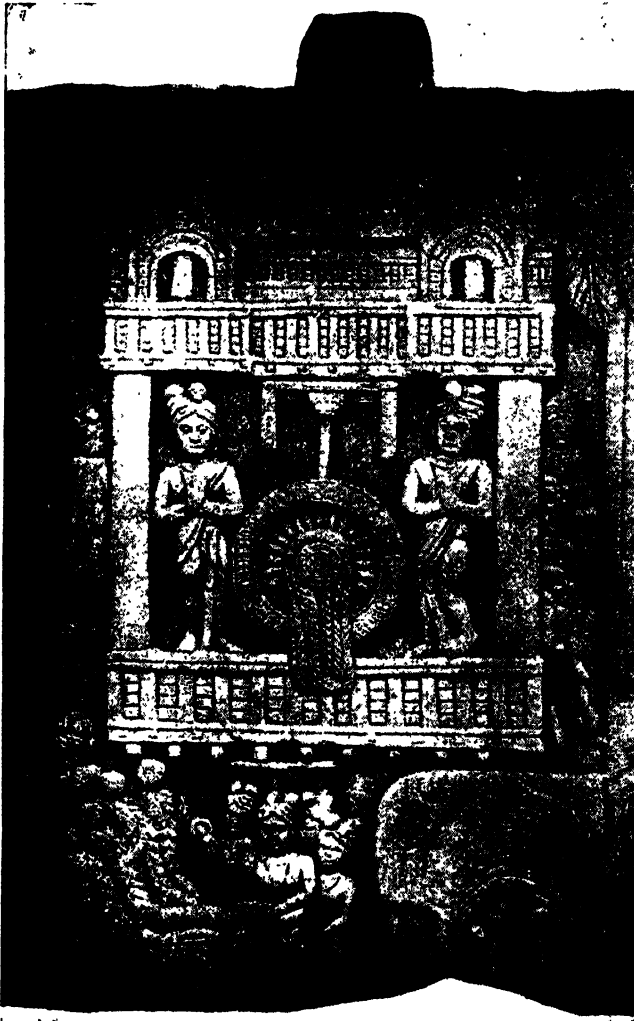
The doctrine, strained to its logical conclusion, is destructive of human activity and responsibility, for it declares that all

that we do or are arises from what we have been or have done in the past. But this is not the vital aspect in the eyes of Indian thinkers. Rather do they look to the future and point the moral that Man must act wisely and justly in the life he now lives, seeing that for whatever he may do now he will pay in the next life, or, if not then, still in some life to come. Moreover, the doctrine provides Man with a theory that justifies the evils and sorrows of life. If men suffer, as they do, grievous

wrong and injustice, it must be that in their past they have acted with equal wrong and injustice to some other person and now reap the bitter fruit of their evil deeds.

Accepting this doctrine, Man appears to be bound for ever to an interminable series of existences, during which he may vary in rank from one of the insects which breathe but to perish, up to one of the Vedic gods, for they too cannot be regarded as immune from the round of transmigration. But to the philosophic minds of the day this unceasing round appears weariness and confusion. Some release must be found, and the solution is offered by their own philosophy of the identity of the self and the absolute. Let but the self recognize that it is the absolute, let it achieve in a moment of intense concentration, in mystic trance, realization of the unity, and the bonds which tie man to life are broken for ever. He may live on for a few years in the mortal body; but once he has laid it aside, he is at rest for ever, not extinct, but at one with the absolute, which is his true soul.

It follows then that our ordinary morality is of value, because it conditions the life of transmigration, but it nevertheless is fundamentally valueless, seeing that it leads but from weary birth to weary



SHRINE OF THE SACRED WHEEL OF THE LAW

It was a convention of Buddhist sculpture to represent the Buddha by symbols. One, the wheel of the Law, is here shown in its own shrine—an open pillar half standing on a plinth ornamented with a Buddhist railing, and surmounted by an upper storey. King Pasenadi visits the fane in his chariot.

From Alexander Cunningham, *'The Stupa of Bharhut'*

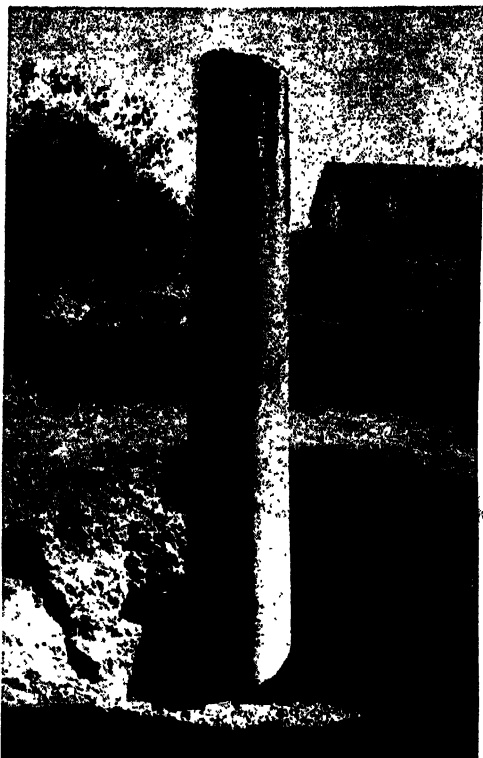
birth. True deliverance has nothing to do with morality, or at best morality is a mere propaedeutic; insight alone brings release. Insight, moreover, requires not moral effort, but the practice of the trance, in which Man feels all barriers of space and time, of corporeality, of self falling from him, and experiences the pure joy of union with the absolute.

Such in essence was the profound doctrine which had seized firmly on the minds of the more intellectual of the Brahmanical priesthood in the sixth century B.C., when Gautama Siddhartha, later to be known as the Buddha, 'the enlightened,' was born in a district on the borders of the present Nepal and Oudh, probably about 560 B.C. Legend has so completely obscured the facts of his life that it will never be possible to attain certainty as to his doctrines or character. Yet it seems most probable that, a scion of a noble house in a petty principality, he was induced at the age of twenty-nine to abandon his home, his wife and child, so that he might seek to satisfy a craving for assurance and peace in life. He seems to have given himself up for many months to those excesses of a fanatical asceticism which have been recorded from the earliest times by travellers in India, but at last to have abandoned these practices as fruitless and unavailing.

This marks a distinct breach between his thought and that of his elder contemporary Mahavira, founder of the Jainism of history. To

**Cleavage between Buddhism & Jainism** Mahavira asceticism was everything, and he carried his devotion to principle to the extent of practising and demanding nudity from his followers, while his hatred of the slaying of even the meanest vermin led him and his followers to strange excesses and to an aversion from the use of water for cleansing purposes.

The defection of Siddhartha from his companions was followed by long mental anguish, during which Buddhist tradition depicts his temptation by the demon, Mara, lord of death, the spirit of desire which makes men cling to the folly of repeated existence, and by Mara's daughters, who in vain offer to the saint the enjoyment of their transcendent charms, if he



#### GARDEN OF GAUTAMA'S BIRTH

The traditional site of Gautama's birth, in a garden called Lumbini, was pointed out to King Ashoka, who caused one of his pillars to be erected thereon. The inscription can just be distinguished near the foot of the column.

*Courtesy of Mrs. Rhys Davids*

will but lay aside his desire for enlightenment. At last knowledge came to him, and thenceforth he spent an itinerant life preaching his gospel of salvation in Magadha, the modern Bihar, and Kosala, now Oudh, and giving everywhere the impetus to the formation of communities of monks, obeying no formal rule, but pledged to lead a life according to the model which he set.

That model also it is hard to discern, for the different schools of Buddhism were firm in asserting that they each followed faithfully the intent of the master whose authority was their touchstone of orthodoxy. Yet it seems certain that on matters metaphysical the Buddha was strictly agnostic. He refused to discuss with his followers questions of the absolute, of the soul in its relation to the absolute, of the infinity or finitude in time and space of the world; he even went so far



as to negate the burning desire of many a disciple to know whether the fate on corporeal death of the man who achieved perfect enlightenment was utter extinction or some eternal life.

All these and other issues of philosophy he brushed aside, and on two grounds: they dealt with matters which were beyond our powers of knowledge, and, moreover, knowledge of them would not conduce to salvation. The wounded man demands healing, and for this it matters not that he should know the precise character of the weapon by which he was wounded. Did this agnostic attitude represent the Buddha's own views, or did he withhold his inmost thoughts from his disciples, lest his opinions deter them from following the path in which he desired them to move? The problem is insoluble, but there are traces in the Pali texts that his silence was deliberate, and that it arose rather from a fullness of knowledge than

from real inability to deal with or from dislike to touch upon those vital questions.

What he did claim was that he had a solution for the misery of existence which he asserted confidently was self-evident, and of which he was prepared to give endless illustrations, based essentially on the shortness of life, its constant exposure to risks of health, of wealth, of family, and the overpowering and ever present dread of death. Birth is

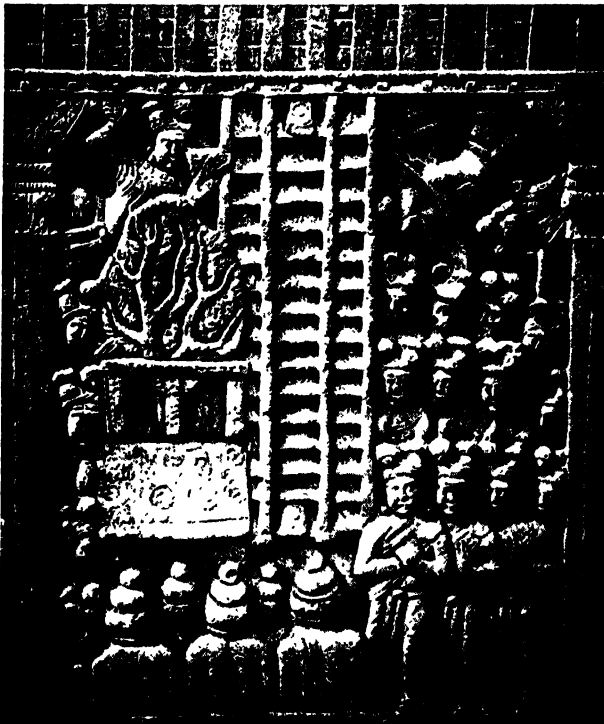
#### Solution for the Miseries of Life

the beginning for Man of a round of sorrows which never end, for death merely means the beginning in a fresh birth of a further experience of the woes of existence. But, terrible as is the problem, a solution is available.

There is a cause for the constant rebirth of Man, according to the Buddha's teaching, and that lies in the fatal desire which always makes men cling to the things of life and prevents them from extinguish-

ing for ever the fire of existence and of misery. And desire again is the product of ignorance, for Man does not realize the truth of life, that it is a vain striving for ends which cannot ever bring satisfaction. Man is the dupe of a false philosophy which inculcates in him the conception of a self which remains permanent throughout a long series of experiences. There is no such self; resolve all human experience into its elements, and nothing permanent abides, just as, when every detail of the chariot is accounted for, there is nothing over and above to correspond to the word chariot. As the chariot consists of a mass of material things in conjunction, so Man is a compound of material form and psychical elements, intellectual, affective, volitional, which are wrongly understood to rest on a permanent substratum.

All these elements are transient, ever changing and causally combined, but by laying aside desire and eschewing



THE BUDDHA'S LADDER FROM HEAVEN TO EARTH

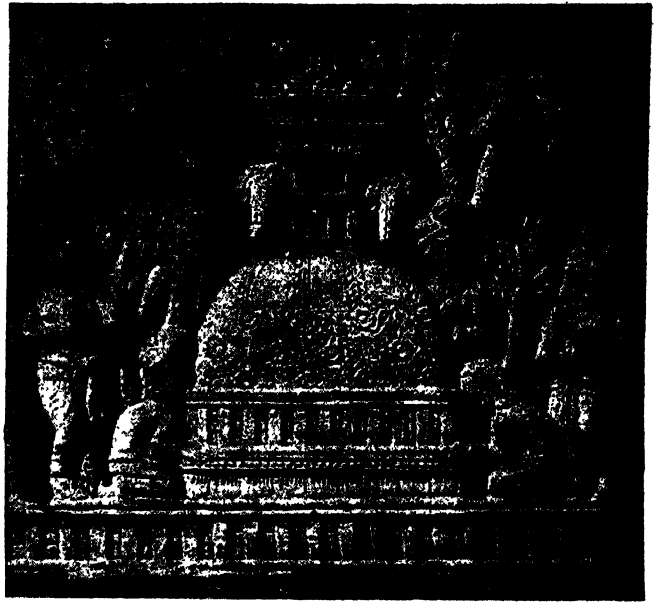
Legend says that the Buddha visited heaven to preach his doctrine there. On his departure Indra prepared for him a triple ladder, in glory like three rainbows, whereby he descended at Sankisa. On the top and bottom steps of the middle ladder is depicted at Bharhut, the Buddha's footprints may be seen.

From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'

ignorance Man can end the combination which produces fresh births. When he realizes the impermanence and the essential misery of all things, he attains enlightenment, all desire dies in him, and already in life he enjoys the bliss of Nirvana, which is at least freedom from the fire of desire and the pains of ignorance. Is it also freedom from all existence, utter extinction? That we have seen is precisely the most vital of the questions which the Buddha has not answered, will not answer; and it must be left to us to decide for ourselves whether beneath his steadfast refusal to speak he hid the conviction that the true Nirvana, which is won by the enlightened man, when he has laid aside this mortal body, is utter extinction.

What moral guidance can such a doctrine give us? It can bid us live as monks, celibate but not normally solitary, rather gathered together in simple communities for mutual encouragement and help, a life of quiet reflection and of renunciation of desire; and, supreme joy, we are to devote ourselves to the practice of that trance in which we can in life attain the bliss of Nirvana. All that is empiric is to be completely excluded from life: we are to rise above confines of time and space, pass beyond consciousness, and achieve utter freedom from all carnal bonds. Active charity, the glowing love of God or of Man, the will to work in the world of everyday life, to make it better, are ideas foreign to this ideal of quiet self-knowledge and self-induced hypnosis. But it demands the banishing of every evil thought, indeed of every earthly thought.

If it bids the monk to resort to the charnel ground on which are tossed the bodies of the humble dead, and to wean his mind away from the joys of earth and the lust of the flesh by the contemplation of the ghastly changes which await mortality,



SCULPTURED PICTURE OF A BUDDHIST SHRINE

Originally only a memorial mound of earth and stones, the Buddhist stupa was a masonry structure raised to enshrine relics of the Buddha, a saint, or a king. The building stood on a raised base and had a dome, usually ornamented with a garland and topped by an umbrella on a square pedestal.

*From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'*

it also bids him encourage within himself a feeling of friendship towards all men, all beings, high and low, and to be glad at heart. True, this benevolence is to be shown to the good and the bad alike; it is touched with no moral quality, and righteous anger is utterly excluded from the life of the monk, for anger is synonymous with desire, or inseparable from it. But we may well believe that, from the first, benevolence meant more for many a monk than the mere avoidance of any feeling which might disturb his quietism, and from this rule of the teacher is derived directly the brilliant expansion of his command to a system of positive and fervent benevolence which appears in the school of the Mahayana from the first century A.D., even if that change in attitude were in part the outcome of Christian influences.

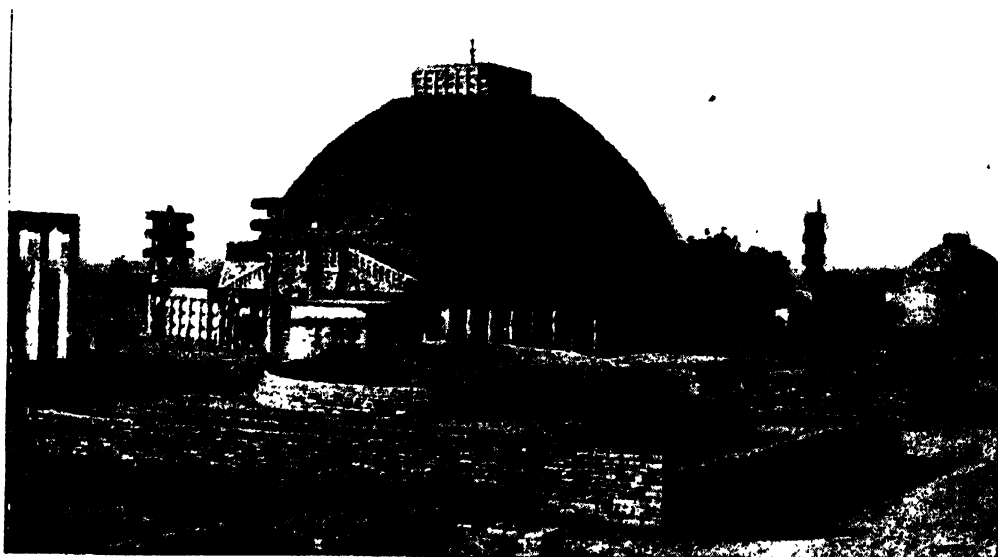
The Buddha is recorded to have deprecated the admission of nuns to the faith, but his beloved disciple Ananda and a lady of his family prevailed on him to yield, though with the sad prediction that the life of his doctrine would thus be halved. The monks and nuns, however, formed but a



#### **RUINS OF THE SAKIYA SHRINE THAT HELD THE BUDDHA'S ASHES**

Gautama Siddhartha's mother belonged to the clan of the Sakiyas, whose country was on the border of what are now Nepalese and British territories. After the cremation of the Buddha a portion of the ashes from his funeral pyre was given to the Sakiyas, who enshrined them in a great stupa or 'tope' which, in its perfect state, was about as high as the dome of St. Paul's, measured from the roof. This pathetic mound is all that remains of that once splendid monument.

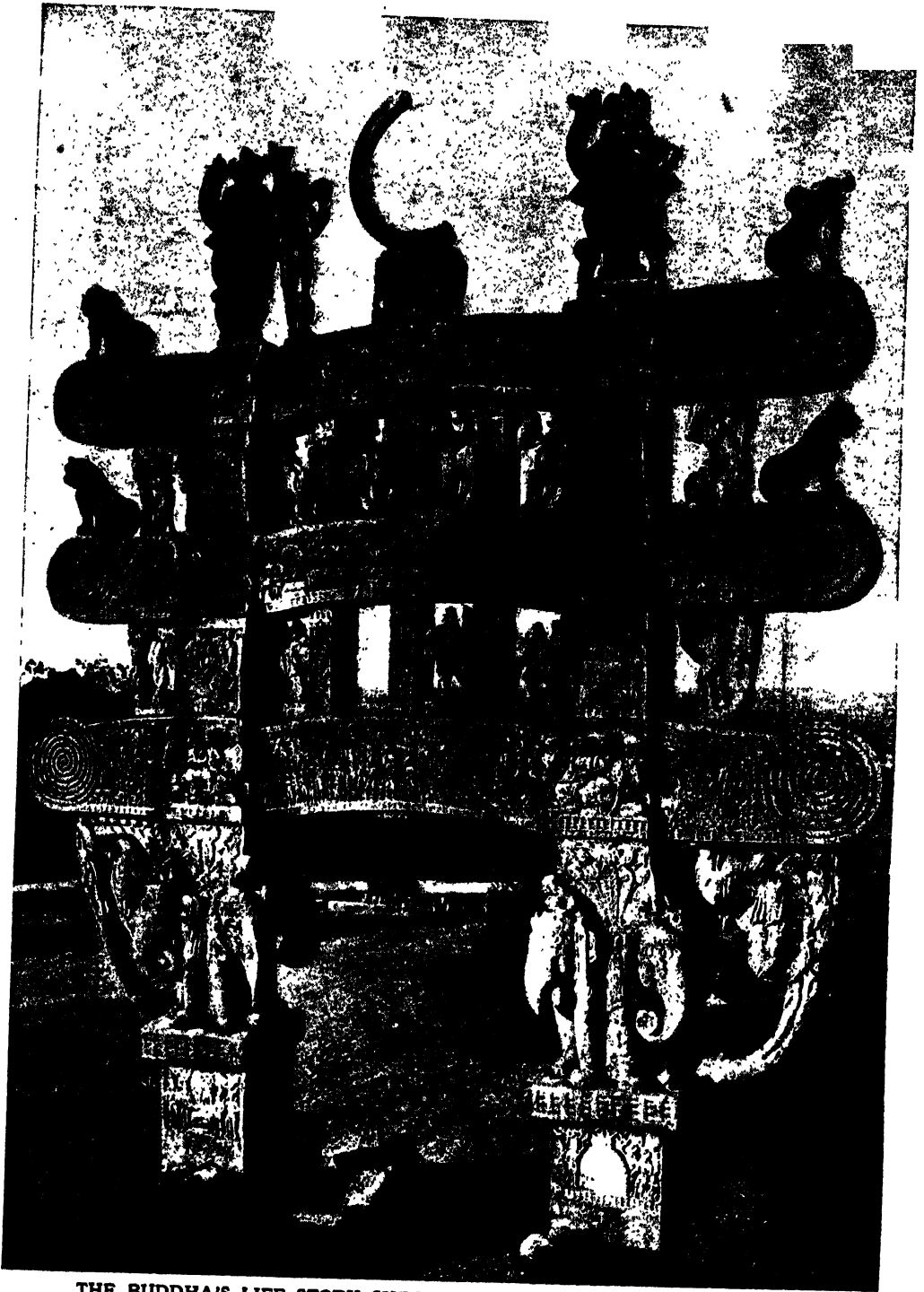
*From Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India'*



#### **IMPOSING BUDDHIST SHRINE AT SANCHI AS IT STANDS RESTORED**

Although the connexion of Sanchi with the Buddha is now unknown, that village in Bhopal had some spot important in King Asoka's eyes, for there he raised one of the finest monuments in all India. By the unflinching patience of Major Cole and Sir John Marshall the ruins have been restored almost to their pristine condition, and on the summit of its lonely hill the imposing dome again stands silhouetted against the sky with two smaller domes and numerous ruins around it.

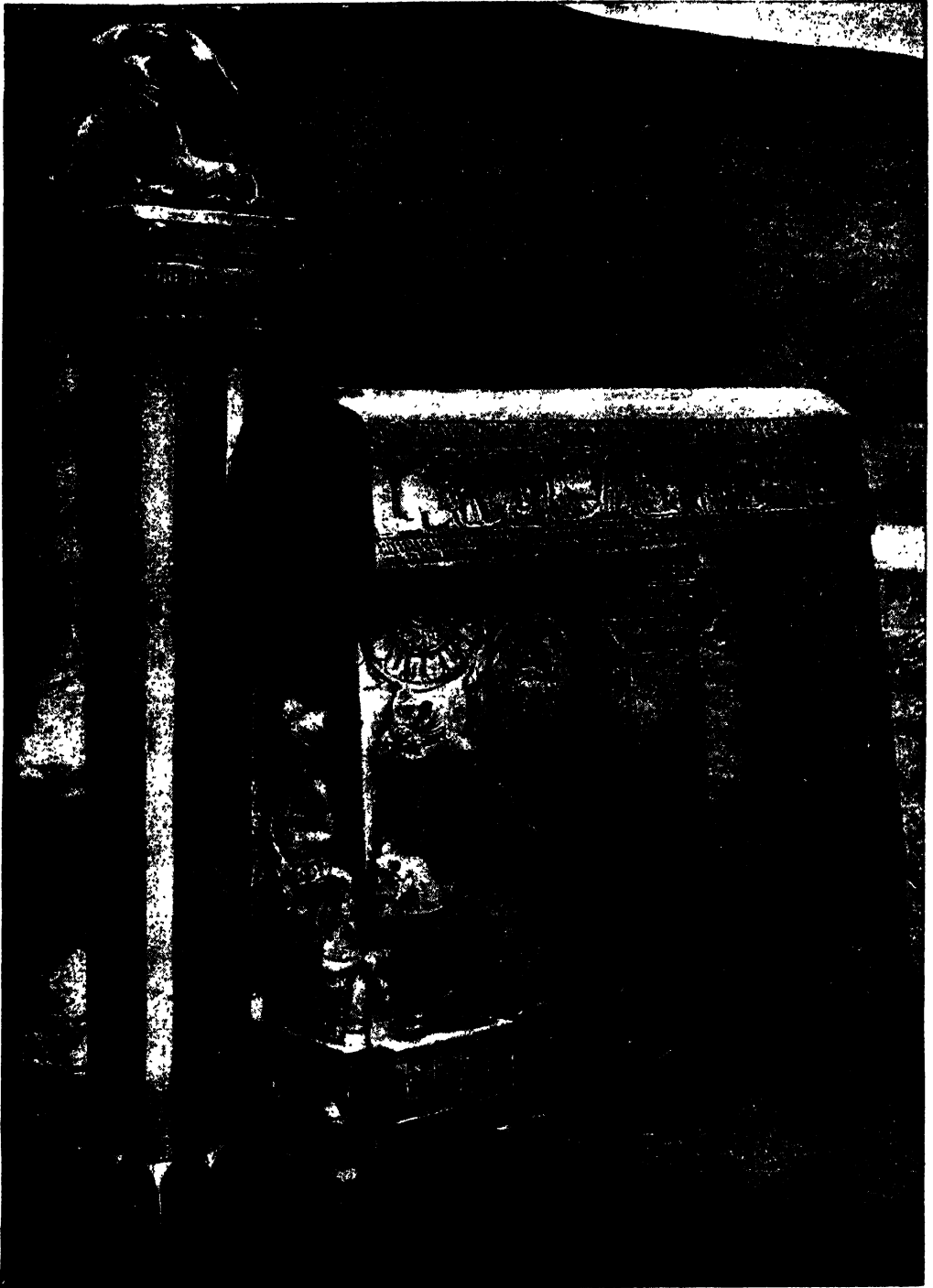
*Photo, F. Deaville Walker*



### THE BUDDHA'S LIFE STORY CHRONICLED IN A SCULPTURED GATEWAY

Four superb stone gateways, facing the cardinal points of the compass, are the chief glory of the Sanchi tope. This photograph shows the upper portion of the northern one with its marvellous carvings, telling the story of the master's life. In these early sculptures the Buddha is represented only by symbols. A lotus flower symbolised his Birth, a be-tree his Enlightenment, a wheel his First Discourse, and a stupa, two of which appear in the pillar on the right, his Death.

*Photo, F. Deaville Walker*



#### BEAM AND PILLAR OF THE EAST GATEWAY OF THE BHARHUT STUPA

As at Sanchi, the hemispherical stupa at Bharhut was set on a cylindrical base and surrounded by a stone railing with four openings towards the cardinal points. At each entrance was an ornamental arch, called Toran, composed of three curved beams set one above the other with the spaces between them filled by sculptured balusters, the whole supported on two pillars formed of octagonal columns.

One pillar and a fallen fragment of a single beam with its balusters are here shown.

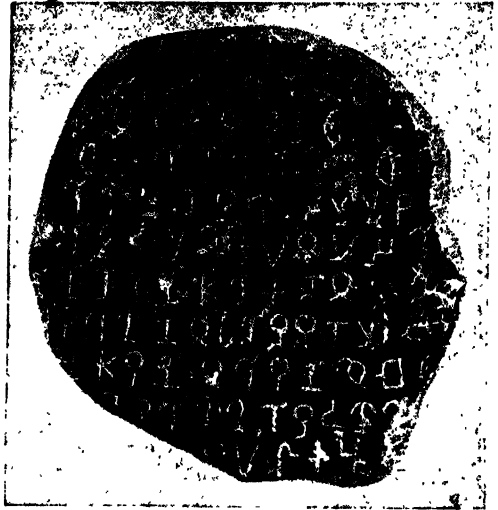
*From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'*

small fraction of the population, and the absence of any hierarchy, which left each community free to guide itself on the lines alleged to have been laid down by the Master, effectively prevented any rigidity in the development of the doctrine.

Lay adherents were welcomed, and encouraged to attain merit by supporting the monks and nuns, who were enjoined to beg, though no injunctions succeeded in preventing the gradual acquisition of considerable property by the communities. The pious were often induced to erect substantial buildings for them and to present large areas of ground as appanages. Schisms were not unknown even in the life of the Master; a cousin, Devadatta, sought to depose him and to insist on a stricter rule of life as regards food, clothing and lodging, but the schismatics failed to prevail for the time being. It does not appear that the spread of Buddhism progressed rapidly after the death of the Master; and that event was marked by an episode which shows how inveterate is the religious sense of man.

The Buddha had clearly no place in his system for ordinary acts of worship, for these essentially negate the doctrine of the universality of causation. On his death, however, bitter disputes arose for the possession of fragments of his calcined bones, and the fortunate recipients of relics hastened to erect memorial mounds, or stupas, over them. Thereafter they became the object of a reverence indistinguishable among the laity and all but the philosophical monks from that bestowed by the non-Buddhist on relics such as the footprints alleged to have been made by gods during visits to earth. Nor is it possible to avoid the suspicion that in the eyes of many among his hearers who were not of the rationalist school, to which we owe the Pali Canon preserved in Ceylon, the teacher was and claimed to be the Great Male, Mahapuruṣa, which Indian speculative thought had created as an ideal type of King or Sage, and which was something more than human.

If we may believe passages in the Pali Canon itself, the Buddha was conscious of more than mortal stature; had not the



**ROCK EDICT OF KING ASOKA**

Asoka's inscriptions on rocks and pillars and in caves are among the most valuable of Buddhist monuments and of prime importance in the history of writing in India. This specimen was found by Prof. Rhys Davids at Girnar

*From Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India'*

good Ananda sadly lacked intelligence, the Blessed One would assuredly have been besought by him to extend, as he hinted his willingness to do, his life to the whole extent of a cosmic age instead of passing away at the early age of eighty years. At least if the Buddha himself did not claim divinity, it was not in the Indian mind to refrain from attributing it to him, and side by side with the fraternities which followed his rule and saw in him nothing but the revered teacher, who on his deathbed had bidden each man work out his own salvation now that he was gone, were doubtless many laymen and not a few monks and nuns who deemed that he who was perfect was none other than a god who had revealed himself on earth for the edification and satisfaction of mankind.

So far Buddhism had achieved but a moderate measure of royal favour, for we can easily discern behind the assurances of the early texts the comparative indifference of the princes of the countries wherein Buddha worked to the tenets which he indicated as applicable to the ruling caste. But the faith was to win the approval of Asoka (273-232 B.C.), whose conquest of Kalinga and bloody wars seem to have aroused in him a sad

**ASOKA'S PILLAR AT ALLAHABAD**

Ten of the graceful columns survive on the polished surface of which Asoka caused his edicts to be inscribed. This one, shorn of the capital that once adorned it, stands in the grounds of the fort at Allahabad.

consciousness of wrong doing. Asoka's relations with the Buddhist community of his time are obscure, and it is wholly improbable that in old age he resigned his throne and followed the strictest Buddhist rule. Nor is there any cogent evidence for the belief, recorded centuries later, that he authorised and promoted the summoning of a Council at which the Pali Canon was adopted. Indeed, the absolute silence of his edicts on this head is almost conclusive proof that he never contemplated any such step.

He assimilated, however, and in his inscriptions, deliberately strewn throughout his wide domain, formally and earnestly inculcated the close following by his people of the moral precepts of the Buddha. As was doubtless inevitable, the more radical teachings of the Buddha have no place in his scheme, which ignores the doctrine of transmigration and release.

What he insists on is the commonplace if salutary doctrine that good deeds will be rewarded by a happy life in the next world, evil deeds on the other hand meeting with just retribution. Nor can we ignore the fact that, while he insisted on the virtues of benevolence and tolerance towards men of different faith, he was led by his profound appreciation of Buddhism to actions incompatible with the spirit of the religion or creed whose teaching he professed to spread abroad. The rule that forbade the taking of the life of most animals for food or in sacrifice was strictly enjoined, and breaches of it might even have involved capital punishment for the offenders; but the king declined entirely to recognize that by thus hindering sacrifice he was offending the religious convictions of a vast section of his subjects and.

**TRIUMPH OF BUDDHIST SCULPTURE**

Near the stupa at Sarnath, where the Buddha delivered his first sermon, Asoka erected a monolith carrying an edict against schism. It stood about 50 feet high and was crowned by this magnificently carved and polished capital.

*Photo F. Deville Walker*

sowing the seeds of a bitter hatred between Brahmans and Buddhists, which might not otherwise have been brought into such fierce life.

Moreover, his institution of Censors of Morals, however well meant, can hardly have failed to place in the hands of unscrupulous officers powers of espionage and punishment which

**Asoka's treatment of Buddhism** the king had no means of controlling, and misuse of their authority

may have had much to do with the clear signs of reaction against Buddhism which can be observed at the close of his reign. It would be idle to deny the great impetus given to Buddhism by his patronage, which enriched the order and encouraged it to spread and develop its activities. It may, however, be doubted whether Asoka's intervention would have had such enduring results as it apparently did have, were it not that the fall of his empire in the incapable hands of his successors was contemporaneous with the beginning of Greek invasions and the inroads of foreigners from Iran and Turkistan, who found greater attractions in the more cosmopolitan and missionary religion of Buddhism than in the narrowly exclusive and national Brahmanism.

On the other hand, all credit is due to Asoka for his encouragement of the missionary efforts of the Buddhists, for as fate had it Buddhism was to find out of India a permanence of popularity denied to it in its own home. Yet it would be wrong to deduce from this fact that Buddhism was essentially a non-Indian religion or philosophy and to support the thesis by allusions to the possible Mongolian origin of the Buddha himself. The latter view rests on the merest conjecture, and, though Buddhism was ultimately to lose its hold on India, that was only after long centuries during which it had fertilised the fine

flower of Indian culture, and had produced so characteristically Indian a genius as the great logician Dignaga.

Yet another important service to Indian civilization was rendered by Buddhism, in that it induced Asoka to undertake such public benefactions as the planting of fruit and shade trees, the digging of wells and the erection of watering places and rest houses on the great high-roads, a legacy perhaps of Persian influence. He promoted the cultivation of medicinal herbs and roots even in foreign allied kingdoms, and hospitals for sick men and animals alike appear to have been included in his charity. Nor was this beneficence confined to Buddhists, for, if he lavished shrines and monasteries on them, he hewed caves out of solid rock for the Ajivika sect of naked ascetics, and Jains and Brahmans also seem to have

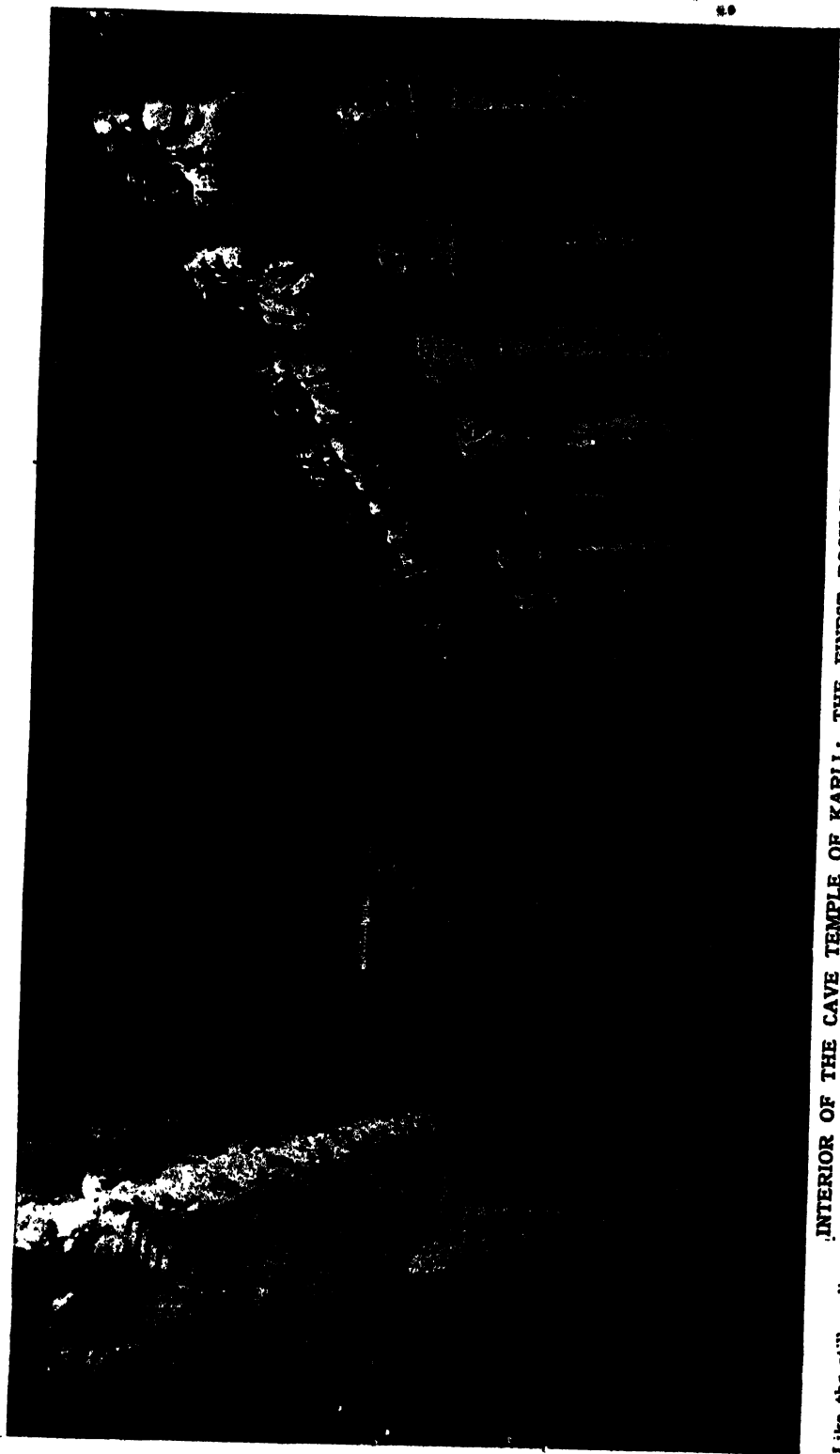


OLD BUDDHIST STORIES TOLD IN STONE

This medallion from Bharhut records the establishment of the monastery at Jetavana. Anathapindika (the central figure) bought the site for as much gold as would cover the whole ground. His servants are shown spreading the gold—brought in the bullock wagon at the bottom—over the garden.

From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'





**INTERIOR OF THE CAVE TEMPLE OF KARLI : THE FINEST ROCK-HEWN SHRINE IN INDIA**

Like the still earlier ascetics, the early mendicant Buddhists found shelter in the rainy season in the natural caves which later they elaborated into monasteries with shrines and temples. The finest of these is at Karli in the Western Ghats. It has a well-proportioned nave about the size of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, with massive pillars separating it from an enclosing aisle. The roof is of teak and of the same age as the temple. Under the dome of the apse, so set that the light falls on it from the great stone window over the entrance, is a solid, rock-hewn stupa symbolising the Buddha.

*Photo, F. Deasville Walker*

shared his largess. Yet in later life at least he seems to have become disquieted by schism within the Buddhist community, and by edict commanded the expulsion of dissidents from the order and its monasteries. Fortunately, little seems to have come of this vehement intervention in the internal affairs of the religious community, which could hardly have tended to promote good feeling or charity.

Evidence from external sources is still wanting to establish the existence of intellectual relations between the sages of India and the early thinkers of China, and it must, therefore, remain uncertain whether it was to the Brahmanical philosophy of India that China owes the doctrines of Lao-tze, whose birth tradition assigns to 604 or 570 B.C. Of his life we know little save that he was keeper of the archives at the court of an emperor of the Chou dynasty. Of his work we have nothing save sayings preserved, though not without interpolation, by his disciples, in the *Tao-Teh-King*, the *Book of the Tao and Teh*, in which, confusedly and obscurely, are set out his views on metaphysics and ethical and political questions. His younger contemporary, K'ung Fu-tze or Confucius, is alleged to have compared his enigmatic personality to that of the dragon whose flight through the cloud region baffles human comprehension, and, if we understand him better than did his contemporaries and later generations, it is because we are carried by his sayings to a world already made familiar to us by the thought of the Upanishads.

The 'Brahman' of the Indians is closely akin to the 'Tao' of Lao-tze; it is an absolute which is beyond the world but which is also essentially involved in the world; it is active, and is therefore Being whence spring all things that

are, but it is also 'Not-being', whence is derived its active aspect. It evades all expression, and existed undifferentiated and perfect before heaven and earth came into existence; before the Most High Lord it was. Man takes his norm from earth, earth from heaven, heaven from the Tao, but the Tao is a law to itself. It abides unchanging, pervading all, transcendent yet returning, beyond human sight, hearing or touch. Yet it manifests itself in a manner that is real, not a mere illusion imposed on us, as some Indian thinkers were bold enough to hold. This self-revelation is seen in the ordered flow, the way of nature, which the term Tao normally denoted in the



VESTIBULE OF THE KARLI CAVE TEMPLE

From an entrance hall three doorways pierced through the rock-hewn screen give admittance to the nave. The screen is part of the original work, dating from the beginning of the Christian era or earlier, but the elaborate carvings of elephants and human beings and the railings on its face are much later.

*Photo, F. Deauville Walker*



THE TOMB OF CONFUCIUS

Confucius died in 478 B.C. and was buried in the cemetery outside Kufow which holds the bones of all the Kung clan. His grave is on a tree-covered mound in a large, isolated rectangle. A statue before it is inscribed 'The Most Sagely Ancient Teacher; The All-accomplished, All-informed King.'

thought of the time. To Mân this revelation is fundamental, and hence the name Tao serves best to indicate that which is above and beyond all natural law, but which yet is the hidden source, the first principle, whence nature depends.

So far we are in the realm of speculation, but speculation was not the true interest of the Chinese mind, and Lao-tze was essentially true to the natural consciousness in this regard. He drew from his belief in the absolute his conclusions as to the duty of Man, and strangely did they conflict with the practical morals of the day, to which Confucius was about to give classical expression. Man, he urges, must assimilate himself to the life of the absolute; it strives, ~~not~~, but conquers without effort; heaven and earth are moved in their triumphant existence by no thought of benevolence, the good and the bad alike they treat like grass-dogs, the puppets thrown away after the sacrifice. It is idle folly to strive against the flow of the life of the universe; foolish also is the striving to acquire knowledge, to promote reforms; Man must accept as

his the movement of the life of the absolute and permit himself to be carried on by the current of the mighty river of being, not striving vainly to battle with the forces of universal law.

The wise man is no teacher, indeed he renounces knowledge; he is of vacant and stupid mien. He is no reformer, no Confucius seeking to inaugurate a better condition of life for his state; he does not in ignorant conceit or blind self-will set himself to put nature right. On the contrary, he cultivates gentleness, consoling himself when taunted with weakness by the simile of the water, which soft and feeble in itself yet destroys even the strongest and firmest things. He is contented; discontent with one's lot is the greatest of calamities, ambition the most heinous crime. Contentment is not without

honour, while the seeker after glory wears himself out in futile efforts, and wins only as his guerdon the contempt of his rivals. The wise man is frugal; and frugality has its own reward in the practice of generosity, whereas luxury leads to poverty and inability to help others. Moreover he is good, not merely to the good, as Confucius bids, but to the evil also, and his goodness is not the outcome of indifference, but has as motive the assurance that thus all will come to be good.

**Taoism in Theory  
and in Practice**

In this way, Lao-tze blends with the attitude of the Brahmanical teacher of the Upanishads the Buddhist ideal of passive good will towards mankind. He agrees with his rival Confucius in holding that the natural tendency of the Tao, the way of nature, is goodness, however vitally he may dissent from Confucius with regard to the method to be adopted in order to secure this end. On that head the difference of view is fundamental; benevolence, filial piety, political loyalty, righteousness, all are states generated merely in opposi-

tion to the emergence of vices through mankind's neglect of the rule of nature ; virtue is the outcome of a fall from grace and of disobedience to nature, which is our true self. If men would lay aside their sagacity and wisdom, abandon their benevolence and righteousness, cease from schemes and artful devices in the search for gain, then true love and kindness would be all-prevailing—not confined to family or state groups—and robbers and thieves would cease to be.

To rule a state wisely, Lao-tze taught, is a vain ideal ; in the primitive condition men knew no rulers, next they loved and praised them, then they came to hate, and now they despise them. Over-government is the bane of life ; the state multiplies laws, it encourages arts and crafts at the cost of crushing taxation, and it acts so firmly with steadfast belief in its own value that it will not be convinced that the best service it can render to men is to leave them alone. Popular education is utterly wrong ; it leads men

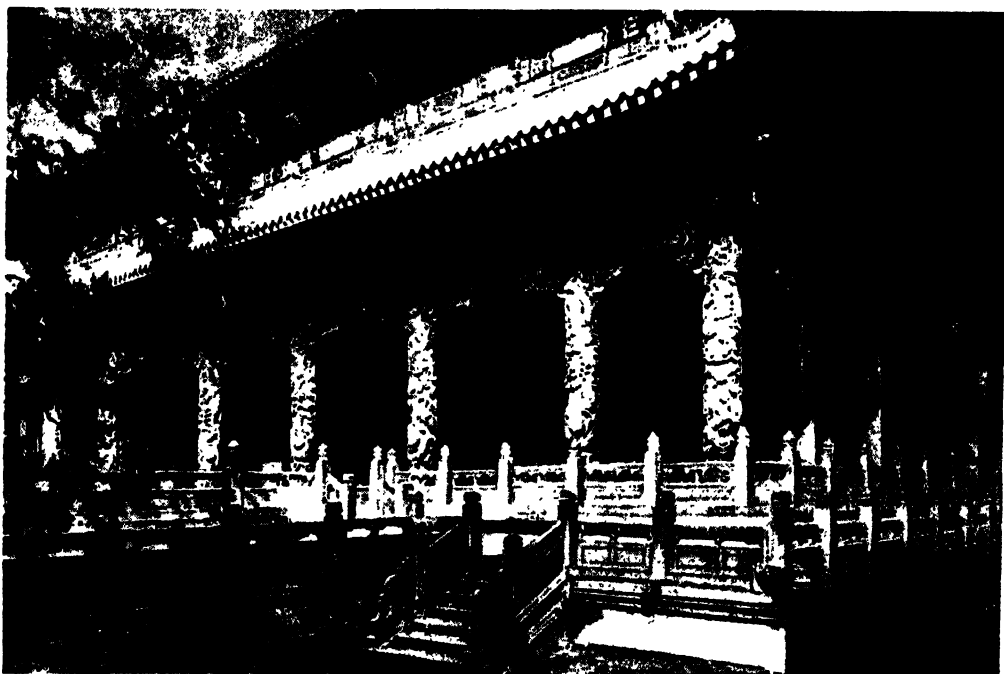
farther from the state of nature ; the wise ruler would empty the minds but fill the bellies of his peoples, weaken their wills but strengthen their bones. Forms of worship are idle ; spirits of the dead may do harm, but to avert their ill will by offerings is useless ; the true method to be adopted is to obey the law of nature, when the dead will have no power to harm.

A system of metaphysics so abstruse, a code of ethics so quietistic, and political nihilism coupled with a

wholly negative attitude *Mystical side of to religion, might seem Taoist Philosophy* to have little attraction

for any mind. But Lao-tze in the true spirit of the East found his consolation in the ineffable joy of the sense of being in communion with the absolute, nay more, of becoming the absolute at the moment when all sense of distinction between him and the object of his belief finally vanished.

This side of his doctrine is developed and expounded with greater precision by



TEMPLE THAT MARKS THE SITE OF CONFUCIUS' EARTHLY HOME

On the site of the old house of Confucius in the western section of Kūfow a little three-roomed temple was founded in the year of his death. Twelve hundred years later, in A.D. 739, it was replaced by the large and beautiful temple which, as renovated at long intervals, stands to-day. In its vast Hall of Ceremonial Practice the priests are trained in the difficult forms of ritual ceremony. In a courtyard is a pagoda tree perpetually self-renewed from one planted by Confucius.

*Photo, E.N.A.*



SHRINE AND ALTAR OF CONFUCIUS

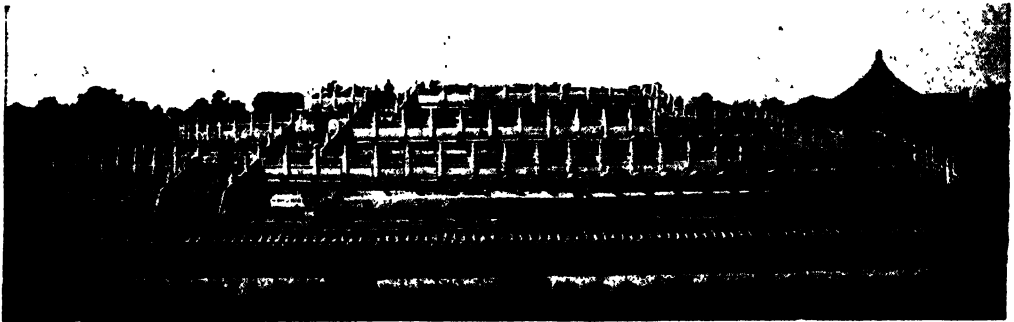
Inside the Confucian temple in Peking a laquered tablet set in an alcove is inscribed 'Tablet of the spirit of the Most Holy Ancestral Teacher Confucius.' The beams are hung with dedicatory inscriptions, one of which was pencilled by each succeeding emperor in token of his veneration for the sage.

the most famous of his disciples, Chuang-tze, a contemporary of Mencius, or Meng-tze, the follower of Confucius, in the fourth century B.C. To Chuang-tze the absolute is not merely, as to the Greek Heracleitus, the one in whose unity all differences are resolved; he passes beyond the mere intellectualism of such a conception to the sense of the mystic unity

not take away life, and where prolongation of existence adds nothing to the duration of life.

The parallelism with Buddhist views is striking, and all but compels belief in derivation, and it is significant that Chuang-tze reminds us in other respects of Indian lore. Life, he insists, is but an illusion: 'Confucius and you are both

of the self and the eternal being; Man comes into existence together with the universe; all things are one with him and with it. Man loves God and looks upon him as his father; shall he not love still more that whence God has sprung? The wise men of old knew whence they had come, whither they would go, and showed no haste to end their lives; the eternal, they felt, was existing in and through them, and in the appointed time they would be merged with it. But in life it is also possible for the adept to experience consciousness of unity with the eternal. Man can in meditation attain the state of etherialisation, thence proceed to the possession of perfect knowledge, then ascend to the place where past or present is unknown, and finally enter there where life and death are no more, where killing does



CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE: THE ALTAR OF HEAVEN AT PEKING

T'ien T'an, the Altar of Heaven, is the most sacred of all Chinese religious structures. It consists of three circular terraces with marble balustrades, and staircases at the four cardinal points. The upper platform is paved with marble stones in nine concentric circles, figuring as many heavens, and an altar open to the sky stands in the centre. Here at dawn on the winter solstice the Emperors, deemed to be in the centre of the universe, acknowledged inferiority to Heaven and to Heaven alone.

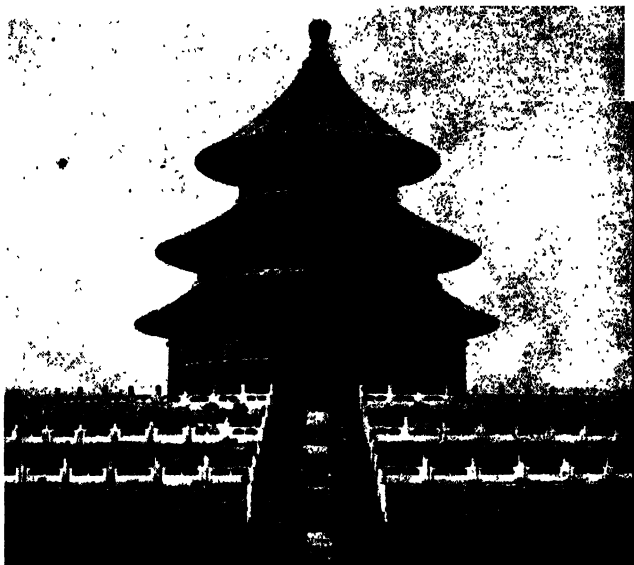
Photo E.N.A.L.

dreams and I who say you are dreams—I am no more than a dream myself.' Again, he recounts his dream that he was but a butterfly unconscious of his human state, and his awakening to a realization of his apparent manhood; 'between a man and a butterfly there is necessarily a barrier. The transition is called metempsychosis.'

A mysticism of this character is adapted only to meet the needs of speculative minds, and to afford a basis for the life of a recluse. But Taoism was fated to win popularity and to become of high importance as a factor in Chinese religious development on the strength of matters, strictly speaking, extraneous to it. The popular mind attributed to the recluses the secret of prolonging life indefinitely, and the even more useful power of command over the metals of the earth, which they could transmute at will—gifts that some of them were doubtless ready to claim. Theosophy united itself, as in India, with alchemy, and by the second century B.C. the search for the philosopher's stone which could transmute base metals into gold, and for the elixir of immortality, were definitely linked with Taoism and gave it imperial patronage and widespread popularity.

The doctrines of Lao-tze himself were clearly not such as accorded with the interests of the mundane state. Empiric knowledge was sacrificed in it to a premature synthesis, which had the fatal disadvantage of resulting in conclusions hostile to the encouragement of social virtues, and inculcating the superior joys of a life of selfish contemplation. There is conscious and deliberate antagonism to this gospel of negation in the robust, if uninspired, positivism of Confucius.

It is characteristic that we are definitely informed of the circumstances of his life. He was born in 551 B.C. in the small state of Lu, in the region now known as Shan-



THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN

In the Southern City of Peking the Temple of Heaven, towering to a height of 99 feet, with triple roof covered with glazed tiles of deep cobalt blue, is the most conspicuous object. Its Chinese name means 'Temple of Prayer for the Year,' and here, early in spring, offerings were made for a propitious year.

tung. Twenty years later he entered the administrative service, and in 517 paid a visit to Loyang, then the capital of the empire, where he delighted his love of ceremonial by studying at first hand the mode of performance of the imperial sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. In 501 he was appointed governor of the city of Chang-tu, which he speedily transformed into an abode of virtue, if we may believe the account of his followers. His sovereign was struck by his success, and advanced him to the rank of minister of justice.

Faithfully did he fulfil his duties; he restored the prestige of the ducal house and curbed the arrogance of private families; dissoluteness and dishonesty fled ashamed, loyalty and good faith flourished among men, as did docility and chastity among women. But so much success earned the jealousy of neighbouring princes, who saw in the reforms of Confucius a menace to their prosperity; presents of horses and dancing girls seduced the ruler to withdraw his countenance from the sage, who tardily and reluctantly realized that he must retire from the place in which he had ceased to command respect. Henceforth, until he was

recalled to Lu in 484, he lived a wandering life, as he visited court after court in the hope that at last he might find a prince wise enough to trust him to inaugurate the reforms which, he remained assured, would accomplish something substantial in twelve months and in three years would perfect the government. He died in 478, having in his last years completed the work of collection of the ancient scriptures at which, it is probable, he laboured even in the earlier years of his life, before he had succeeded in winning ducal favour.

As later arranged, the Confucian literature includes the five Canonical Books and the four Classics. The former are the Shu King, the book of historical documents, the Shi King, the book of poetry, the Yi King, a manual of divination, the Li King, on rites and ceremonies, and the Ch'un-ch'iu, a summary account of the history of Lu from 722 to 481, this last composed by himself. His conversations

as recorded by disciples form the first of the Classics, the **Life story of Confucius** Lun Yu; to his disciples or his grandson are ascribed the second and third, the Ta-Hsio, Great Teaching, and the Chun Yung, Doctrine of the Mean, while the fourth is the Meng-tze, or Mencius, the work of the best known of his followers, Mencius (372-289 B.C.).

The importance of Confucius lies not in his individuality, but in the completeness with which he expounded the ideal of his countrymen. The amazing influence of the Confucian texts on posterity can be explained only by the fact that the views expressed were essentially akin to the characteristic Chinese spirit, though great importance must be allowed to his services in interpreting that spirit in so clear and enduring a form.

The risk that a tradition so weighty would crush out originality and life from Chinese thought and action was fully recognized by the emperor Shih Hwang Ti (246-210 B.C.). When, after long struggles, he erected a centralised and effective empire on the ruins of the loose feudalism which had prevailed, he ordered the destruction of the Shi King and the Shu King, and imposed the death penalty on those who kept or even discussed these works, commanding that treatises on

medicine, agriculture and divination alone should be studied. But the death of the emperor in 210 and the fall of his dynasty removed the ban, while his persecution, so far from effecting his purpose, had conferred on the Confucian books an authority which they had not yet attained throughout the empire. The scholars of the early Han period (206 B.C.—A.D. 8) jealously collected the texts, the Li King was reconstructed, and China was presented with a body of doctrine, coherent and persuasive, which, for good or evil, has deeply impressed itself on its whole intellectual, social and political life.

Lao-tze was primarily a metaphysician; Confucius appears to have had an aversion, worthy of Herbert Spencer, from pure philosophy, and to have been wholly devoid of religious feeling. He inculcates indeed the whole array of ceremonial with its precise arrangements for sacrifices public and private, the former carried out not by a priestly caste, as in India, but by high officials, the latter by the head of each clan. The emperor sacrificed to Heaven and Earth, to mountains and great rivers, to the spirits of the soil and the crops of the empire as a whole; his feudal vassals paid homage to the genius of their territories, to the spirits of the soil and crops in their states, and to the mountains and rivers under their dominion. In each village the representatives of the families or clans gathered to sacrifice to the spirits of the soil and crops, and the head of each clan in his courtyard made offering to the spirits of the family fields. Moreover, the emperor, his vassals and his high officials made periodic sacrifice to the five penates, the guardian spirits of the door, the furnace, the central court, the gate and the path, while the heads of families had to content themselves with offering either to the spirit of the door or to that of the furnace.

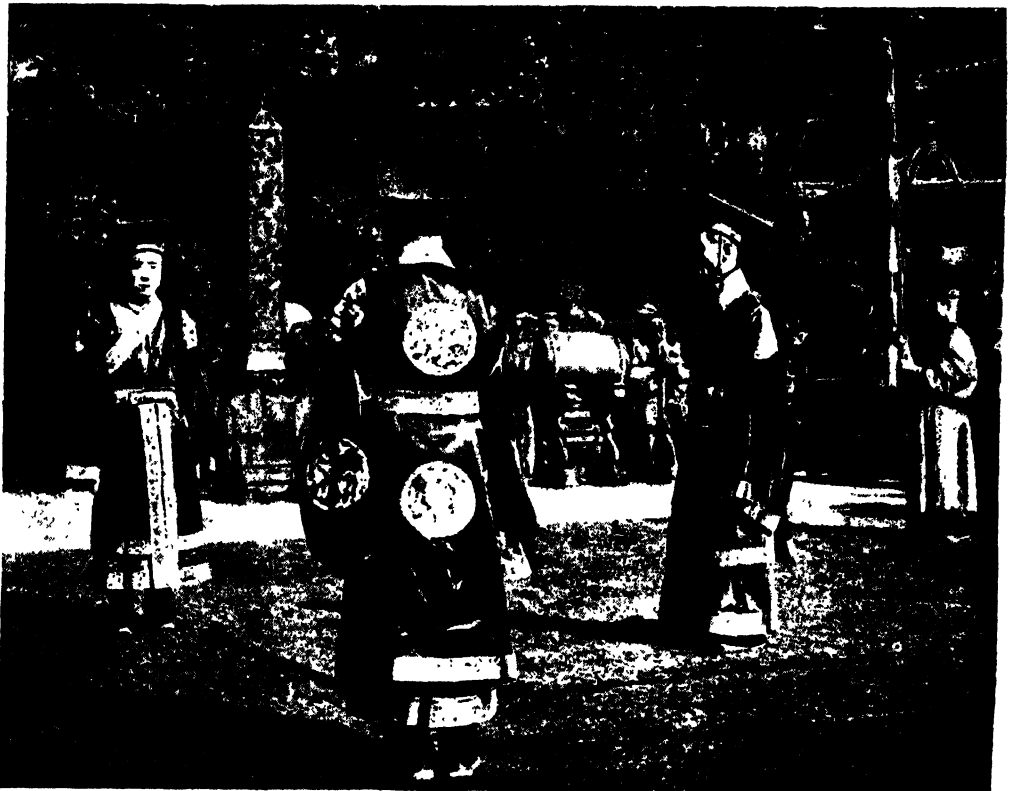
**Affinity to the Chinese Spirit**

But the comparatively limited character of the participation of the people in the ritual was made good by their devotion to the spirits of the dead, who received the most ample recognition indeed in the public ceremonial, but formed the essential feature of the worship of the people. Confucius, however, while he clearly

believed passionately in the necessity of the ritual, shows no trace of religious emotion. Heaven, it seems clear, had come to be regarded by many Chinese as a true personal divinity, the sovereign on high, the supreme power which guards and guides the destiny of men. But Confucius, while he renders to the gods the homage due, divorces them entirely from his moral precepts, taking in fact as little heed of them in this regard as if they were the capricious and often immoral deities of the poetic imagination of the Greeks. Nor does he merely ignore them; he seems to have displayed towards them a profound agnosticism; it is wisdom, he holds, for a man to know that he is aware of the exact extent of his own knowledge, and, similarly, that he appreciates the measure of his own ignorance, and how can a man know anything of

Heaven when it is so hard to know even what passes on the earth? In similar strain in his conversations he avoided touching on the action of spirits, for in his view little or nothing was to be gained for moral edification from their vagaries.

What is perhaps more astonishing in a mind so imbued with respect for the life of the family is his unwillingness to allow emotion to obtrude into the worship of the ancestral spirits, which might well have seemed to him far more real than the spirits of nature. He demands that the ancestors shall be worshipped from a respectful distance with dignified moderation and calm. Nor would he even consent to answer the inquiries made of him regarding life after death. 'If I tell you,' he said, 'that the dead have consciousness, then loving sons will take their lives in order to rejoin their dead parents; if I



#### SACRIFICIAL SERVICE OF IMMEMORIAL ANTIQUITY

Twice a year, in spring and autumn, Confucius is honoured in the Hall of Great Perfection in Peking by sacrifices at which all the high officials of the Government still assist. On this occasion ritual vestments, musical instruments and sacrificial vessels of immemorial antiquity are used, and a prescribed number of solemn kow-tows is made before the great moralist's memorial tablet—a remarkable proof of the innate religious conservatism of the Chinese.





## CHINESE RITUAL VESSEL

Chinese sacrificial wine vessels were given a great variety of forms. This early bronze 'rhinoceros' vase of the Chou dynasty has a hinged cover on the back and a spout at the mouth. The wooden stand represents water-plants and rocks.

*Victoria and Albert Museum*

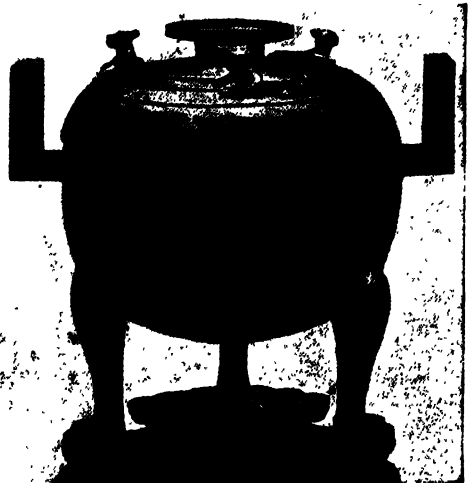
say that they have none, impious children will not even bury their dead.' This is the voice of a sober rationalism in which we can discern no real belief in the continued existence of Man when his brief life is over.

But in this life we have definite duties to perform, for Confucius has no difficulty in building upon the facts of the simple patriarchal family, which still dominated the social life of China, a definite scheme of morals. All rests on the empiric fact—as true in modern as in ancient China—of filial love; in it we have a fundamental reality which explains not merely the duties of children to parents, but those of the subjects to the king, of the citizens to those set in authority, of the living to the dead, of soldiers to their country, of all men to the heavenly sovereign; Man owes it to his ancestors to transmit to his descendants the moral inheritance he has received from them. Nor, of course, is the relationship one-sided: the duty of the father to the son is the model for the reciprocal duties owed by all those to whom filial piety is extended. If we ask the source of this piety, we find at once that it is innate; the desire to do good is an essential part of Man's nature, and it is the duty of education to enable this innate goodness to survive the attacks made on it by passion.

Duty to neighbours may seem a little less easy to subsume under filial piety, but

Confucius holds that the result of the performance of pious duties is a prevailing benevolence which engenders and is promoted by harmony among men standing to one another in relations of equality. But to Confucius benevolence is something very different from the passionate charity of some forms of Christianity, or even the universal good will of the Buddhist. It is essentially based on reciprocity; do to others as you would be done by, but requite evil by evil; good must not be wasted on those unworthy of it. Lao-tze had bidden men requite injury with kindness, but Confucius asked contemptuously with what, then, was kindness to be requited, and commanded instead that injury should be met with justice. And the justice of the day was often the primitive blood feud; the son whose father's or mother's blood cries out for vengeance must determine not to live under the same heaven with the murderer; he must lie on straw with his shield for his pillow and his sword ready to his hand. Does not Heaven deal thus with men, requiting evil with evil?

We have, therefore, a Confucian ideal of the perfect man—one whose natural goodness has been made second nature by steadfast purpose and skilled training.



## USED IN THE ERA OF CONFUCIUS

Bronze sacrificial utensils figure largely in the rituals of the Chou dynasty, to which epoch this vessel for meat offerings belongs. The tripod and three oxen on the lid explain its name, San Hsi T'ing, 'tripod of three victims.'

*Victoria and Albert Museum*

Whatever this ideal may lack in spirituality, it is more human, less artificial, than the ideal type which the Stoics in Greece were about to set up for imitation and admiration. It was inevitable that it should be attacked, and in the fourth century B.C. Yang Chu advanced boldly the doctrine of materialistic hedonism. He denied that there was any life after death—and here, we may suspect, his thought was in agreement with the real belief of Confucius—but he drew from that premiss the dubious conclusion that purely selfish enjoyment of sensual pleasure was the one aim for mankind, concurring therein with the Charvaka school of ancient and medieval India. Perhaps in deliberate protest against so unworthy a creed, Moh Tih developed the doctrine of the all-conquering power of love. If Man would but love his neighbour as himself, none would steal, none rob, none slay; princes would not attack their fellow princes, men of eminence would not despise the humble; and, as a practical beginning of the new regime, Moh Tih urged princes to influence their peoples by adopting the doctrine as the guiding principle of their polity.

Either of the new doctrines was distasteful to the true spirit of Confucianism, and it fell to Mencius to refute them. Both he roundly declared were anarchic; both utterly confused right and wrong;

both would reduce men to the state of beasts without sense of duty to king or parent; both would banish righteousness and benevolence from the world. Mencius strove also with effective logic, during his travels from court to court, to inculcate the truth of the essential goodness of human nature. He had to contend with those who asserted its essential badness and proneness to evil, like Siun K'uang, a younger contemporary; with others who declared that it was morally indifferent and dependent solely on circumstances; and with yet others who maintained that some men were innately good, some evil, as when a good father had a degraded and vicious son. Mencius insisted that analysis showed that Man's mind was permeated by moral feelings, sympathy

and pity, shame and abhorrence, respect and reverence, approbation and disapprobation, whence sprang benevolence, righteousness, intelligence and knowledge, which thus were not acquired virtues but were innate in the human mind. But he insists also on the advantage of moral training, in order to develop these innate tendencies and to realize the full worth of Man.

Mencius seems to have had no desire to imitate Confucius in seeking to put his political principles to the test of practice, but he displays shrewdness and acumen in the advice which he is

said to have given to the **Political System** princes whom he visited, **Based on Ethics** and the brief dialogues

which have been handed down to us remind us of the Socratic manner as recorded by the well-meaning Xenophon. He bids a prince discard from his mind the idea of profit in his dealing with his subjects, since such a conception adopted by others leads to competition and ruin, and to rely instead on the maxims of benevolence and righteousness. He sketches a system which is sound if unimaginative.

The ruler, Mencius advised, should secure peace abroad and order at home; he should not harass the people by labour on public works, by which they are forced to leave their homes and neglect the tillage of their fields; he must not burden them with many and complex taxes, but he must strive in every way to promote agriculture, on which then as long after rested the prosperity of the Chinese states. He bitterly denounces those rulers who excite rebellion by neglect of the economic welfare of their people, and he boldly asserts the right of the princes and ministers of a sovereign to remonstrate with him on account of his misrule, and if he fail to mend his ways to remove him from the throne. A better logician than Confucius, his influence in securing the spread of his master's doctrines was notable; he set the example of seeking to elaborate political theory on the basis of the ethical principles of the school, and his breadth of view is reflected in the fact that both conservative and socialistic reformers in later times claimed to erect their systems on his doctrine.

# TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE V

*Unless otherwise stated in Italics, dates refer to events in the Greek world*

- B.C.**
- 479** Athenians and Ionians capture Sestus. Spartan hegemony in Greece, Athenian maritime hegemony.
- 478** Athens refortified (Themistocles). Hieron succeeds Gelon as Tyrant of Syracuse. *China*: Death of Confucius.
- 477-6** Intrigues of Pausanias.
- 477** Delian Confederation framed (Aristides).
- 474** *Italy*: Etruscan sea power crushed by Hieron at Cumae. Forty years' peace between Rome and Veii (Etruscan).
- 471** Themistocles exiled. *Rome*: Volscian and Aequian wars.
- 470** Secession of Naxos from Delian League.
- 468** Suppression of Naxos and of right of secession. Birth of Socrates.
- 467** Cimon's victory by land and sea at the Eurymedon.
- 466** End of tyrannis at Syracuse. Democracy set up.
- 465** *Persia*: accession of Artaxerxes I.
- 464** Messenian (Helot) revolt against Sparta; Siege of Ithome.
- 462** Democratic reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles at Athens. Spartans dismiss Cimon from Ithome.
- 461** Ostracism of Cimon. Ascendancy of Pericles at Athens. Ephialtes assassinated.
- 460** *Egypt*: Inarus, in revolt against Persia, appeals to Athens for help.
- 459** Megara joins Athens. War with Corinth and Aegina. Fall of Ithome. Messenians settled at Naupactus by Athenians.
- 457** *Egypt*: Athenian expedition captures Memphis. Long Walls complete fortification of Athens. Athenians conquer Boeotia though defeated at Tanagra by Spartans, who retire. Athenians conquer Aegina.
- 455** *Egypt*: Persians under Megabazus reconquer Egypt.
- 454** Disastrous end of Egyptian expedition. Transfer of Delian League Treasury to Athens.
- 451** Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta. Cimon at Athens. Birth of Alcibiades. *Rome*: First Decemvirate; the Ten Tables.
- 450** Death of Cimon. Battle of (Cypriote) Salamis. *Rome*: The Ten Tables expanded to Twelve.
- 449** *Rome*: Fall of Decemvirate. Legend of Virginia. Second secession of the Plebs; Valerio-Horatian Laws strengthen Plebeian Assembly.
- 448** Peloponnesians reject Athenian proposal of a Pan-Hellenic Congress for restoring Temples.
- 447** Battle of Coronea. Athens loses Boeotia. Peace of (Callias) with Persia ends Persian War?
- 446** Revolt of Megara and Euboea; Euboea reduced.
- 445** Thirty Years' Peace: Athens loses her mainland conquests. Aristophanes born. *Rome*: Canuleian Law sanctions marriage between patricians and plebeians.
- 443** Mixed colony of Thurii (Pericles). Ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias. *Rome*: Institution of Censorship.
- 441** Revolt of Samos.
- 439** Reduction of Samos.
- 438** The Parthenon. Pheidias flourishes. *Rome*: End of Etruscan truce. War with Veii.
- 437** Athenian colony at Amphipolis.
- 435** War between Corinth and Corcyra.
- 433** Alliance of Athens and Corcyra. Battle of Sybota.
- 432** Revolt of Potidaea from Athens. Megarian decree of Pericles. Peloponnesian congress. Theban attack on Plataea. Spartan invasion of Attica. Peloponnesian War. First (annual) Athenian Invasion of Megarid. *Rome*: Defeat of Volsci and Aequi at Mount Algidus.
- 430** Second Spartan invasion; plague at Athens; attacks on Pericles. Phormio at Naupactus. Surrender of Potidaea. Plato born?
- 429** Death of Pericles. Cleon leader of war-party. Siege of Plataea by Lacedaemonians.
- 428** Revolt of Mitylene.
- 427** Fall of Mitylene and Plataea. Corcyrean civil war. Ineffective expedition of Laches to Sicily.
- 426** Demosthenes in Aetolia. *Rome*: Pressure of Gauls on Etruria. Etruscan truce with Rome after defeat of Veii and Fidenae.
- 425** Massacre of the Oligarchs in Corcyra. Demosthenes at Pylos. Surrender of Spartans in Sphacteria. *Persia*: Death of Artaxerxes I; Xerxes II, followed by Darius II.
- 424** Athenian invasion of Boeotia and defeat at Delium; Socrates saves life of Alcibiades. Brasidas in Thrace. Revolt of Amphipolis. Congress at Gela, led by Hermocrates, rejects Sicilian interference by or with mainland states. *Italy*: Samnites invading Campania seize Capua. Brasidas and Cleon killed before Amphipolis.
- 422** Peace of Nicias between Athens and Sparta, whose allies repudiate the terms.
- 421** Athenian alliance with Argos (at war with Sparta). Argive defeat at Mantinea, and revolution.
- 418** Melian expedition; seizure of Melos by Athens.
- 415** Segestan embassy to Athens, against Selinus. Desecration of the Hermae. Sicilian Expedition sails under Nicias, Alcibiades and Lamachus. Alcibiades, recalled, intrigues against Athens.
- 414** Siege of Syracuse. Arrival of Gylippus; death of Lamachus.
- 413** Sparta declares war and occupies Declea. Demosthenes at Syracuse. Athenian force annihilated. Sparta builds a fleet. Growth of Macedonian power under Archelaus. *India*: Nanda Dynasty in Magadha.
- 412** Revolts of Athenian subject-allies in succession. Sparta intrigues with Persian satraps. Advanced democracy in Syracuse; Diocles. Oligarchic revolution at Athens; the fleet at Samos, loyal to democracy, recalls Alcibiades.
- 411** Battle of Cyzicus. Athenian democracy restored. Banishment of Hermocrates from Syracuse.
- 410** Carthaginian advance in Sicily. Hermocrates at Selinus.
- 408** Death of Hermocrates. Lysander in Asia; relations with Cyrus.
- 406** Athenian victory at Arginusae. Carthaginian advance against Syracuse. *Rome*: Renewal of Etruscan war; siege of Veii.
- 405** Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; makes peace with Carthage. Athenian fleet destroyed at Aegospotami.
- 404** Fall of Athens; the Thirty Tyrants. End of Peloponnesian War. Spartan supremacy. *Persia*: Accession of Artaxerxes II.
- 403** Thrasybulus restores Athenian Democracy.
- 401** *Persia*: Revolt of Cyrus; battle of Cunaxa. Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, led by Xenophon.
- 400** Extending power of Dionysius in Sicily.
- 399** Sparta at war with Elis and with Persian Satraps. Death of Socrates.
- 398** First Carthaginian war of Dionysius in Sicily.
- 397** Siege of Syracuse by Himilco. Peace made.
- 396** Agesilaus in Phrygia. *Rome*: Capture of Veii by Camillus.
- 395** Recovery of Athens.
- 394** Canon in command of Persian fleet; Cnidus. Corinthian war. Spartan victories at Nemea and Coronea.
- 393** Canon at Athens with Pharnabazus.
- 392** Athenian successes. Iphicrates and his peltasts. Successes of Dionysius against Carthaginians.
- 390** Dionysius in Italy; fails before Rhegium. Alliance of Dionysius with Lucanians. *Rome*: Battle of Allia; Gauls sack Rome.
- 389** Battle of Elleporus; Italiote cities join Dionysius.
- 387** Dionysius takes Rhegium.
- 386** Sparta and Persia negotiate and impose the King's Peace or Peace of Antalcidas. Birth of Aristotle.
- 384** Second Carthaginian war of Dionysius.
- 382** Spartans garrison Acropolis of Thebes. Chalcidian League. Olynthian war begins. Liberation of Thebes. Chalcidian League crushed.
- 379** War of Sparta and Thebes. Athens joins Thebes.
- 378** Spartan fleet defeated at Naxos. Power of Thessaly under Jason of Pherae. Spartans defeated at Orchomenus by Pelopidas.
- 374** New Athenian League.
- 371** Victory of Epaminondas at Leuctra. Theban supremacy. Arcadian League.
- 370** Thebans invade Peloponnese. Messene founded.
- 369** Megalopolis founded. Alexander of Phrae.
- 367** Dionysius II succeeds Dionysius I at Syracuse. *Rome*: Licinian Laws passed; political equality of the orders established.
- 366** Rivalry of Athenian and Theban influence in Macedon and Thessaly.
- 364** Death of Pelopidas.
- 362** Victory and death of Epaminondas at Mantinea.

## Chronicle V

### THE RIVAL CITIES: 478—360 B.C.

**T**HE great struggle recorded in Chronicle IV was a critical stage in the history of progress. It was decisive of the question whether the system of the great Oriental empire should be extended over Europe, or Europe should develop on its own lines. The East put forth its great effort, and was defeated. Presently we shall find the most advanced division of Europe putting forth its counter-effort to bring the East under its own domination.

What we have immediately before us, however, is the interval of western development which led up to the second conflict. The West has proved itself capable of such a degree, but only just such a degree, of unification as to enable it to defeat the attempt at absorption. It has set a bound to the world empire of Persia. Can it attain such a unity as will bring world empire within the scope of its own powers? In other words, is Hellas capable of political consolidation? The genius of Cyrus and Darius has achieved a quite amazing unification of the East; but that has already reached its limit, and there are in it the seeds of disintegration. Should such imperial development take place in Hellas, there is little enough prospect of a corresponding and counteracting political development in the Oriental empire.

#### Aftermath in West and East

**T**HE battles of Salamis and Plataea together decided the war, and the decision was confirmed by the victory at Mycale and the capture of Sestus. The battle of Himera was decisive of the war between the Sicilian Greeks or Siceliotes and the Carthaginians—so decisive that it needed no confirmation. But of both wars there was an aftermath, with which it is convenient to deal first before turning to internal Greek affairs.

Syracuse had defeated Carthage, but without driving her off the seas; and another power still claimed predominance

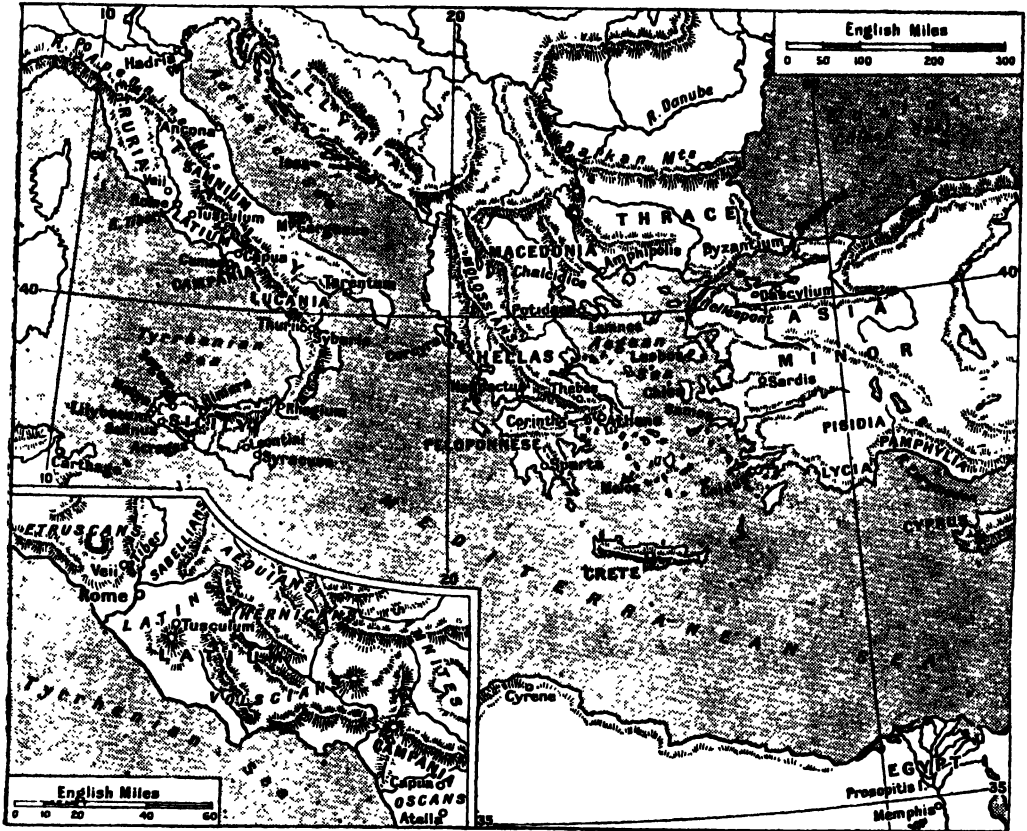
in the Tyrrhenian waters. The Etruscans, checked in Latium and conscious of danger threatening from the prosperous Greek communities of the south, turned predatory eyes on their most northerly city, Cumae, and attacked it. Cumae appealed to Syracuse for aid against the barbarian. Hieron, now reigning there in succession to his brother Gelon, answered the call; and Etruria's fleet was shattered and her sea power broken at the naval battle of Cyme or Cumae in 474. The blow struck by the Syracusan also probably decided another struggle with which she did not concern herself, the struggle for supremacy on the mainland between Etruscan and Latin.

#### Continuation of the Persian War

**I**N the east the Persian war, viewed as a war of Persian expansion, ended with the battle about Mount Cithaeron which has always borne the name of the neighbouring city of Plataea. Viewed, however, as a war for the liberation of Hellenes from barbarian domination, it would not be over till the cities and islands of Ionia were in full possession of independence; and that was not yet secured, though a great step had been taken in that direction, even when the fleet captured Sestus.

The part played by the Ionians in the struggle gave them a strong moral claim on the aid of their kinsmen in Europe, a claim which Sparta as the recognized leader of the Greeks could not entirely ignore; but her recognition of it was of so perfunctory a character—of all the Peloponnesians not one was disposed to any further effort after their own safety was secured—that she could offer no opposition when the Ionians placed themselves under the willing leadership of Athens, whose primacy among the maritime states was indisputable. A war for the liberation of Ionia must necessarily be, primarily at least, a maritime war.

As head of the new 'Delian Confederation,' Athens at once became, in fact if not



#### THE GREEK WORLD IN WHICH ATHENS SOUGHT TO BUILD HER EMPIRE

Civilized Europe after the Persian war was divided into very many small city states, but there were only three powers, all Greek, of any magnitude: Syracuse, Sparta, Athens. The Sicilian Greeks, under Syracusan leadership, had defeated Carthage and shattered the Etruscan navy; the league of which Sparta was the centre was the supreme military power in Greece; while Athens, as head of the Delian Confederation with its navy, was mistress of the Aegean Sea.

in name, the rival of Sparta in the hegemony of Hellas. Broadly speaking, the result was that the Hellenic world found itself drawn into one or the other of two groups, a maritime confederacy dominated by Athens and a continental confederacy dominated by Sparta. At the same time most of the states in the one group were or supposed themselves to be Dorian, in the other Ionian; and states which felt a special jealousy for individual reasons towards Athens or towards Sparta also affected the grouping.

Moreover, in almost every Greek state there was a democratic faction and an oligarchic faction; Sparta always encouraged where she could not impose oligarchies, Athens democracies; and a transfer of allegiance from one group to the other was the almost inevitable

accompaniment of an oligarchic victory in a democratic state, or of a democratic victory in an oligarchic state. Thus the internal dissensions in the several states always threatened to be a disintegrating factor; while in any league whatsoever every individual member was ready to resent any curtailment of its own unfettered freedom of action at the bidding of any external authority.

In its immediate intention, however, the new maritime confederacy was simply a league for carrying on the Persian war until all Hellas should be free, to which end it was necessary that an Hellenic navy should be mistress of the Aegean waters; for every city or island on the eastern Aegean the thing was vital. The work was practically completed in 467, by Cimon the son of Miltiades. Xerxes apparently contem-

## The Rival Cities

plated a great effort for the recovery of maritime supremacy, the northern Aegean having by now been wholly lost. Cimon, however, at the head of a large fleet sailed the southern waters, brought the cities of the south as well as of the west coast of Asia Minor—of Caria, Lycia and (Dorian) Pamphylia—into the Confederation, and in the neighbourhood of the river Eurymedon shattered on land the Persian forces and on the sea annihilated a Phoenician fleet of two hundred sail.

But the need of maintaining the Greek navy under the direction of Athens was, of course, in no wise diminished by Cimon's victory. For practical purposes the navy of the Confederation by this time had almost become the navy of Athens.

The transformation did not spring from a conscious project of empire on the part of Athens, though that project may well have been in the mind of Themistocles, whose genius created the Athenian fleet

and taught Athens that her future was on the seas. The scheme may have been inspired by Themistocles; but the organization of the Confederation was the work of Aristides, and its operations were conducted by Cimon the son of Miltiades—the one a man whom all men trusted, the other a most loyal Athenian patriot, but also a most loyal friend and admirer of Sparta. For both of these the Confederation was what it professed to be, a league for the liberation of Hellas from the power of the common foe, the Barbarian; unconsciously they made it an instrument for the aggrandisement of Athens.

The explanation scarcely presents difficulty. Lack of unity had all but wrought disaster; for a new campaign there must be unity not merely of aim but of method. A single high command, a common war-chest and a regulated standard for contribution in ships, men and money were essential to success. The treasury was



### HEADQUARTERS OF THE CONFEDERATION THAT BECAME THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

The league of Greek cities known as the Delian Confederation had its name from the island of Delos, where its treasury was established. In the temple of Apollo, to whom the island was sacred, the synod of the Confederation met to transact its business under the presidency of Athens. Here we look from the central heights of Delos towards the strait that separates it from Rheneia; in the foreground are the ruins of the semicircular theatre and adjacent buildings.

*From 'Pictureque Greece,' Fisher Unwin, Ltd.*

deposited at Delos, which gave its name to the Confederation ; questions were settled by the representatives of the member-states in council, under Athenian presidency, each state, large or small, having one vote. The bigger states contributed ships, the smaller states ship-money ; larger states that preferred to follow the second course were allowed to do so ; the apportionment of the contributions was entrusted by universal consent to Aristides ; and, since the ships representing the ship-money were provided by Athens and remained an integral part of the Athenian navy, the practical effect was that the Confederation paid Athens to enlarge her own fleet.

Pressure, again, was inevitably brought to bear on all the islanders to join and take their share in maintaining the Confederation, to whose activities they owed their security. Those that joined under pressure were always on the paying and not the ship-providing list. The federal principle, denying the right of secession, was soon laid down and enforced. The paying states, to which in the first instance at least Athens appeared in the character of a protector, were in fact her clients or dependents from the beginning ; and thus she was able always to control a majority of the votes on the council.

#### Delian Confederation subordinate to Athens

**T**HE complete subordination of the Confederation to Athens became obvious some years later when (in 454) the treasury was removed from Delos to Athens and placed under her sole control. By that time the Athenian confederacy embraced the whole of Asiatic Hellas, most of the ports on the north coast of the Aegean and all the islands, including at last Aegina. Lesbos, Chios and Samos alone enjoyed comparative independence, not having commuted their contribution of ships for payment of money. States which had been coerced into joining or remaining in the Confederation had for the most part been deprived of the autonomy which all had enjoyed at the outset. Officially the Confederation was still an alliance ; actually it was an Athenian Empire.

The specific purpose for which the Delian Confederation had been created was

achieved at the battle of the Eurymedon. Though after the battle the war with Persia remained in being, it languished until the growing power of Athens tempted her into a daring act of direct aggression against the Barbarian empire which was too ambitious for her strength, since she was at the same time engaged heavily elsewhere. The murder of Xerxes and the succession of his son Artaxerxes (Ahasuerus) in 465 was, as usual, an encouragement to revolts in the Persian empire. In 460, at the invitation of the Libyan Inarus, a great Athenian fleet sailed to take part in the liberation of Egypt.

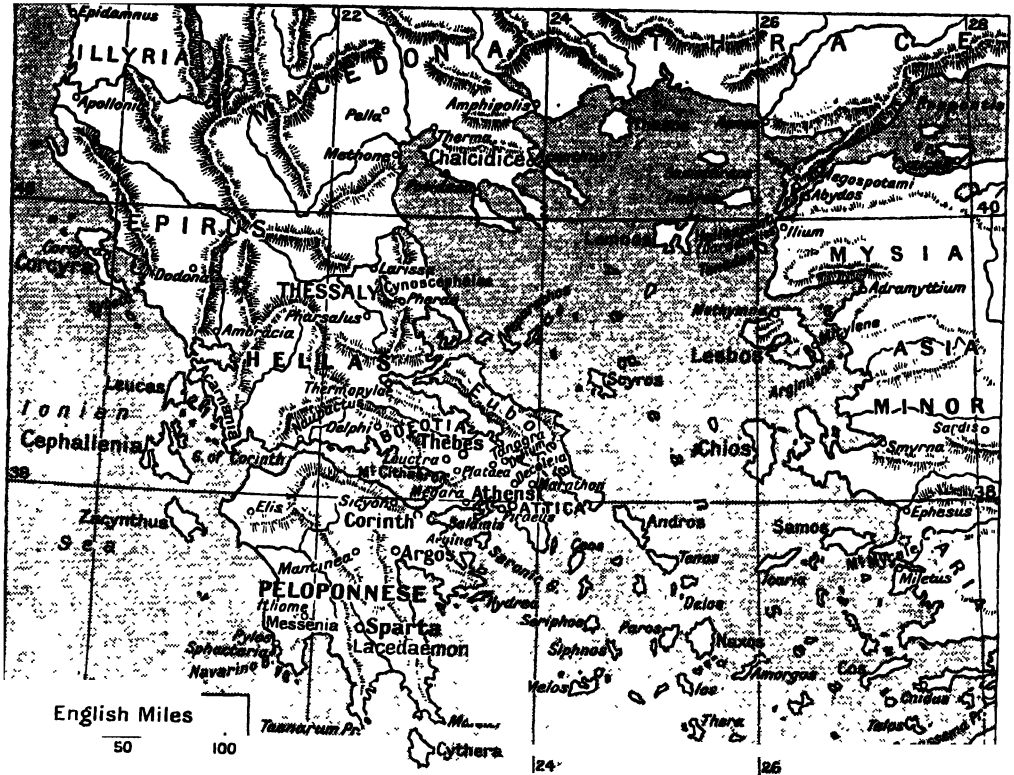
The expedition went so far that in 459 it captured the city but not the fortress of Memphis. There, however, it was locked up ; no reinforcements could be sent ; three years later a Persian army expelled it from Memphis. Finally, after a long blockade on the island of Prosopitis, it was reduced to surrender, the fleet having been burnt, but was allowed to make its way to Cyrene, and so home. The Egyptian revolt was completely crushed.

The Athenian expedition was a disaster, not indeed on a small scale, though also not without honour ; and the failure was driven home soon afterwards by the annihilation of an Athenian squadron at the hands of the Phoenician fleet. Yet even after this Cimon was able to lead another expedition for the freeing of Cyprus, which missed success only because of the great captain's death, though it was followed by a naval victory over the Phoenicians (449). But Athenian zeal for continuing the Persian war passed with the passing of Cimon ; and hostilities with Persia ceased (possibly with an understanding rather than a formal treaty, the Peace of Callias) in 447. No renewed attack upon any portion of Hellas was now to be feared from Persia, though Cyprus remained under her power.

#### Retrospect of Internal Developments

**F**OR internal Greek affairs we must retrace our steps to the days when the Delian Confederation was yet uncreated and Cimon still alive. When the battle of Plataea had been fought, and won practically by the Lacedaemonians, the part

## The Rival Cities



### THE CITY STATES AND ISLANDS WHOSE BITTER RIVALRIES DIVIDED GREECE

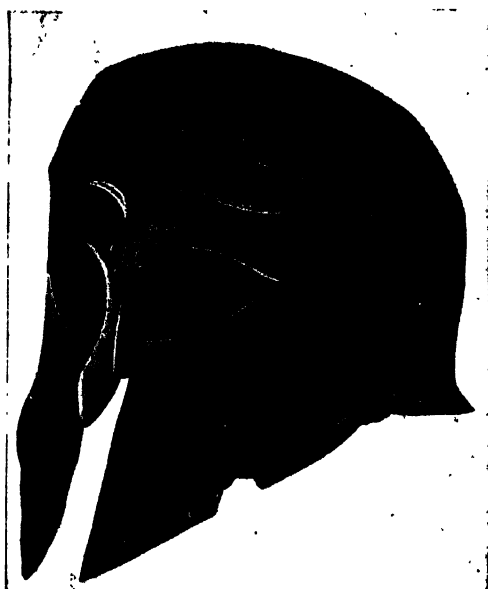
Local patriotism, ever an effective check upon Greek strivings after national unification, had been temporarily overcome by the menace of Persian conquest, but quickly revived after Plataea. Sparta's interests were solely in the Peloponnese, where she enjoyed an unchallenged primacy, so that the Greek cities outside her sphere of influence and the islands looked to Athens for guidance in their struggle against Persia. Thus there arose two parties—the Spartan and Athenian groups of states.

played in the war by Athens brought to her a new prestige, making her second only to Sparta, but still second. The Spartan hegemony was still undisputed; it belonged to her in right of the admirable military virtues of her soldiery and the unmatched excellence, despite limitations, of her military machine. But from the pan-Hellenic point of view her exclusively Peloponnesian outlook had been extremely marked, in contrast to that of Athens. Pan-Hellenism demanded an active maritime war in which Peloponnesians had no direct interest and Sparta had no inclination to participate, whereas Athens was obviously marked out for the leadership; and by the mere fact of that leadership she had been projected upon the path of imperialism, along which, from about 460 onwards, she was guided by the most famous of her statesmen, Pericles.

Sparta had unwittingly abdicated her primacy. The states which were passing under Athenian hegemony were outside her sphere, and there was no immediate development of open jealousy, at least on that score. But her prestige was weakened by the misconduct of Pausanias, the victor of Plataea; who, not content with his position in Sparta, plunged into ambitious projects of personal aggrandisement, intrigued with Persia, and ended his life as a condemned traitor—miserably starved to death in the precincts of a shrine where he sought asylum from the emissaries of justice.

Only less disastrous was the end of Themistocles, to whom even more than to Pausanias Greece owed her freedom, to whose brilliant guidance throughout the great crisis Athens owed almost her existence. Rightly or wrongly, against





#### PRIZE WON BY ATHENS' ALLIES

With the intention of reducing Spartan predominance, Athens and Argos joined in operations against Corinth, Sparta's friend. A victory of the Argives is commemorated by this captured Corinthian helmet, dedicated to Zeus.

*British Museum*

him, too, was brought the charge of 'Medising.' But, more fortunate than Pausanias, he eluded his pursuers and died in wealth and ease, a pensionary of the Great King and an exile execrated by his own countrymen.

**F**RIENDLY relations were maintained between Athens and Sparta for some time, owing to the influence of the popular soldier Cimon, too honest to be an intriguer, too simple-minded to be a statesman, but with a genius for winning victories inherited from his father, the victor of Marathon. Admiration for Sparta, hostility to Persia and loyalty to Athens were his guiding principles. His influence, however, was ended by an act of sheer stupidity on the part of Sparta.

In 463 she was in difficulties over a serious revolt of the helots of Messenia, who had occupied the fortress of Ithome, where they defied all her efforts to reduce them. Sparta was driven to appeal for aid to her allies, including Athens. Cimon, in spite of the active democratic opposition led by Ephialtes and Pericles, prevailed on the Athenians to send an expedition under

his own command to their help; he failed to carry the fortress, and was promptly informed that Sparta had no further use for the services of Athens. Meanwhile, the democrats had introduced some highly popular reforms by which their hands were strengthened; Athens smarted under the insult of Ithome; Cimon returned to find that his popularity had vanished; and a year later he was banished by the form of vote known as ostracism—the common expression of a sharp popular revulsion.

The democratic anti-Laconian imperialists were carried into power; Ephialtes was slain by an unknown assassin (461); and thenceforth for thirty years, with scarcely an interval, the policy of Athens was the policy of Pericles. Thenceforth, also, friendship between Sparta and Athens was at best a hollow pretence. The Messenian insurgents were eventually suppressed, but Athens provided them with a refuge and a settlement at Naupactus, her recently established outpost on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf.

The influence of Cimon and his personal popularity had deferred the breach between Athens and Sparta, which was hastened by his ostracism. Athens allied herself with Sparta's inveterate Peloponnesian rival, Argos, and was very soon involved in a war, not at first with Sparta, but with her Dorian and at the same time maritime allies, Corinth and Aegina, whom the Athenian maritime development was threatening to throttle; a foretaste of the Peloponnesian war.

#### Foretaste of the Peloponnesian War

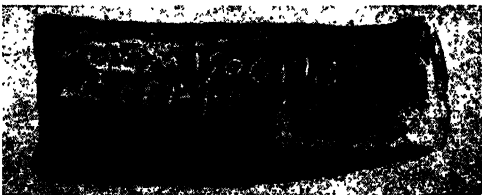
**T**HE quarrel broke out when Megara, at the north end of the Isthmus, sought and obtained the protection of Athens against the domination of her powerful neighbour Corinth. Megara from the Peloponnesian point of view was the gate of Attica, whose 'wooden walls' were impenetrable. With Megara in her hands, Athens could be attacked only on her northern flank through Boeotia, dominated by Thebes. Corinth attacked Megara; Athens came to the rescue; Aegina joined Corinth; but so successful were the Athenian arms that not only was Megara held but Aegina was reduced to complete

## The Rival Cities

submission and forced to enter the Delian Confederation as a tributary ally of Athens before two years were over (457). Yet at the very moment when the struggle began, Athens was embarking on that Egyptian adventure, the story of which has been told above. With her great expedition locked up in Egypt while her main energies were engaged in the conflict nearer home, she could exert her full strength in neither field—and Cimon, her great captain, was in exile. Her achievement in the circumstances was sufficiently astonishing.

Then in 457 Sparta took the field; not at the first avowedly, but still unmistakably, as the enemy of Athens. She found an excuse for dispatching a strong force to Boeotia, really to reorganize the Theban League. The return march involved an invasion of Attic territory, a battle at Tanagra in which the adherents of Cimon—whose personal services were offered to and rejected by the city which always commanded his utter loyalty—fought as patriots with the bravest, and a technical victory, which was a practical defeat, for the Peloponnesians. It is disputed whether Pericles procured the recall of Cimon at this point, who negotiated a truce with Sparta; certainly Athens proceeded to force Boeotia, Thebes excepted, into the Delian Confederation.

**B**ETWEEN 456 and 448 Athens was apparently at the height of her power. The coasts on both sides of the Gulf of Corinth were dominated by her; she was mistress of Megara and of most of Boeotia; the treasury of the Delian Confederation had been transferred from Delos to Athens; Cimon was now back, in the double character of pacificator in relation to Sparta and



### VOTE TO BANISH THEMISTOCLES

Notwithstanding his great services to Athens, in 472 B.C. the requisite 6,000 citizens voted that Themistocles should be ostracised. Here we see the potsherd (ostrakon) inscribed with his name by which one vote for his ostracism was cast.



### GREAT ATHENIAN IMPERIALIST

After his ostracism Themistocles fled first to Argos and then to the Persians. Found at Magnesia in Asia Minor, where he was allowed to settle by the Great King, and now in Munich, this statue has lately been identified as the man who laid the foundations of Athenian greatness.

*From Percy Gardner, 'New Chapters in Greek Art'*

incomparable commander of fleets and armies, and bearing no malice to either Sparta or his own countrymen. When he died, as recounted above, the long strain of the Persian war was over.

At this auspicious moment, then, in 448, Pericles made the proposal which (if it was genuine) displays the pan-Hellenic idealism underlying his Athenian imperialism. Hitherto Hellas had acted in something like unison only under stress of a manifest necessity for common defence against an overwhelming common



#### TO PRESERVE ATHENS AGAINST ATTACK

At the close of the Persian war, Themistocles so strengthened the defences of Athens as to make it a fortress in itself. The city was surrounded by a high, carefully constructed wall, a section of which is shown here; and the fortifications of the Acropolis, partly destroyed by the Persians, were restored.

*Photo, Deutsches Archæologisches Institut*

menace. Now, in time of assured peace, so far as the Barbarian was concerned, he invited all Hellas to join in a sort of imperial conference with a view to joint action for common ends in which all Hellas was interested; primarily the restoration of the temples, revered by all alike, in territory that had been ravaged by the Barbarians, and the suppression of the piracy from which the commerce of all Hellas suffered.

Such a conference would have held in it immeasurable possibilities of future pan-Hellenic development. But unmistakably it would also have involved Athenian hegemony—moreover, the Peloponnesians had not been ravaged by the Persians. The proposal did not appeal to Sparta nor to the rest of the Peloponnesians; they declined it; and Pericles was free to fall back on Athenian imperialism. And against the imperialism of the great maritime democracy was inevitably arrayed the whole force of oligarchic militarism under Spartan hegemony—not of Spartan imperialism; for the Spartan state was too slow and too politically timid, for all the valour of her soldiers, to contemplate the responsibilities of empire.

Meanwhile Athens itself, the actual 'city of the violet crown,' had become

much better able to defy military attack than she had been in the past. In the old days Peisistratus had for his own ends dismantled the old city wall; when the Persians came to Marathon, and ten years later to Thermopylae, Athens was unfortified. The actual citadel, the Acropolis, was the only position that could be held for a week. When the war was over and the Athenians returned to the city, Themistocles, in spite of the benevolent remonstrances of Sparta, raised a new wall and fortified the great port of the Piræus, from which the city itself, four miles away, was however still liable to be cut off. It was only under the rule of Pericles that the harbour fortifications

were completed and the famous Long Walls were carried from the city to the port, so that the whole was from the military point of view one great fortified town.

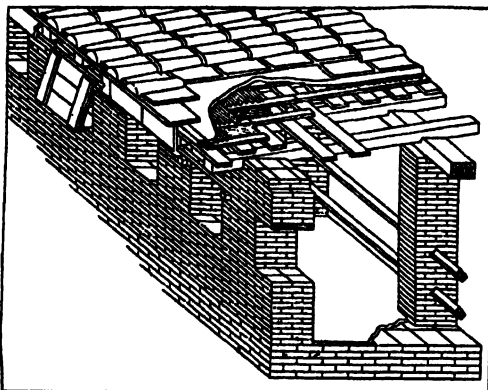
But the years immediately following the Peace of Callias brought the lesson that extension of dominion by land was a mistake for the power whose strength lay in her navy. Revolt followed revolt, usually the outcome of oligarchical plots. Boeotia broke away, Thebes recovering her ascendancy. Euboea broke away, but here the revolt was stamped out. Megara broke away, massacred its Athenian garrison and joined the Peloponnesian League; Attica was once more open to invasion along the whole of her land frontier, though little Plataea held indomitably to her alliance. Encompassed with dangers, Athens in 445 concluded a thirty years peace with the allied Peloponnesians, surrendering almost all her recent acquisitions on the mainland of Greece.

THE precise status of Athens at this stage is not altogether easy to grasp. It had no precedent. It was not, like the hegemony of Sparta, a universally recognized pre-eminence resting on acknowledged military prestige; Sparta claimed no right of applying compulsion to her

## The Rival Cities

allies as arising from her hegemony. But the Delian Confederation had at a very early stage claimed the right of compelling maritime states to join it and, having joined, to remain in it; and the voice of the Confederation from the outset was in effect the voice of Athens. Save for the contingents from three islands, the fleet was her fleet; whenever compulsion was applied, Athens applied it; virtually if not formally she fixed the contributions, and unequivocally she alone controlled the expenditure. Wherever she applied compulsion it was attended by some curtailment of autonomy, a definite loss of independence, formally acknowledged by treaty; in effect she was not the president of a league of equal states, but the mistress of a number of dependent states whose tribute maintained the Athenian navy.

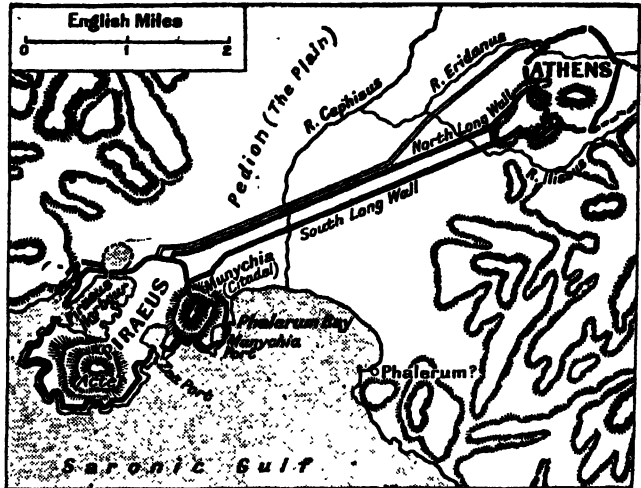
Moreover, beyond this Pericles developed a new system of colonisation, planting on the lands of the allies settlements of Athenian citizens who remained Athenian citizens under Athenian jurisdiction, and served in effect as a sort of Athenian garrison. The land was not stolen—it was paid for generally by some



### FOR SENTINELS AND ARCHERS

The Long Walls at Athens were solidly constructed of stone, and were surmounted by a crenellated gallery of brick, roofed with tiles—as seen in this reconstruction—which would afford perfect protection to the garrison.

*From Weller, 'Athens and its Monuments'*



### WELL PLANNED MEASURES OF DEFENCE

While Athens was adequately protected against attack by the battlements raised at Themistocles' instigation, her safety was not really ensured until Pericles had her connected with the Piræus by the Long Walls. These strongly fortified lines made communication between Athens and her port practically secure.

reduction of the tribute. The system was popular at Athens; it made provision at a convenient distance for surplus population, practically without cost to the exchequer, and it helped to extend commerce. It was not equally popular with the allies, but it tended to keep them under control. The bonds that attached them to Athens were scarcely silken.

THE magnetic power exercised by Pericles over the people of Athens was shaken but not broken by the reverses which brought about the comparative humiliation of the Thirty Years Peace. His triumph was a triumph of personality, since he rejected entirely the vulgar arts of the demagogue, holding himself aloof from the crowd. He maintained his rule because he compelled confidence even in the face of failure and of an opposition, mainly factious, no doubt, but headed by a leader of distinguished integrity, Thucydides (not the historian), the son of Melesias, who was actuated partly by mistrust of his popular innovations and still more by dislike of his domineering treatment of the allies. But when, three years after the peace, Thucydides challenged a direct trial of strength, it was he himself, not Pericles, who was ostracised.

To the popular mind Thucydides represented the party of oligarchic reaction, while imperialism appealed to its imagination. The combination of the most advanced democratic methods with an Olympian personal aloofness and imperialist idealism was irresistible. Neither corruption nor terrorism had any part in maintaining the sway of Pericles. He was in effect an uncrowned king who ruled simply because the populace of Athens chose that he should rule as the one man who commanded their confidence.

The feature in the domestic policy of Pericles which secured his popularity was the extension of democratic principles. All citizens were to be equal before the law. He came into power as champion of the curtailment of the privileges exercised by the Areopagus (an ancient and time-honoured body from the membership of which the great bulk of the citizens were by its constitution permanently excluded), and of the transfer of its functions to a body admission to which was open to all.

#### Democratic Policy of Pericles

ONCE in power, he systematically extended the principle of payment for the discharge of all minor public services for which the average citizen could not otherwise have afforded to spare the time, and he made the discharge of those functions an integral part of the citizen's duty to the state. There was no political office which any citizen might not aspire to attain by election or by lot. He eased the economic burden of the surplus population by turning his imperialism to account and planting them out on those settlements or 'cleruchies' already described, thereby also increasing the popularity of imperialism—at Athens.

Not the least of the means by which he acquired his ascendancy, was the magnificence which flattered the Athenian's pride in his city and in himself. Greece at large refused, as we have seen, to aid in that restoration of the ruined temples which was a sacred obligation upon all Hellenes. The work was left to Athens, and what under the guidance of Pericles she wrought is the immortal heritage of mankind. If Athens was wealthy she gave of her

wealth freely; for but an infinitesimal fraction of the cost was defrayed from the treasury of her tributaries.

Athens through her own outposts or her tributaries controlled the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; it is tolerably certain that Pericles had dreams that extended to the Euxine—he very much strengthened the Athenian hold on the northern coastland of the Aegean, though later his colony of Amphipolis became a source of weakness rather than strength. In the west she commanded the entry to the Gulf of Corinth by the possession of Naupactus on its north shore. Corcyra was a Corinthian colony, but always on such bad terms with her mother city that her friendship could almost be reckoned upon.

In Italy and Sicily the Dorian element was immensely preponderant. But even here Pericles sought to introduce an Athenian penetration through the establishment of pan-Hellenic colonies—first a 'New Sybaris,' then Thurii—under Athenian influence; though with only limited success.

The weakness from which such a dominion as that of Athens is always liable to suffer was illustrated by the revolt of both Samos, one of the three ship-contributing states, and Byzantium, though both revolts were ended (439) without Peloponnesian intervention, Samos becoming a subject state.

#### Mutterings before the Storm

WHATEVER jealousy Sparta may have felt towards Athens, she was too self-centred, too inert, too ready to rest stolidly in her own strength to make the first move against her rival until the spur to action was supplied by someone else. She was wholly devoid of the enterprise and initiative so characteristic of Athens. On the other hand it was hardly less certain that the spur would be applied by the Dorian state which found her own maritime and commercial ambitions thwarted at every turn by her energetic rival.

Athenian fleets dominated the Saronic Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth; they were invading Corinth's preserves in the west; in Chalcidice the Corinthian colony of Potidaea had been absorbed into the

## The Rival Cities

Athenian League. If Corinth should see a chance of arousing the lethargic wrath of Sparta against Athens to the point of action, she would certainly make the most of it. And then the scale would be weighted with the entire force of the Peloponnesian League; and Sparta, feeling her hegemony bound up in the struggle, would be doubly dangerous. On that head Pericles can have had no illusion.

A series of disconnected incidents produced the opportunity. First, in 435, Corinth and her colony Corcyra fell out about the Corcyrean colony of Epidamnus, and Corcyra won a naval victory over her parent city. Corinth, having the Peloponnesian League behind her, prepared to punish Corcyra, who, having no one behind her, sought the alliance of Athens, whom Corinth pressed to remain neutral. The alliance might precipitate a Peloponnesian war, but in that event the Corcyrean fleet would be useful. Athens agreed to help Corcyra, but only if Corinth attacked her. In a sea-fight at Sybota a small Athenian squadron saved the Corcyrean fleet from a grave disaster (433). Corinth had an arguable case for charging Athens with a breach of the Thirty Years Peace.

Next year Potidaea revolted, refusing to dismiss her Corinthian magistrates and to raze her own walls at the bidding of Athens. Half the Chalcidian peninsula followed suit, incited thereto by the Macedonian king Perdiccas, who had a private personal grievance against Athens. In 432 an Athenian force defeated the Corinthian commander of the Potidaeans and laid siege to the city. Corinth appealed to Sparta; Pericles retorted with a decree forbidding entry to any Megarian at any port under Athenian control—Megara having aided Corinth at Sybota—which meant commercial ruin for Megara.

### How the War at last broke out

**S**PARTA found the Corinthian appeal convincing, backed as it was by other Peloponnesian states. But, as always, she wanted time to get into movement. She gained some delay by raising irrelevant points which were brushed aside as a matter of course. Then came the ultimatum. If Athens did not free the



UNCROWNED KING OF ATHENS

Secure in the unwavering confidence of the Athenian democracy, Pericles never had recourse to dubious political expedients. At home he realized democratic principles, but in foreign affairs was an uncompromising imperialist.

*British Museum*

Hellenes whom she held in subjection, there would be war. Athens responded that if Sparta would set the example in her own dominion she would follow it. This being the last thing that Sparta would dream of doing, it meant that Athens had confidently taken up the gage which Sparta had hesitatingly thrown down.

The war which opened in the spring of 431 was a struggle for domination between a maritime empire and a mistress of continental armies, with this qualification, that Attica had a long and indefensible land frontier, while she had on the continent no more effective friend than the small state of Plataea, though her fleets included those of Chios and Lesbos.

In the eyes of its great historian Thucydides, the war was by far the most important in the history of Man. Some moderns, on the other hand, are apt to scoff at it as no more than a paltry squabble between petty states. In fact, its one indisputable result was the disappearance of any possibility that may have previously existed of Hellenic unification, which, just conceivably, might have been the outcome of an unqualified Athenian victory. A politically consolidated Hellas was possibly a Periclean dream; but the war in actual fact brought it no nearer to achievement and was, therefore, a sheer waste. Unification was incompatible with the conception of state individualism ingrained in the Greek mind. But the history of the war was written by Thucydides, and whether we overrate or underrate its significance, the record is one of the masterpieces of the world's literature.



FIRST SCIENTIFIC HISTORIAN

Our knowledge of the Peloponnesian war is largely derived from Thucydides, whose account and interpretation of events are unbiassed, although he was an Athenian. This bust, in Holkham Hall, Norfolk, is one of the best extant.

*From Poulsen, 'Greek and Roman Portraits'*

**P**ERICLES from the outset realized the fundamental fact that on land the hostile forces were overwhelmingly superior, and that Attica, as distinguished from the city of Athens with its ports, was indefensible. Year by year the Peloponnesian armies ravaged Attica, practically unopposed. In the second year (430), Athens was brought almost to her knees by the outbreak within the city—over-crowded by the rural population, gathered behind its wall—of bubonic plague, which destroyed a quarter of the people but extended no farther than the city itself.

The anti-democratic and the ultra-imperialist parties seized the opportunity for an attack upon Pericles, who had found it hard enough to induce the Athenians to watch the devastation of their property

outside the city walls. Yet his ascendancy, though seriously shaken, was not lost. But in the following year (429) he died, and the leadership of the democratic imperialists passed into other hands.

The war policy of Pericles rested on the conviction that nothing could be gained and much might be lost by attempting to meet the main Peloponnesian armies on

land. The reply to the attacks upon Attica must be the throttling of the Peloponnesian states by an irresistible sea power, killing their commerce and incidentally threatening their coasts with harassing raids. To this end the command of the western sea was vital, that of the Aegean being already secure.

The policy was implicit in the decree against Megara which immediately preceded the war; and Pericles had promptly accepted overtures for alliance from Sicilian Leontini as a check on the connexion between Corinth and Syracuse. Immediately this led to little; but during these first years Athens strengthened her position in the western islands and on the Acarnanian coast, and

some brilliant victories were won over superior squadrons by the able commander Phormio, whose career however was somewhat unaccountably brief. On the Chalcidian peninsula the siege of Potidaea was carried to the finish, the Potidaeans were expelled and the place was occupied by the Athenians. Aegina was completely Atticised in the first year by the total expulsion of the Aeginetans, who were planted by the Spartans on Laconian soil.

No marked progress on either side is to be observed in the years immediately following the death of Pericles. But to this period belong three episodes which have

## The Rival Cities

been made famous by the vivid narrative of Thucydides.

THE opening incident of the war had been an attempt of the Thebans to get possession of Plataea by a trick. The trick was foiled in circumstances which could fairly be called a breach of faith on the part of the Plataeans, who appealed to Athens. She withdrew the non-combatant inhabitants, leaving a garrison of 400 Plataeans and eighty Athenians. In spite of promises, no more was done for Plataea, to which in the third year the Peloponnesians laid siege, since the garrison stoutly refused to surrender. In the fifth year the place was so closely invested, and in such force, that though all attempts to carry the defences were foiled by the ingenuity and dauntless resolution of the besieged the place was on the verge of reduction by starvation. Half the garrison cut its way out and escaped to Athens; the other half then surrendered at discretion and were all put to death because 'they had done nothing to help the Lacedaemonians and their allies.'

The second episode is the revolt from the Athenian League of the free island of Lesbos (with the exception of loyal Methymna) headed by Mitylene. This time it was the Peloponnesians who promised aid but sent none. Mitylene was forced to surrender, submitting its fate to the judgement of Athens. So fierce was the wrath of the democracy at the revolt, which could not in this case be attributed to Athenian tyranny, that the Assembly, now led by the notorious or famous Cleon, condemned the entire population to death or slavery. A ship was dispatched with the order; happily it went on its awful errand with no great haste, but it had arrived and the order was on the point of execution when a second trireme swept into the harbour bearing a reprieve. A second specially summoned meeting of the Assembly had reversed the fatal sentence, and the oarsmen, racing without a

moment's relaxation as if their own lives were at stake, arrived barely in time, with a start of twenty-four hours to make up. A strong interest attaches to the debate in the assembly as reported by Thucydides; for in it the question of humanity is entirely ignored, and the decision turns wholly on the political danger of putting in execution a sentence in itself regarded as obviously just and legitimate.

This was in the fourth and fifth years; in the fifth also began the episode of the Corcyrean revolution, which the Greek historian makes the text for profound generalisations on the effects of revolutionary frenzy. With the obvious variations in the staging of the tragedy, Corcyra was very much like Paris in the days of the Terror. The oligarchic pro-Corinthian party attempted a 'coup d'état,' and paid the penalty of failure in full. An Athenian fleet which was on its way to Sicily played a sorry part in the closing scene of the struggle, some two years after its beginning.

THE pan-Hellenic idealism which we are warranted in attributing to Pericles disappears with his death. If we have read him aright, his conception was that of a united Hellas wherein Athens should be queen in virtue of her moral and intellectual ascendancy. Athens was to be to Hellas what Pericles was to Athens; not a tyrant ruling by force in her own interest, but a sovereign because the incarnation of all that was best in Hellas. She was so



ON BOARD AN ATHENIAN TRIREME

The type of battleship generally used in the Peloponnesian war was the trireme, a heavy but swift vessel propelled by oars arranged in three banks. Archaeological discussion, based very largely on this Athenian relief, has not succeeded in deciding exactly how the banks were arranged.

*From a cast in the British Museum*



## Chronicle V. 478-360 B.C.

because her people enjoyed a personal freedom without parallel elsewhere. That her leadership might win recognition she must have power, but the power was the means to the fulfilment of an ideal.

THERE was no second Pericles in whom the democracy could place its trust; the men who took his place were democrats and imperialists, but their democracy was hostility to the class which owed its influence to birth and wealth, and their imperialism was the lust of rule. All the pictures of them that we possess were painted by their enemies, who would allow them no virtues; charges of dishonesty and blank incapacity count for little; but it is not easy to find signs of real statesmanship either in them or in their antagonists, the 'gentlemen'—a term which perhaps more nearly than any other expresses the meaning of the epithet they applied to themselves. There were no longer any grand issues at stake; the war party wanted only to extend the dominion of Athens, the peace party only to thwart the war party, while the Peloponnesians mainly desired to humiliate the 'tyrant of the seas.'



YOUNG SOLDIER BOUND FOR THE WARS

The strength of Greek armies lay in heavy infantry, 'hoplites,' of which Sparta possessed the most efficient force. In battle the typical hoplite was equipped with cuirass, greaves and sword, in addition to a tunic, visored helmet, spear and emblazoned shield such as we see in this drawing of about 450 B.C.

*From a tomb lekythos in the National Museum, Athens, after Pfuhl*

Politics apart, there appeared, one on either side, two military leaders endowed with some originality and initiative, the Athenian Demosthenes and the Spartan Brasidas. These were qualities which the Spartan system tended to suppress entirely in the Spartan armies, but it may be remarked that they were not infrequently displayed by the Spartan in foreign service.

Demosthenes dealt the most effective blow on the part of Athens. While with the fleet, weather-bound off the Messenian coast, he seized and fortified Pylos on the modern Bay of Navarino. The Peloponnesians tried to eject him, but only succeeded in landing a small Spartan force on the island of Sphacteria; which in turn was reduced to such straits that surrender or death was the only possible choice. The Spartans surrendered, much to the surprise of their neighbours, though no one else would have hesitated for a moment; and so long as they remained captive the Lacedaemonians ceased their annual devastation of Attica.

PERICLES, when the thirty years truce was made, had learnt, and never afterwards forgot, that attempted conquests on land were bad policy. Yet the democrats twice tried—and failed—to master Boeotia. The second attempt was accompanied by a grave military disaster at the battle of Delium, where the life of the young Alcibiades was saved by the sturdy philosopher Socrates. In the same year (424) Brasidas with a small body of irregular troops was sent by Sparta to help the malcontents of the Thracian coast and Chalcidice, which broke into general revolt against Athens.

By this time there was a strong peace party in both Athens and Sparta, and in 423 a truce was actually formulated; but it broke down. Brasidas, now playing brilliantly for his own hand in the north, and Cleon at Athens, meant the war to go on; and

## The Rival Cities

it was only when both of them were killed in a battle before Amphipolis (422) that the peace parties carried the day and the first stage of the war was concluded by the Peace of Nicias, the Athenian high priest of Respectability. For the time it satisfied Sparta and Athens; but it left Corinth, Megara and Boeotia raging. It had in it no element of durability.

**T**HE terms of the peace involved the restoration on both sides of sundry conquests. They were rejected by Sparta's allies; she was unable to enforce them; Athens consequently refused to carry out her part of the bargain. War parties and peace parties predominated alternately in various states; local hostilities broke out in various quarters; kaleidoscopic combinations and dissolutions and recombinations followed in bewildering succession; until in 415 emerges the determination of Athens to embark on the great venture which was to prove her ruin, the Sicilian expedition.

Ostensibly it was in answer to an appeal from Sicilian allies—from Segesta for aid against Selinus, and from Leontini for deliverance from Syracuse. Actually the intention was to absorb Sicily into the Athenian empire. The great advocate was the brilliant, erratic and utterly unprincipled Alcibiades, an aristocrat who when it suited him posed as a democratic leader; the opposition was led by Nicias. The Athenians enthusiastically adopted the proposal in spite of the huge expenditure and the enormous risks it involved, and then appointed to the command Nicias and Alcibiades, the one as timid and half-hearted as the other was eager and reckless, between whom zealous co-operation was inconceivable; a quite impossible combination. With them was associated the capable soldier Lamachus, who made no pretence to be a politician and possessed no other influence. •



**ARMS AND ARMOUR OF GREEK WARRIORS**

Although this painting (c. 460 B.C.) has a mythological subject—the slaughter of Amazons—the details enable us to visualise the gear of a contemporary soldier. While each of these heroes is only partially armed they have all the accoutrements of the ordinary hoplite apportioned between them.

*From Pfuhl, 'Masterpieces of Greek Painting,' Chatto & Windus*

**H**ITHERTO Sicily and Italy had stood outside the conflict in eastern Hellas. The tyrannies had given place generally to democracies before the middle of the century, soon after the death of Hieron in 467, and there had been a long period of general prosperity, while Syracuse continued to maintain a dominant position. Pericles had sought nothing more than some extension of Athenian influence in the west; Ionian cities in those regions had rather incited Athenian intervention through jealousy of the Syracusan ascendancy; but when the Peloponnesian war was in full swing, a congress of the Sicilian states, under the persuasive influence of the Syracusan Hermocrates, made it tolerably evident that Sicily generally meant to keep itself clear of that complication, and that outside intervention in Sicilian affairs would be resented.

But Athenian imperialism in its most aggressive and wanton form was at fever heat, owing to the successful and utterly inexcusable conquest and annexation of

the island of Melos in 416, just when the opportunity for aggressive action in Sicily presented itself. Athens snatched at the chance, and paid the penalty.

The expedition which sailed from Athens in 415 was on a scale without precedent. Its departure was immediately preceded by an outrage which can only have been intended to prevent its sailing—the midnight mutilation of the sacred images known as *Hermæ*. Popular rumour, sedulously fostered, fixed the guilt of the sacrilege upon the notoriously reckless and profane Alcibiades, who immediately challenged trial. As this would have involved delaying the expedition, inquiry was postponed.

#### Athenian Expedition to Sicily

THE generals reached Sicily, to find that the promises of financial and military support on which Athens had acted had no material basis. Lamachus, as a plain soldier, urged an immediate attack on Syracuse, which would probably have been successful. Nicias favoured a demonstration, to be followed by retirement. Alcibiades wanted diplomacy to precede the fighting. The schemes of Lamachus being over-ridden, he gave his support to Alcibiades. The military opportunity was lost, and then the whole scheme of diplomacy was wrecked by a summons for Alcibiades to return to Athens and stand his trial—a manifest conspiracy of his enemies at home, working on popular superstition.

Lamachus and Nicias were left, while he started on his return journey; but, seeing no prospect of a fair trial, he made his escape on the way home, was condemned to death and forfeiture in his absence, and became for the time the most vindictive and virulent enemy of the Athenian democracy which had wronged him. In his new character he found no difficulty in persuading Sparta that it was her duty to throw her weight once more into the scale against Athens; which was more determined than ever to carry on the Sicilian adventure.

That adventure might still have been successful but for the pathetic confidence of the Athenians in the generalship of the pious but incompetent Nicias, in spite of

his own desire to relinquish the command. Diplomacy having broken down, the Athenians laid siege to Syracuse. Their fleet was able completely to blockade the harbour, and there was only a small gap remaining in the siege lines which cut off the city from the interior, when Lamachus, to whom the chief credit so far was due, was killed. That gap Nicias omitted to close; with disastrous results. For it enabled Gylippus—almost but not quite another Brasidas—who had been sent from Sparta to help the Syracusans, to effect an entry; and with his arrival the whole situation changed. Nicias in his dispatches was forced to declare that, so far from victory being in sight, the whole affair would have to be abandoned unless a second expedition on as large a scale as the first could be sent from Athens.

She was beset now by the whole of the old Peloponnesian alliance. Sparta, urged by Alcibiades, had seized and garrisoned Deceleia, on Attic soil, whence she could conduct raids at any moment. But Athens would not admit defeat; nor did she permit Nicias to resign. But as colleagues she sent in command of a new great force Demosthenes and Eurymedon.

#### The Disaster before Syracuse

THE second expedition, arriving in the late summer (413), found an already desperate situation, the Athenian forces thoroughly demoralised by failures and defeats, the Syracusans full of confidence, brilliantly led and dominating both the Great Harbour (see plan in page 1053) and the siege lines. Desperate attempts to retrieve the position on land and on sea were disastrously defeated. The Athenian fleet after a severe struggle was cooped up in the harbour, the mouth of which was blocked. A last frantic effort to break out was hopelessly crushed. Retreat inland to friendly territory while there was yet time was the only chance; but before it could begin every line of escape was ambushed or blocked.

Never have the 'pity and terror' which are the essence of tragedy been more movingly presented than in the wonderful pages wherein Thucydides tells the story of those last days. Out of those once

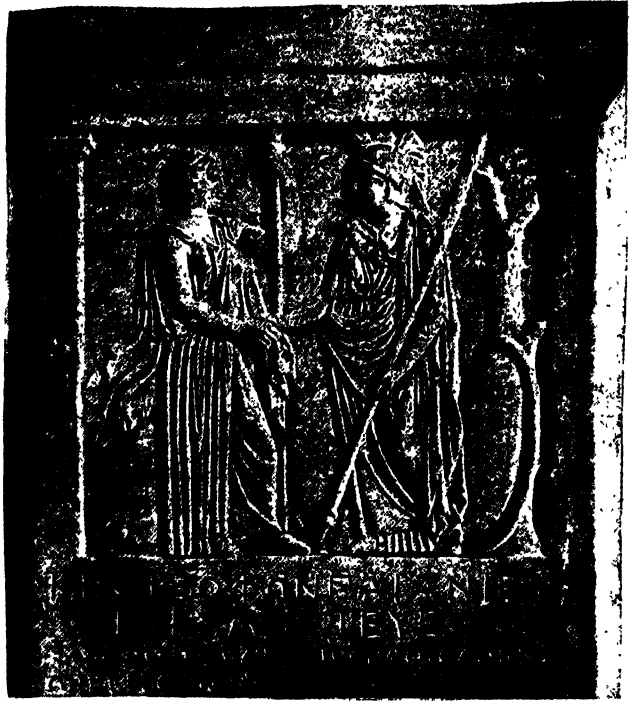
## The Rival Cities

proud Athenian hosts, all who survived the slaughters and the agonies of that despairing retreat passed what was left to them of life in exiled slavery.

The annihilation of the Sicilian Expedition was the end of the Athenian Empire.

It was not indeed immediately evident that the empire was at an end. Athens maintained the struggle for nine years more. But she had no reserve left to fall back on, no trusted leader who could command steady confidence and carry on a consistent policy. The one man, Alcibiades, who perhaps had the necessary ability, was wholly lacking in the character which was still more necessary. Faction after faction at home snatched an incomplete and precarious control for a time; treason, it can hardly be doubted, was perpetually at work; experimental reconstructions of the constitution followed one after another in rapid succession; but the resolution to fight on to the last gasp never wavered, though the odds had become almost overwhelming.

**A** YEAR after the Sicilian disaster, all Ionia was in revolt against the 'tyrant' state, not realizing that subjection to Persia was still the inevitable alternative to the tyranny; only Samos remained loyal. The Persian satraps of the west, Tissaphernes at Sardis and Pharnabazus at Dascylium, were fully alive to the situation, though each had his own game to play. Sparta had never troubled about Ionia, and was quite ready to bargain with the satraps for the downfall of Athens at the price of Ionia, and in particular for the money necessary to keep a fleet in commission. Presently, too, she found in Lysander a soldier and statesman who could ignore tradition, seize occasion when it offered, act on his own responsibility, and—very unlike most Spartans—was not to be bribed. •



### POLITICAL DOCUMENT CARVED IN STONE

After the disaster of Aegospotami in 405, Athens had no friend but the democracy of Samos, which offered to help her to continue the war with Sparta. The treaty arranged between the two states was engraved on this marble block, decorated with their patron goddesses, Athena and Hera, on the Acropolis.

*Acropolis Museum, Athens*

**A**LCIBIADES, having fallen out with the Spartans, and possibly aiming to make himself tyrant, was intriguing at Athens for his own restoration as a chief of the democrats; the satraps intrigued against each other with Alcibiades or Lysander. The one constant factor is the association of Sparta with one or both of the Persian governors, who intended through her to recover effective dominion in Ionia; and the most surprising feature is the extent to which Athens went on holding her own, in spite of her endless domestic dissensions, for close upon eight years, gaining one notable victory at Arginusae (406).

Unconquered she remained, maimed and weakened though she was, until the almost incredible carelessness of her naval commander in the Hellespont gave Lysander the chance which he was not the man to let slip, and practically her whole fleet was captured while the crews were on shore at Aegospotami in 405.

Athens without an effective fleet was helpless. By land and sea she was completely blockaded, and in 404 was reduced to unconditional surrender by starvation. It was only one of Sparta's rare momentary flashes of generosity that saved her from the utter obliteration to which the vindictive wrath of her Peloponnesian rivals would have condemned her. Sparta could afford to be generous when generosity did not endanger her political hegemony; she could afford to remember that Hellas owed much to Athens, now that the Athenian Empire was gone beyond recall. The Long Walls were pulled down; but Athens, humiliated, exhausted and shorn of her dependencies, still survived as an independent state, with an inherent power of recuperation which ere long enabled her to resume her position among the leaders of Hellas.

### Persian Interference in Greek Affairs

**T**HE interest of Persia in Hellenic affairs, which had slumbered since the Peace of Callias in 447, was revived by the disastrous end of the Sicilian expedition. With the Aegean closed to her by the sea power of Athens she had been content to leave her turbulent neighbours to their own devices. Since the suppression of that Egyptian revolt in which Athens had played an unfortunate part, peace had reigned throughout the vast empire under the mild rule of Artaxerxes I. In 424, after his death and the assassination of his son Xerxes II, Darius (II) Nothus succeeded. Tentative suggestions for alliance were made to him by both sides in the Hellenic war, but he was not tempted to intervene. Athens was still mistress of the seas.

In 412, however, the situation, as we have seen, was changed. The possibility was opened to the Peloponnesians of challenging Athens on her own element. The satraps, though responsible to the Great King, enjoyed almost unrestricted liberty of independent action. The government reasserted the claim, long in abeyance, to tribute from the Ionian cities, and entered upon warring negotiations with the complaisant Spartans who, for the overthrow of Athens, were quite

ready to betray the pan-Hellenic cause; and it was largely through the financial and political co-operation of the satraps that Lysander was able in 405 to crush the stubborn resistance of Athens at the price of Ionian freedom.

On the fall of Athens, Sparta set up a tyranny (in the modern sense) of her own in the states which had formed the Athenian Empire, on lines devised and organized by Lysander. The effective government was put in the hands of Spartan officers ('harmosts') who ruled with a rod of iron, infinitely more oppressive than the 'slavery' she was professedly abolishing, and resting solely on the irresistible force at her command. She was possessed now with a lust of empire, though the whole system upon which her prestige had been built up was incompatible with the extension of her dominion beyond the Peloponnese.

Precisely at this moment occurred a remarkable crisis in the history of the Persian empire.

Darius Nothus had two sons. The elder, Artaxerxes (known as 'Longimanus'), was his destined successor on the throne, to which however the younger, Cyrus, also aspired. Darius, seeing the obvious dissensions and jealousy between the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, had sent his younger son, a prince of brilliant ability, to the West to watch and really to supersede both.

### The March of the Ten Thousand

**C**YRUS had been quick to grasp the immense superiority of the Greek soldiery over the best of Oriental levies. He had established close personal relations with Lysander, whom he had even left as his lieutenant in his own province during a temporary absence. And he had probably already resolved to seize the throne by the aid of his Greek friends, when his father died in 404 and Artaxerxes II became king at a moment when the hill-men in the remote interior were causing trouble. Cyrus, in collusion with Sparta, collected a strong force of Greek soldiers of fortune, of whom large numbers were available owing to the termination of the war, ostensibly for the suppression

## The Rival Cities

of the insurgents in Pisidia (once a centre of Hittite power); with these he marched inland, and then made known to them his real purpose. This was the famous Anabasis, the 'Going up' to Susa, the immortal tale whereof was recorded in the matter-of-fact prose of one of the chief actors in the adventure, the Athenian Xenophon.

The adventure failed only because, on the way to Babylon, in the very moment of what should have been decisive victory at Cunaxa, won by the prowess and discipline of the Greeks over immensely superior numbers, Cyrus himself, in hot pursuit of his brother, was cut down and slain on the field. When Cyrus fell there was nothing more to fight for. If he had won, Persia would have been carried out of her lethargy by a king of such enterprising ability as she had not known since the death of Darius the Great. There is no limit to speculation on the possible results.

But Cyrus was slain, and the Ten Thousand Greeks, whom the Persians dared not attack directly, elected Xenophon to command them, and made their perilous and famous retreat, having learnt the lesson to which seventy years later Alexander was to give such tremendous effect—that Persia was penetrable, and that eastern armies stood no chance against the disciplined spearmen of the West.

IN the fall of Cyrus the satraps of Dascylium and Sardis again dominated the West. Sparta, implicated in the great adventure, had broken with both of them. But in Hellas she had set out to establish in practice her own despotic authority, not only in her own dominions proper and in those which had been transferred to her from the Athenian Empire, but—in fact if not in form—



### KNIGHT WHO SERVED AGAINST SPARTA

The presence of Athenian contingents in the Corinthian army operating against Sparta in 394 is commemorated by this cenotaph erected at Athens as a tribute to Dexileos, who was killed at the battle of Corinth, a Spartan victory. He was one of five knights—the others are anonymous—celebrated for their heroism.

*From Percy Gardner, 'Sculptured Tombs of Hellas'*

among her own allies. Her ambitions soon drew her into war, not so much with Persia as with the satraps. The conduct of that war passed in 396 into the hands of a new king, Agesilaus, who had dreams of a conquest, though he had neither the means nor the ability to set about it on a great scale.

Conon, the able Athenian admiral who had saved a remnant of the Athenian fleet from the disaster of Aegospotami, had taken refuge in Cyprus with Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis by grace of the Great King. He was now placed in command of the Persian fleet, having nothing so much at heart as the humiliation of Sparta; who could no longer retain her very recent and unaccustomed rôle as mistress of the Aegean. Athens was rapidly recovering, owing largely to the moderation and

freedom from party spirit of the leaders of the restored democracy. Corinth and Thebes, Sparta's old allies, were now seething with indignation at her.

**I**N 395 open war broke out between Thebes and Sparta; next year she found herself faced by a coalition of Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Argos and other states, and was penned in the Peloponnesus. The Persian fleet under its Athenian commander won a decisive victory at Cnidus; and Conon, accompanied by Pharnabazus, paid a visit to Athens, whose recovery was thereupon celebrated and confirmed by the restoration of the Long Walls. Corinth succeeded in holding the barrier of the Isthmus, largely owing to the skill with which Iphicrates, an Athenian soldier of original genius, reorganized and re-armed the light troops, known as 'pel-tasts,' hitherto a merely subsidiary force, as a new and highly efficient military arm.

Incidentally the inherent weakness of the Persian system had been revealed not only by the march of the Ten Thousand but by the successful breaking away of Egypt, always restive under foreign rule. This probably took place about the time of the death of Darius II, with which it was doubtless connected. It is evident that the successive kings at Susa neither exercised sufficient control over the great satraps nor gave them sufficient support when the authority of the government

was at stake. The Greeks, however, were so divided among themselves that they failed to take advantage of the position, and were each and all ready for an alliance with the Persian by which their own individual interests might be furthered.

## Effects of the 'Persian Peace'

**A**CCORDINGLY we now find Sparta, hard pressed by the new confederacy, changing her anti-Persian policy, and, in her own interest, bringing in the Great King as arbiter in the Greek quarrel—and the confederates bowing to his dictation. The diplomacy of the Spartan Antalcidas brought about, in 386, the peace which bears his name, the 'Peace sent down by the King.' Artaxerxes claimed for Persia all the cities and lands in Asia, with Cyprus. Of the islands, Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros were appropriated to Athens; the rest were to enjoy autonomy, as were all other Greek states—which involved the overthrow of the Theban supremacy in Boeotia. The treaty involved also the desertion by Athens of her ally Evagoras of Cyprus, who was waging a valiant struggle for independence. Sparta's pre-war subjects were still her subjects.

Practically the peace meant that Sparta had a free hand for the establishment of 'autonomy'; and that, as interpreted by her, meant the suppression of all leagues, and of democracies. She used her power—for to the Great King she was now his

trusted agent—to suppress the Olynthian or Chalcidian League, which might otherwise have become an invaluable barrier to the aggression of the rising power of Macedon. Incidentally, by an act of gross treachery in collusion with a party in Thebes, she used it to establish her own friends in power, with a Lacedaemonian garrison in the Theban citadel, the Cadmeia, to keep them there, while most of the prominent patriots escaped to Athens, which refused to surrender them.

It was a fatal blunder. In 379-8 a very daring plot was



**EMBLEM OF ATHENS' REVIVED STRENGTH**

The fortifications of the Piraeus were largely demolished at the end of the Peloponnesian war, but were restored after the triumphant return of Conon from his victory over Sparta at Cnidus. The stonework of this section of the walls indicates how thoroughly Conon's masons carried out their work.

*From Teller, 'Athens and its Monuments'*

## The Rival Cities



### MASSIVE COAST DEFENCES

The heights of the peninsula of Acte overlooked two harbours of the Piræus, and were accordingly fortified with a wall, some 12 feet high by 26 feet thick, and nearly sixty towers—equally strong, as this ruined example shows.

*From Weller, 'Athens and its Monuments'*

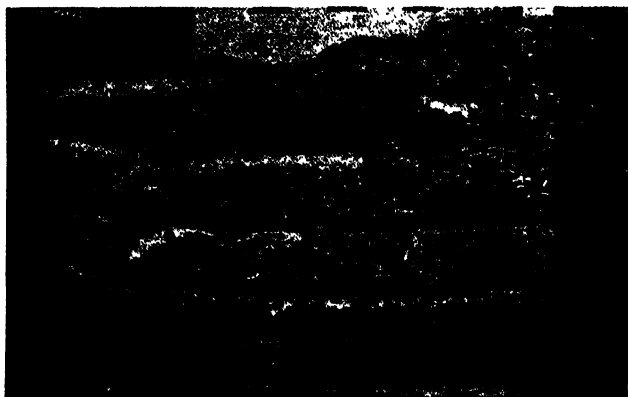
organized by the exiled Pelopidas. The oligarchs were assassinated, the city rallied to the conspirators, and the great Spartan garrison was only allowed to withdraw. For a brief and glorious hour sluggish Thebes displays in herself, or at least in the person of her greatest citizen Epaminondas, the quintessence of the finest qualities of the Hellenic race. A fervent patriot, he yet never set the interests of Thebes above the welfare of Hellas; neither party spirit nor personal ambition ever moved him; we seem in him suddenly to come upon that rare being, the man of genius and the perfect knight in one. From his military genius young Philip of Macedon learnt lessons in the art of war which his own wit and the still greater genius of his son were to turn to full account.

To Epaminondas, acting politically with his warmest friend Pelopidas, and as the head of the Theban armies in the field, it was given to overthrow the Spartan tyranny, and to raise Thebes to the hegemony of Hellas, as the result of his victory at Leuctra in 371. But he fell in the very moment of another decisive victory on the field of Mantineia in 362, two years after the death of Pelopidas

on the field of Cynoscephalæ; and the loss of those two great men left Thebes unfitted for the position she had won. The future lay with none of the cities of Greece, not with Thebes or Sparta or Athens, for all had been found wanting in something, but with the state which all had hitherto held in contempt as semi-barbaric or doubtfully Hellenic despite the pretensions of her dynasts—Macedon.

While the prospects of union in Greece were growing ever more remote, and Greek states were vying with one another in seeking support from Persia, which was itself moving less palpably but not less surely on the path of disintegration, the activity of the Græco-Phœnician struggle revived in the west; and Syracuse was attaining such an ascendancy that intelligent anticipation might more readily have fixed upon her than on Macedon as destined to dominate the Hellenic world.

**S**YRACUSE, led by Hermocrates, the champion of the doctrine of Sicilian aloofness from the rivalries and from the intervention of Greece proper, had broken the power of Athens with the aid of the Spartan Gylippus. But the struggle had exhausted her. Carthage found her opportunity in an appeal from Segesta against Selinus, the Athenian intervention in that quarrel having come to nothing. She swooped suddenly upon Selinus and then



### WHERE STOOD AN IMPORTANT GATEWAY

From the land side, the Piræus could only be entered by gates set in the engirdling wall; the most important was the Asty Gate, through which passed the main road from Athens.\* Here we see the fragmentary remains of one of the twin flanking towers that guarded each gate in case of attack.

*Photo. Deutsches Archæologisches Institut*



on Himera. Aid from Syracuse, whence Hermocrates had been ejected by the extreme democrats, arrived too late, and both cities were ruined.

Hermocrates, still excluded from Syracuse, raised what might be called a 'free company' of Sicilian patriots, occupied the ruins of Selinus, and waged war on the Carthaginians on his own account; but he was killed in attempting to return to Syracuse by force in 408. The partisan war he had carried on from Selinus gave the Carthaginians excuse for another invasion; and they captured Acragas after a stubborn defence, in which no very creditable part was played by Syracuse. Incidentally, we find a band of Italian mercenaries from Campania in the service of Acragas, which was now apparently destined to be the base for a Carthaginian conquest of Sicily.

## Rise and Policy of Dionysius

**T**HE misconduct of the Syracusan generals provided an opportunity for Dionysius, a former partisan of the slain Hermocrates, who had distinguished himself in the fighting at Acragas. By attacking the generals, he procured for himself the supreme military command, which he used to establish himself as tyrant, though his unscrupulous despotism was exercised without abrogation of constitutional forms. Actually his first move was to make a treaty with the Carthaginian Himilco, which in effect surrendered half the island to him, but in return for a Carthaginian guarantee of his own position as lord of Syracuse. This however was only a preliminary step. He must be secure master of Syracuse before he could do anything more. But the mastery of Syracuse was only a beginning.

For some years Dionysius was the very good friend of Carthage—while he was defeating domestic conspiracies against his own power and bringing eastern Sicily into his grip. Then he dropped the mask, and renewed the conflict with the Punic power. In Sicily the attitude to military despotism that prevailed all over Hellas was modified by the plain fact that the last liberator from the Carthaginian menace had been Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse;

only a soldier wielding despotic powers could again deliver Sicily from that menace, and the abilities of Dionysius were equal to the task. To his genius was due a quite unprecedented development of engineering operations in the conduct of war, coupled with a systematic avoidance of pitched battles; though when occasion demanded a direct encounter he could display high tactical skill.

In his first Carthaginian war (398 to 392), he pinned the Carthaginians into the western corner of the island, though he deliberately refrained from crushing them completely. It suited him to make Syracuse and Sicily feel that the enemy was there, and that so long as she was there they dare not dispense with him, that his dictatorship was necessary to their security. And he was politic enough to abstain from any personal vindictiveness or wanton maltreatment of enemies or subjects; not out of magnanimity, but because he recognized that it was good business.

## The Dominions of Syracuse

**H**AVING made his settlement satisfactorily with Carthage, Dionysius set about the extension of his dominion over Hellenic states on the mainland. The gate of Italy was Rhegium, which fell to him after a long siege. Against other cities he allied himself with Italian tribes of Lucania, and many of them he won over by an act of calculated magnanimity. Having trapped a large force, he compelled it to surrender unconditionally, and then allowed it to go free without ransom. He went on to plant outposts which were at once garrisons and trading stations on the Adriatic coast of Italy, with a shrewd eye to commercial development. When he died in 367 he was a potentate far more powerful than any other Greek state.

At its greatest extent, the dominion of Dionysius included almost all Sicily, outside the reach of the Carthaginian strongholds in the west, and of them he destroyed Motya, one of the older cities, so completely that the enemy had to replace it by the more famous fortress of Lilybaeum, across the bay. It extended along the south coast of Italy to include Tarentum, all the 'heel,' the Adriatic coast as

## The Rival Cities

far as the spur of Mount Garganus and, beyond this, the principal ports, Ancona and Hadria. East of the Adriatic he held strong ports around Issa, and had a working agreement with the Molossians between Corcyra and Thessaly. Some of these regions—for the most part the nearer—were governed by Syracuse or its ruler directly; others, free internally, had their foreign policy controlled; others again were occupied by communities of veteran mercenaries, which in some respects resemble the Roman colonies.

From the great fortress of Syracuse this empire was ruled and defended with large mercenary forces, an efficient fleet of new-model ships and every kind of military device, more especially the first batteries of stone-throwing machines. The expenses were enormous, taxation heavy and other financial devices unscrupulous: base coinage, raids on temple treasures and the like. The paramount necessity of conserving his own position at the head of affairs made Dionysius regardless of Greek interests or aspirations which crossed his own, and he did little in detail for the spread of Greek influence or ideas. His service to the Greeks was more elementary,

and at the same time more indispensable; for at all events he kept the Carthaginians at bay for more than a generation, and he created for Syracuse a position, and—what was more—a prestige, which made it possible for more than one of its later rulers to repeat, in a measure, his unification of Greek interests and resources, and give the western cities a consciousness of a common destiny which was to lighten eventually the task of Rome.

### Contemporary Events in Italy

**B**UT his empire was the child of his personality. His dynasty and his system had no roots in the past. His heir, Dionysius II, would have had great possibilities before him, had he not been of another calibre. But he lacked his father's qualities; and between his incapacity and the idealism of Dion, the minister left him by the great tyrant, the tyrant's empire went to pieces in a few years.

Meanwhile, the city on the Tiber, Rome, was moving along the path which was to carry her step by step to a goal undreamed of as yet by her. She was not consciously seeking dominion. Probably dominion would have come to her much



**MASTERPIECE OF FORTIFICATION BY SYRACUSAN ENGINEERS**

To secure his military power Dionysius made the ramparts of Syracuse extraordinarily formidable, while the key fortress of Epipolae, planned by the great Archimedes, was unique in its strength. Built on a rocky height, its walls were massive enough to resist heavy missiles, while its war-engines were the most efficient then known. Above, a sally port in one of the three fosses cut in the solid rock to guard the way of approach; in the background are piers that supported a drawbridge.

more rapidly, though in other guise perhaps, if she had not broken free from her Etruscan despots.

Her revolt had made her the champion of Latinism against both Etruscans and Sabellian or Oscan hill-men, of whom the most prominent were at this time Aequians on the north and Volscians on the south-east of the plain of Latium, where the Latin cities were her natural but jealous allies. Consequently she is perpetually at war, attacked by or attacking her Etruscan neighbour Veii, or the Volscians or Aequians, or an occasional Latin foe; while the Hernicans, wedged between Aequians and Volscians, and, like the Latins, threatened by both, prefer her alliance.

When the Etruscan sea power was shattered by Hieron of Syracuse (see page 1229) the menace from Etruria was so much weakened that for nearly forty years there was no war with Veii. The Aequian and Volscian powers were broken; in all the wars of the fifth century the balance of victory is with Rome and her allies. Usually this involved a cession of territory to the victors, the lion's share going in effect to Rome, whose strength constantly increased relatively to the other cities of Latium; the relation of the cities of the Latin League to Rome being not unlike those of the sixth-

century Peloponnesian League to Sparta—they are not each other's allies but hers, and the command of the allied forces passes into her hands. She becomes in fact all but mistress of Latium before the fifth century is ended; the cities remain autonomous, but they are subject to her suzerainty.

A final war with Veii ended with definite conquest (396) which added a great area on the west of the Tiber to Roman territory. The decisive victory was in part due to the pressure on Etruria of a new enemy, the Gauls, who by this time had completely overrun the basin of the Po and were now penetrating through the Apennines into Etruria itself. The Etruscans had also been driven out of their possessions in Campania,

south-east of Latium, by the Samnites descending from the hills; of whom this first group, having made themselves masters of the Campanian plains, presently lost the sterner qualities of their mountain kinsmen, until their chief city of Capua became a byword for softness and luxury.

When Veii fell, Etruria was already being submerged by the Celtic flood. Six years later (390) it burst into Rome itself. Legends afterwards accumulated about that invasion; of the barbarians who broke into the Senate House and were awe-stricken by the sublime dignity of the silent seated senators; of the attempt to surprise the Capitol, frustrated by the startled cackling of the sacred geese; of the huge ransom that was being weighed out when the Gallic chief Brennus tossed his sword into the scale with the words 'Vae victis,' Woe

to the vanquished; of the sensational deliverance wrought by the hero Camillus, the conqueror of Veii. The definite fact which survives is that the Gauls, having swept devastatingly over Etruria, poured into Rome, sacked it, and then rolled back to the north.



**GREEK-ARMED SAMNITE RAIDER**

Naturally bold and determined fighters, the Samnites, Sabellian hill-men, became a serious danger to the Latin cities when they adopted Greek arms.

*The Louvre*

## The Rival Cities

Etruria never recovered from the blow ; Rome reeled under it. Aequians and Volscians, joined even by some of the dependent allies, seized the moment to make a last desperate stroke for the breaking of the Roman ascendancy, only to be themselves finally broken by her indomitable tenacity (389). The Latin League was reorganized in a form which made it even more dependent on Rome than before ; its chief city, Tusculum, was absorbed, while her people received full Roman citizenship (380). Rome was queen of all Latium from the hills to the Mediterranean, from the borders of Campania to the Tiber, and had finally brought under her sway a substantial section of Etruria. And it was precisely at this moment that the long struggle between Patricians and Plebeians, the Old Aristocracy of birth and the free Commons (see Chap. 55) was definitely decided in favour of the plebs by the abolition of the privileges which restricted administrative offices to men of patrician birth.

### Political Development of Rome

WE saw in Chronicle IV that when Rome expelled her kings her government was in the hands of a close aristocracy, who alone held the executive offices or magistracies and exercised priestly functions. They alone had the power of initiating legislation in the Popular Assembly, the Comitia Centuriata, which passed it ; the voting therein being so arranged that its decisions were practically under patrician control. The patricians had so far misused their power that the plebs had been driven to wring from them the appointment of Tribunes, who, without being magistrates, had powers of intervention to prevent arbitrary action by magistrates—meant only as a defensive step. The tribunate was a clumsy enough device, especially as its intervention could be called into play capriciously.

Moreover, the patricians not only administered the law ; the magistrates themselves were the only authority who could declare what the law was. The next demand was for a published written code. In 451 a commission of ten, the Decemviri, was appointed as an interim government

charged with the drawing up of the code, which was afterwards known as the Twelve Tables. The decemvirate was renewed, attempted to establish itself as a permanent oligarchy, and was overthrown in the popular revolt to which tradition attached the tragic legend of Virginia.

### The Battle of the Orders

Now the battle of the orders was two-fold. The wealthier influential commoners resented the social and political privileges of the patrician families and their own corresponding disabilities ; the poorer felt only that the law was being consistently wrested to their detriment for the convenience of patricians, especially the laws under which lands owned or acquired by the state, the 'ager publicus,' were distributed. The plebs united to demand reform in both directions, but had no machinery to give effect to its wishes except the clumsy tribunate and the emphasising of popular sentiment in the formal resolutions—which had no force except as mere expressions of opinion—of its own assemblies.

The patricians found it at least politic to make occasional concessions—often indeed such that their expected effect could be practically evaded. As early as 445 they were obliged to legalise marriage between patrician and plebeian ; but they fought to the last against admitting plebeians to the magistracies. In fact, it was only when the old warrior Camillus, the hero of aristocratic conservatism, realized that it was no use to keep up the struggle against the inevitable, that the measure known as the Licinian Rogations, combining the agrarian and constitutional demands of the plebs, was passed in 367. The agrarian part of it was too easily evaded to be effective in the long run ; but the enactment that thenceforth one of the consuls must be a plebeian was the death-blow to the privileges of the old aristocracy.

It was in the same year, as we have seen, that the great tyrant of Syracuse died, leaving to his son the empire which at the moment seemed destined to dominate Italy, a more mighty power than the expanding Republic on the Tiber. But the future lay with the Republic.



**THE GLORY OF ATHENS AS IT APPEARED IN THE DAYS OF ITS PERFECTION : THE PARTHENON**

Majesty and simplicity were perfectly blended in the Parthenon, the supreme achievement of Greek architecture. Some idea of its beauty can be gathered from this reconstruction ; but only minute study of the details of its construction can reveal the high scientific and mathematical attainments of its builders. These are shown in the almost imperceptible curves of horizontal planes, the slight inward inclination of perpendicular lines, and the gentle camber of the seemingly flat floor. Finally, the glory of its perfect architecture was crowned by the glory of the sculpture—statues, frieze and metopes.

*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*

# THE HIGH TIDE OF GREEK LIFE

A Picture of the Fifth-century Athenian at  
Work and Play in the Great Days of Pericles

By F. A. WRIGHT

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**T**O draw a picture of fifth-century Greece that shall exhibit all the multitudinous details of Hellenic life is not altogether a simple task. In the days of her greatness Greece was neither a political nor a social unity. Divided and segregated by difficult mountain ranges, the Hellenic states in many cases had little intercourse one with the other, and clung obstinately to their own particular form of government and domestic institutions.

When they compared themselves with the non-Hellenic world of outer barbarians the Greeks felt a certain sense of brotherhood. But it was only in the face of foreign invasion or when they were threatened by the overweening ambition of one of their own number that they would combine for common action. In normal times Thessaly and Boeotia, Argos, Corinth and Sparta were small separate communities and lived their own separate lives. Their people were sprung originally from the same stock, worshipped the same gods and spoke dialects of the same language; but in their actual modes of living the differences between them were as great as the points of resemblance.

Moreover the Greek civilization, which is for us the vitally important thing, was never at any period confined to the Greek mainland. The ancient cities of Asia Minor, Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna; the island states, Lesbos, Chios, Rhodes; the rich colonies in Sicily and South Italy; the trading settlement of Naukratis in Egypt and the new foundation of Cyrene in North Africa—all these in the fifth century B.C., though varying immensely in position, climate, surroundings and natural advantages, were yet alike in being centres of Hellenic culture. To

describe their individual features would be an enormous undertaking, from which happily the social historian is spared.

By a stroke of good fortune one state in Greece, and one state alone, realized the advantages that would ensue to the city which should set herself resolutely in the van of progress, and by encouraging aliens to settle within her walls concentrate in one place all the different manifestations of the Greek genius. That state was Athens; and if we can obtain a clear view of Athens at work and Athens at play; if we can watch her citizens as they flock to temple and theatre, market and gymnasium; if we can see them assembled amid the marble splendours of the Acropolis, and afterwards dispersing to eat a frugal dinner in their far from splendid homes; then we shall get a fair idea of Greek life as a whole.

In accordance with the popular conception of the ancient Greek we imagine him as a gentleman of unlimited leisure whose material wants were supplied for him by the labour of **Athens** slaves, he himself being left free **at Work** to devote his life to politics and fighting, the care of his body and the training of his mind. There is some truth in this description if we confine our outlook to Sparta and to those few states which took as their model the Spartan system of discipline; but, as regards the greater part of Greece, it can only be accepted with considerable reservations. At Athens, as in a modern city, the majority of citizens were engaged in some form of private occupation. Where they differed from the people of most modern countries is that they would not allow their business, whatever it was, to engross all their energy and all their time. They did

not feel any exorbitant desire to accumulate large fortunes, for they valued equality above wealth; their needs were simple and satisfied without much expenditure of money; and the result of their moderate industry was that they had neither a class of idle rich nor of indigent poor.

There were a few old families, like the Alcmaeonidae to which Pericles belonged, whose inherited wealth, invested in real estate, would have enabled them to exist in idleness. There were a few rich manufacturers, such as Nicias, who, profiting by other men's toil, might have enjoyed a life of ease. But, as a matter of fact, wealth with the Athenians was not regarded as an excuse for luxury; it was rather held to be an opportunity for giving freely in money, time and trouble to the service of the state; and both Pericles and Nicias all through their lives worked assiduously for their countrymen.

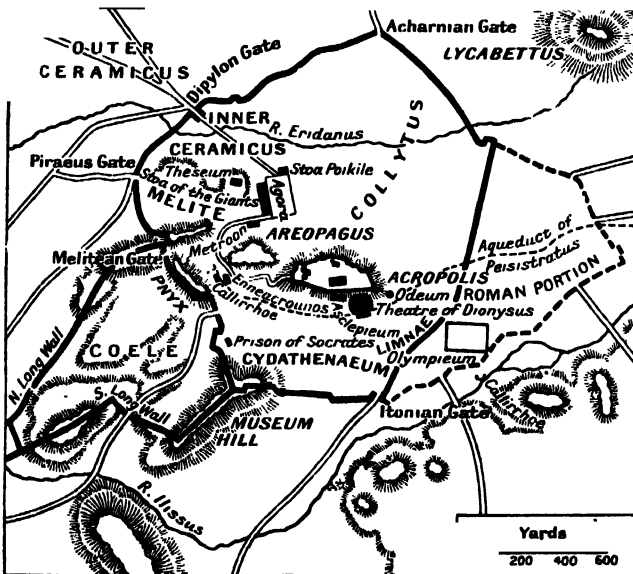
The earliest, and during the first half of the fifth century the most important, of the Attic industries was that of agriculture. As Xenophon, seeking to revive the good old days, says in his *Oeconomicus*: 'Agriculture is the mother and nurse of all the arts; when Agriculture

flourishes they flourish with her; where the land is left untilled almost all the other arts perish.' The ownership of land was a privilege confined to Athenian citizens, and as the tenancy system was unpopular, occupier and cultivator were usually the same person. Of the whole body of Athenians it is probable that more than half were actually owners and workers of the soil. In the middle of the fifth century, besides a relatively small number of large proprietors whose estates were managed by stewards, there were some twenty thousand working farmers tilling their own fields, and a considerable number of agricultural labourers, many of whom possessed a small parcel of land. These worked for hire as shepherds or woodmen, and eked out their livelihood by keeping bees on the heights of Hymettus or burning charcoal in the forests of Acharnae.

The normal-sized farm was one of about forty acres: thirty acres or so of arable producing corn and vegetables, four or five acres of vineyard and olive groves, the rest in orchard and pasture. From such a farm as this came those sturdy

rustics whom Aristophanes regarded as the backbone of the state, the sons of the 'men of Marathon,' who with sword and buckler had repelled the Persian invader and set Athens on the path of freedom and of peace. Living in the country under the healthiest conditions for the greater part of the year, they formed an invaluable counterpoise to the less stable city dwellers, and the ruin of the medium-sized farm in Attica was one of the worst results of the Peloponnesian War.

For a farmer, whether he lived permanently in the country or had a town domicile in addition to his rural homestead, the market-place, Agora, was the most important spot in Athens. The oil from his olive trees, the special gift of Athena to her land, was exported to most parts



PLAN OF FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

As rebuilt under the direction of Themistocles, the walls of Athens had a circuit of about 4½ miles, exclusive of the Long Walls connecting the city with Piræus, its fortified seaport. The principal entrance was the Dipylon Gate, whence streets led to the Agora and, skirting the Areopagus, to the Acropolis.



### EARLY GREEK AGRICULTURAL METHODS

The primitive hook plough merely flaked the soil. The ploughman guided it with one hand and in the other carried the goad for his pair of oxen. An amusing touch is supplied by the crudely drawn bird hovering near the sower's seed corn and by the deer, tortoise and lizard wandering about the field.

*From a vase in the Berlin Museum*

of the Mediterranean world, and there was also an extensive foreign trade in the honey of Hymettus, since with the ancients honey took the place of sugar with ourselves. For the disposal of the rest of his produce the Attic husbandman depended upon his home market.

Of corn he could only grow on his light stony soil a quarter of what the country needed, but with vegetables—cabbage, lentils, peas, onions and garlic—the city was supplied mostly by its own people. Fruit, especially figs, was always in demand, and so were roses to make the wreaths necessary at every banquet and temple offering. The Athenians were not great meat eaters, and beef and mutton were but seldom seen on their tables. Such oxen as came to market were animals specially chosen and fattened for sacrifice to the gods; goats were chiefly valued for their milk and the cheese that was made from it, sheep for their wool. Pig's flesh, however, fresh and cured in all its forms from bacon to black puddings, was a popular luxury, and took much the

same place in Athenian diet as it does with country folk in our own days.

To the Agora supplies of all these commodities were brought in from the country every morning. The market-place itself was a piece of level ground near the Acropolis and the Areopagus, surrounded by official buildings with colonnades and open porticoes where loungers could stand, compare prices and exchange the latest news. It had neither the regular proportions nor the elegant decorations usual in Ionian cities; but, such as it was, it formed the centre of the town's life.

From early dawn until noon it was a scene of busy confusion as its different

sections opened. There were stalls and wicker pens, easily swept away when necessary, for vegetables, live stock, fruit and wine; pigs would be squealing in one corner, hens clucking in another; piles of dirty sheepskin alternated with baskets of black charcoal; under awnings vintners, pork-butchers and cheesemongers displayed their wares. In times of peace the market was not confined to Athenians,



### LADY BEING MEASURED IN A SHOEMAKER'S SHOP

Shoemakers measured their customers for shoes by the simple method of drawing the outline of their feet on the leather, afterwards cutting out the imprint with a curved knife. This vase painting also shows an assistant sewing leather for the uppers, and lasts, awls and strips of leather on the walls.

*From Monumenti dell' Instituto, Rome*





# RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AGORA, CENTRE OF THE TOWN LIFE OF ATHENS

Below and to the north-west of the Acropolis lay the Agora or market place. Along its east side (left) ran the Stoa Poikile or painted portico and, at a later date than the Periclean age, the Stoa built by Attalus, King of Pergamum (159-138 B.C.). On the south was the Bouleuterion or Senate House, at the Tholos or rotunda (centre) in front of it where the city officials dined. West of this was the Metroon, the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, almost concealed here by the Stoa of the Giants with its heavy caryatides. On the west side were steps with a Bema or rostrum in the centre.

*Reconstruction by Buhlmann, partly from literary sources*

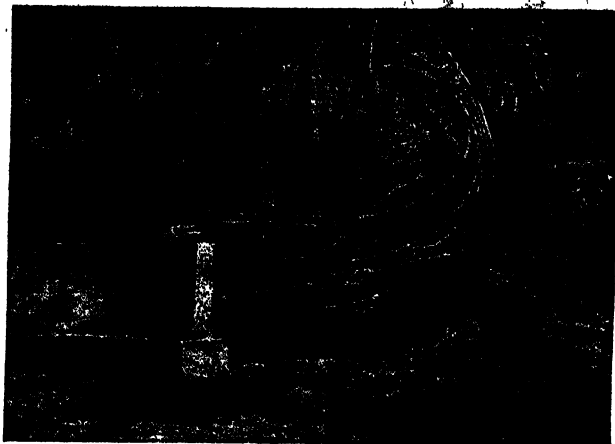
nor even to foodstuffs. Theban fruit growers brought to Athens their pears and apples; fishermen from Copais came in with the fat eels for which their lake was famous; peasants from Megara added their quota of pigs to the home-fed article. And besides eatables nearly everything that could be bought or sold was to be found at one time or another in the Agora and the narrow streets that led into it. In dark little shops, unfronted and open to the road, confectioners set out their pastry, potters their cups and jars, iron workers the swords and spears and shields that every Athenian one day would need.

Barbers, perfumers and cookshop keepers clustered round the square; and through the morning hours they never lacked customers, for 'full-market' was the crown of the Athenian day.

All this was trafficking of a very simple kind, and when, during the fifth century, Athens began to grow into an imperial city, her commercial as

**Athens becomes a commercial city** well as her political ambitions quickly expanded. As long as her trade depended on land routes nothing on a larger scale could be attempted; for the cost of transport over any distance was so great that it precluded all chance of profit. But there was always the sea close at hand, with its infinite possibilities, if only a good harbour could be secured; and to the task of providing that harbour Athens, after the Persian Wars, turned all her energies.

The nearest part of the coast is the open Phaleric Bay, whose shelving sandy shore, though convenient enough for beaching small boats, is too dangerously exposed to the prevalent south-west wind to be suitable for constant use. A little farther on, however, is the Piraeus (see page 1237), a sheet of water nearly a mile long and half a mile wide, with inlets north and south easily adaptable as arsenals and docks. The first steps in the transference from Phalerum to Piraeus were made by



**HIGH-CURVING PROW OF A GREEK VESSEL**

This rock sculpture at Lindus, in the island of Rhodes, gives a clear idea of the graceful curve in which the strakes of a Greek ship were carried upwards to form the prow. The planking was usually from three to four inches thick and half-seasoned timber was used, for convenience in bending.

Themistocles, as part of his great scheme for establishing Athens as mistress of the sea. Under his guidance Piraeus became the war fleet station, and after the defeat of Xerxes, as soon as the upper city had been reconstructed, the work of fortifying the new port was taken in hand. First a wall of solid squared stone, wide enough for two wagons to pass abreast, was built on the land side, enclosing the promontory from sea to sea. Then, on the invitation of Pericles, Hippodamus of Miletus, the greatest town planner of ancient times, came and laid out the entire site on the most modern lines. Finally, by a supreme stroke of strategy, the old city and the new harbour town were joined together by the double line of the 'Long Walls,' four miles in length.

Piraeus, once established, soon became as much a centre of world trade as London is to-day. Into her docks came all the produce of the lands about the Black Sea: Athenian agents were always on the watch at the Dardanelles, and the war ships, intended by the Delian Confederation to fight against Persia, were now used to shepherd all westward-bound vessels to their proper destination. The supplies of corn, which were Athens' chief necessity, she drew mostly from this source, supplemented by smaller shipments from Italy, Sicily and Egypt. From the Black Sea too came the dried fish and salt meat,

which served the frugal Athenian as a relish with his bread, together with most of the raw materials on which the artificer worked, iron, copper and leather for the armourer, pitch, tow and timber for the shipwright, fine woods of every sort for the cabinet maker and joiner. These were all heavy goods whose conveyance to the workshop gave employment for many transport workers ; and beside them there were the many luxuries in whose disposal the middleman found his profit : carpets

customers as far as Egypt and the Euxine for two drachmae. By another wharf the timber ships were berthed, and by another the fruit transports, their cargoes being shifted immediately by an army of dock labourers into the adjoining yards and warehouses. Close to the docks entrance stood the Deigma, an exchange where samples could be seen and tested. Near it was the Agora, where goods were sold wholesale, and in the immediate vicinity the offices of the port inspectors and corn



**BUSY AT THEIR TASKS: ATHENIAN METAL FOUNDERS OF 500 B.C.**

On the left a workman stokes the furnace for melting the bronze, watched by an apprentice leaning on a hammer. Another artificer is chipping away roughnesses from a recently cast figure, the head of which lies between his feet. Various tools, models of heads, hands and feet, and sketch designs of human figures and animals hang on the walls.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A.G.*

from Persia, bronzes from Etruria, perfumes from Arabia, papyrus, muslin and nigger boys from Egypt.

To cope with this volume of traffic an organization was required which in its own way was as elaborate as that of the Port of London Authority. The western side of Piraeus was reserved for the war fleet ; naval arsenals, galley slips and repairing docks fringed the shore. On the western side also were the corn granaries from which both the city and the fleet drew their rations. The eastern side belonged to the merchant service.

To one quay came the passenger boats which ran to Eleusis and Aegina, Corinth and the islands, and even carried their

controllers, and the 'tables' of the bankers and moneylenders, most of them aliens of Semitic origin. Outside the docks was the business town : taverns and slave-fed brothels, crowded with sailors, fishermen, dockers and all the miscellaneous riff-raff of a Mediterranean port.

The goods that came into Piraeus had necessarily to be paid for, and to establish the balance of imports and exports required from Athens a considerable effort. By the end of the fifth century the city had become a beehive of industrious workers. 'As soon as the cock sends forth his morning song,' says Aristophanes, 'they all jump out of bed ; blacksmiths, potters, leather dressers, shoemakers, bath-

men, flour dealers, lyre turners and shield-makers; they slip on their shoes and rush off to their work in the dark.' The 'metics,' resident aliens whom Pericles had encouraged to settle in Athens, were largely responsible for this development and in some industries they played much the same part as the Flemings and Huguenots did in England. Slave labour also was an important factor, and in many cases a metic would hire skilled slaves from an Athenian, paying for them a daily rent. But the poorer class of citizens, working side by side with alien and slave, was frequently drawn into the industrial current, and it may be interesting to consider at close quarters two typical Athenian craftsmen, the stonemason who adorned the city with the buildings that were its chief pride, and the potter who produced the best example we possess of truly popular art.

The stonemasons' guild, of which Socrates was a not very industrious member, was one of the most important in Athens. The raw material of their finest work was a native product, the marble quarried from the sides of Mount Pentelicus; and throughout the great period a succession of public contracts kept them busily employed. The Parthenon, the Propylaea and the Erechtheum were all thus built; and the accounts, fortunately still preserved, of payments made for labour on the latter temple give us



#### PRIDE OF CRAFT: VASE PAINTERS SELF-DEPICTED

The pride the Attic potters took in their craft is charmingly indicated in this vase painting of vase painters themselves at work. Young artists seated on chairs or low stools, with pots of paint at hand, are painting amphorae; and Athena and winged Victories look on, eager to crown their industry.

*From Blunmer, Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*

first-hand evidence of industrial conditions in the last years of the fifth century.

They reveal, first of all, the fact that the craftsman sold his labour and nothing else. The state found all material and implements, and there was no cast-iron system that determined the distribution of the work. For some parts of the building a master mason is employed as foreman, and his workmen are paid direct by the state. For other parts he takes a contract and, accepting all responsibility, employs his men at piece wages. About a quarter of the manual labour is supplied by citizens, the rest by metics and slaves. Lastly, strange though it may seem to a modern mind, every category of worker from the chief architect down to the humblest day labourer, if the state pays the wages,



#### THE LOVELY RESULTS OF ARTISTRY IN GREEK COIN MAKING

The Attic tetradrachm (see page 1550) became so firmly established as the standard Greek coin that no attempt was made to change its somewhat crude design. In other states, however, Greek genius produced such exquisitely beautiful silver coins as this tetradrachm with laurel-wreathed Apollo from Catana, stater with tiny field mouse on an ear of barley from Metapontum, didrachm with charging bull from Thurii and decadrachm with eagles on a dead hare from Agragas.

*From Dr. G. F. Hill, 'Select Greek Coins,' G. Van Oost, Paris*

receives exactly the same amount, one drachma a day.

The potter, like the stonemason, had his materials ready to his hand; the clay of Cape Colias was as indispensable to him as the marble of Pentelicus was to his fellow craftsman, and even before the Persian Wars the finest examples of his skill were exported, especially to Italy, on a large scale. From the very first metics were engaged in the trade, and the names of many of the vase painters, Duris, Brygos, Mys, Lydos, plainly indicate their alien origin. But it is possible that often the master potter to whom the workshop belonged was an Athenian and that he employed the foreign designer. In any case the potter tended to hand on

his business to his son, his workshop was a family affair, and the apprenticeship system was usual. 'How long,' says Plato, 'does the potter's son watch his father before he touches the wheel!'

On the vases themselves we see pictures of young learners bending over their work, and we know that between all the little ateliers of the Ceramicus there reigned a spirit of **Tradesmen and Artists too** healthy emulation. If we had walked through the potters' quarter we should have found, not a dozen large factories employing hundreds of hands and turning out the same article, but a hundred or so of small workshops, each with a staff of about a dozen, and never repeating themselves. His cups and pots and vases were meant for daily use, but to the potter they were things of beauty; and it was only fitting that the prize for the victor in the Panathenaic contests should usually be an amphora made by an Attic craftsman and filled with Attic oil.

The typical Athenian, then, was an artist first and a tradesman afterwards. Everything that came from his workshop bore the mark of his own personality. He made every trade into an art, just as the Roman made every art into a trade. The joiner took as much pride in the shape of his chairs as did Hepplewhite, and the shield maker was not content with turning out a good solid article of seasoned leather and tempered metal. When he had satisfied the claims of utility, he began to indulge his fancy and would invent for every customer his own special shield device. It might be thought that slave labour would of necessity have led to mechanical results; but as a matter of fact slave labour in fifth century Athens was kept in its proper place. In most workshops half a dozen slaves sufficed for the rough preliminary work; the finished article was the product of free labour. In only one industry were slaves employed on a large scale; and here a brief account of the silver mines at Laurium will not be out of place.

The district of Laurium in the promontory of Sunium was the nearest equivalent that Athens possessed to a 'Black Country,' and the silver and lead extracted from the mines there were as important in the national economy as



FINE PORTRAIT OF A CITIZEN

An ordinary roadside tomb has preserved this convincingly real portrait of Tynnias, a commonplace citizen of fifth century Athens. Grace and dignity mark every line of the loosely draped figure posed so naturally on the homely chair.

From Percy Gardner, 'Sculptured Tombs of Hellas'

iron and coal are to England. How far the silver mines were responsible for her commercial success we need not now consider; it is certain, however, that the period when they were most actively worked was also the period of her greatest prosperity. That silver existed at Laurium had always been known, but it was not till 483 B.C., just before the invasion of Xerxes, that a prospector 'struck rich,' and operations on a large scale began.

The state assumed ownership and mining concessions at a high rent were given out on contract. Only citizens were eligible to hold a claim; they organized their workings as they pleased, and took their profit from the sale of the ore. In some cases, as might be expected, the gains were large, and most of the big fortunes in Athens owed their origin to this source. But the general rule was for a man to take a small claim, hire or buy a gang of about thirty slaves, and be content with a steady moderate income. The mint was the mine owner's best customer, and from his silver ingots, doubly refined, were stamped the Attic tetradrachms, the 'owls of Laurium,' which in the fifth century were not only the standard Mediterranean currency but also the most valuable of Athenian exports.

The mines could not have been worked without slave labour, and of the adult male slaves in Attica it has been calculated

that more than half were thus employed. When a slave found himself at Laurium he stayed there, often for no very long period, until he died. The conditions were bad, the hours long—ten hours' work followed by ten hours' rest—and the labour exhausting. The weaker men were kept above ground, where the ore was crushed in mortars and hand mills, washed and smelted; the stronger did the actual mining. In galleries three feet wide and three feet high, on their knees, their backs or their stomachs, they hewed with pick and mattock. There was no ventilation, no sanitation; the heat must have been cruel, the odours almost unbearable; and the iron rings can still be seen in the passages from which a worker whose output did not satisfy his overseer was



**YOUNG ATHENIAN WHO FELL IN BATTLE**

In striking contrast to the peaceful citizen opposite is this young soldier, Aristonantes. Clad in helmet and cuirass, with 'chlamys' flowing over his shield arm, he is portrayed charging over the battlefield where he fell.

*From Percy Gardner, 'Sculptured Tombs of Hellas'*

trussed up for a whipping. A man of ordinary humanity—and very few Athenians were actively cruel—preferred not to visit his concession at Laurium; he regarded it as a necessity and thought about it as little as possible.

He was the more able to do this because his own time was very fully occupied. An Athenian did not delegate to others the task of governing; he took an active part himself in running the state. The idea at the back of his democracy was equality: not equality in wealth or social position or intellectual ability, which he knew to be impossible, but equality in rights and opportunities for social service. Every citizen of Athens was equal before the law, and furthermore every citizen had an equal chance with his fellows of legislating, of holding office and of administering justice.

To begin with, there was a very large number of executive posts and boards of officers, posts of no particular importance and very slenderly paid. These places were only held for one year, no one was eligible twice, and the appointment was made by lot from all who offered themselves. It was thought that any man of decent reputation would be competent to perform the routine work that normally forms the bulk of public business, and this system ensured that as many citizens as possible became acquainted with the details of government and the responsibilities of office. For the more important positions, such as the Board of Generals and the Treasury Board, where special qualifications were necessary, an election was held. But the Council of Five Hundred, which was the nearest approach that Athens had to a modern government, was, like the mass of minor officials, appointed annually by lot from the whole body of the people; and if the lot fell upon a man, he was obliged to serve.

A committee of fifty members of the Council, sitting for five weeks, attended to all matters of public urgency, convened the Council when necessary, and four times in each month summoned the citizens to a general Assembly. It was a duty



#### HUMAN TOUCH IN DECORATIVE ART

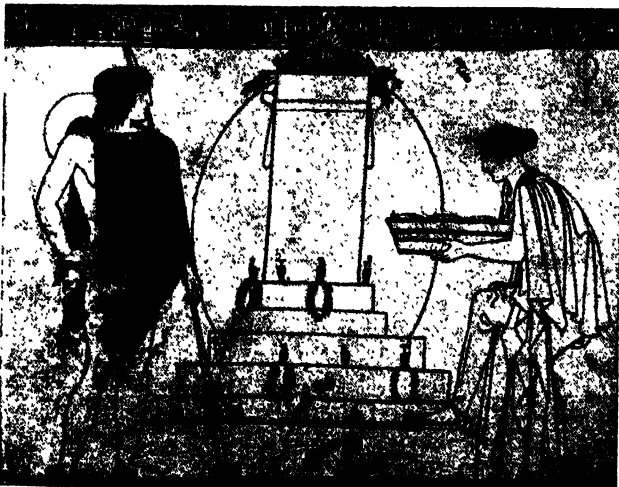
A somewhat touching glimpse into national character is given by this vase painting of an old Athenian sadly yet proudly helping his son to don his hoplite armour. The vase dates from about 480 B.C., the year of Salamis.

*Vatican Museum; photo, Alinari*

incumbent upon every one to be present at this meeting, and a payment of half a drachma, about fivepence in our money, could be claimed from the state for attendance. To the Assembly the Council submitted the proposals which they themselves had previously considered. 'Should

war be declared immediately?' 'Should the fleet be manned for active service?' 'Should special contributions in money be asked for from wealthy citizens?'—all questions which could be answered by a direct affirmative or negative. If a debate was demanded, the proposals could be discussed before the vote was taken; if no one wished to speak, they were at once put to the meeting.

The Assembly only met once a week, and often its proceedings were such a pure formality that no great importance attached to them. The real instrument whereby the sovereign people kept a check upon the executive was the 'Heliæa,' the Jury Courts. These were the very centre of



#### CUT OFF IN THE FLOWER OF HIS YOUTH

A master's hand is evident in this funeral vase in the National Museum, Athens. It depicts the shade of an Athenian youth wearing the characteristic 'chlamys,' watching a girl bringing offerings to lay upon his own grave-stone, on the steps of which tributes of wreaths and oil flasks are already deposited.

*From Pfuhl, 'Masterpieces of Greek Painting,' Chatto & Windus*

the democratic system, and they require a particular description.

On every business day five thousand Athenians gave their services to the state as jurymen, and received from the state half a drachma as their day's fee. Arranged in ten panels of five hundred each, they took their places in the morning, each panel in its allotted court, and settled themselves to listen to what an Athenian most loved, a display of eloquence and forensic skill, before giving at the end of the day their own final and decisive verdict. To the Courts nearly every matter of public importance eventually came. Private law-suits were only part of their work; although in litigious Athens these were plentiful enough.

Their most important function lay in their dealings with politicians, legislators and magistrates. If a politician, for example, had succeeded in inducing the Council to propose and pass a decree through the Assembly, he could still be indicted in the Courts on the very general ground that his decree contravened the spirit of the Athenian constitution; and such indictments were by no means un-

common. Again, if a man wished to repeal an old law or to introduce a new law, the Courts acted as a judicial committee; counsel on either side were heard and the jurors decided whether any change was advisable. As for the annually appointed magistrates, they were made to feel their dependence on the Courts at every step.

Directly after his election a magistrate's fitness for office could be legally challenged. At any time during his year's tenure he could be impeached before a jury for malversation. His accounts were audited every month on the Court's instructions, and at the end of the year he had to submit to a judicial inquiry into all his acts. Athenian jurors took their responsibilities very seriously, and attendance at the Courts must certainly have occupied a large part of an elderly citizen's time, while men of military age, besides taking their part in all these civic duties, were constantly liable to be called up for service in the forces of the state.

We have now enumerated most of the forms of work in which Athenians



#### AN ATHENIAN BRIDE BEING PREPARED FOR THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

Little winged loves flitting about among the girls emphasise the meaning of this picture of a bride being arrayed for her wedding. One of the maidens dresses the bride's hair, watched critically by two other girls, and yet others are busy with accessories of her toilet. Gold and white are used freely in this red-figured vase—Attic work of the middle of the fourth century which, apart from its delicate beauty, is noteworthy for the minute details of drapery and furniture of the period.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Druckmann A.G.*





#### ROCK ALTAR OF DEMOCRACY : THE BEMA ON THE PNYX

Memories of the political development of Athens centre in the rugged ruins of this stepped platform, all that remains of the Bema, or rostrum, of the Pnyx. On this plateau the Ecclesia or Assembly was held throughout the great period of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. All citizens qualified to attend the Ecclesia had the right of speech and, when put 'in possession of the House,' mounted the Bema and thence addressed the assembly.

engaged, and have traced the progress of industry at Athens for nearly a hundred years. The citizens, who at the beginning of the fifth century had been mostly all farmers, began during the brilliant years of Pericles' administration to take up their homes in the city, to devote less personal attention to their fields and to give their time more and more to politics and public business. Agriculture, which had been the staple industry of the country, fell somewhat into the back-

**Social change wrought by Pericles** ground, and by the year 430 B.C. Athens, becoming the chief financial and commercial centre in the Mediterranean, drew the greater part of her wealth from her ships, her mines and her workshops. The industrial revolution that has been going on in England for two centuries was in Athens completed within a few decades; and that the change was not unprofitable to the citizen class we know from one fact.

In the year 480, out of thirty thousand Athenians, about twenty thousand could be classed as poor men; in 431, while the

total of citizens had risen to forty thousand, the proletariat was no larger than it had been half a century before; the increase of ten thousand was entirely due to the increase in the well-to-do middle class. The members of this latter section of society, though they did not engage in manual labour or in retail trade, still led, as we have seen, very busy lives, dividing their energies fairly equally between the supervision of their landed property and invested capital, and the general interests of the state. Below them in the social scale, although their equals in all political rights, came the twenty thousand poorer citizens, who depended for subsistence on manual labour and the meaner forms of trade. This was the class that derived the greatest material benefits from the democratic system. For them Pericles organized his great building schemes; for them payment for all public services was introduced; if they wished to attend the theatre they could claim the price of admission; if they served as jurors they took the three-obol fee; and if they were killed in battle their orphans were reared

at the country's expense. We may conjecture that the help they obtained from the state, added to their own earnings, enabled them to keep well above the poverty line; but they certainly had to work and to work hard. Still, as Pericles says in his Funeral Oration, Athens, in her care for all citizens, devised for them many forms of recreation to relieve the strain of life; and to Athenian amusements we may next turn. Our first scene must be the theatre.

An early spring morning, 458 B.C., in the precinct of the god Dionysus on the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis.

The city is full of strangers come on business or pleasure from Asia and the islands; for although Athens is at war with Corinth and Aegina, her fleet still keeps the sea open, and to-day citizens and strangers are flocking to the theatre where, in the god's honour, the new plays for the year are to be performed. The first arrivals secured their places soon after midnight, and since sunrise there has been a steady

stream of spectators, climbing up the steep gangways on the hillside and distributing themselves upon the tiers of wooden benches which form the auditorium. Even so the theatre is not yet quite full; there is room in the spacious semicircle for nearly twenty thousand people and the ushers are busy packing them closely together in the narrow seats. The more luxurious have brought cushions to sit on, and the more careful a supply of nuts and fruit; for this is an all day ceremony, and once in his place a man must stay there until the end of the afternoon. There is still some time to wait before the performance begins; but the audience are already supplied by nature with an entrancing spectacle.

From the open hill they can see, in the luminous haze of the Attic atmosphere, the white road stretching across the plain from the flat brown roofs of the upper city to the Piraeus. Beyond the maze of masts and rigging clustered about the docks the sea sparkles in the sunlight, and on its blue surface a squadron of war triremes is visible, practising manoeuvres.



WHERE THE DEAD OF ATHENS SLEEP BESIDE THE BROAD HIGHWAY

The Street of Tombs, the principal cemetery of Athens, lay outside the Dipylon Gate, on the north-west of the city. The tombs were ranged in rows, usually in order of families, along both sides of the highway, and the monuments are models of artistic expression of restrained emotion. Two striking memorials appear in this photograph, one crowned by a large bull, the other by a Molossian hound. The temple-like monument in front of the former has faint traces of painting.

Salamis with its glorious memories and hostile Aegina, the eye-sore of Piræus, both seem quite close, and beyond Argolis a gleam of whiteness betrays the summit of Mount Cyllene, eighty miles away in the heart of the Peloponnese.

But Mediterranean folk seldom appreciate the beauties of nature with the enthusiasm which is the Northerner's compensation for his own grey skies. To the majority of the audience the view is too familiar to excite the admiration it deserves, and they prefer

**Current Topics** to spend their time in  
**of the Day** looking about them and conversing with their

neighbours. Topics are not lacking, and a true Athenian is never weary of talk. There are the merits of the previous day's performance to discuss, and a forecast of what Aeschylus is going to present to his countrymen to-day to be attempted. One man is acquainted with the leader of the chorus, which has for some weeks been busily rehearsing, and he assures his friends that a new tenor has been engaged for the leading rôle, and that the choral odes surpass in grandeur and complexity of rhythm all that even Aeschylus has yet produced. Another declares that to his certain knowledge the plays will be mounted with a magnificence never before attempted; one of the wealthiest citizens in Athens has undertaken to bear the cost and no expense will be spared. A third man, even better informed than the others, is able to give the reasons for this lavish generosity; there are political forces at work, he whispers, and Aeschylus intends to champion the rights of the Areopagus which Pericles and his friends have been so busy lately in whittling away. People of position are not altogether pleased with this new state socialism, and it will be found to-day that Aeschylus is their spokesman.

So the babble of talk and argument goes on among the excited groups. At this performance the contemporaries of Aeschylus, the men who fought and won at Marathon, are more conspicuous than usual, for many of the younger citizens are away on active service. Some are with the grand fleet in Egypt, others are on the southern frontier ready to repel a Corinthian attack,

others guard the north against the ever-present menace of Boeotia. The partisans of Pericles in the theatre are for once in the minority, and when at last the 'Olympian' appears and takes his place of honour in the front row, he is greeted with as many cries of reproach as cheers of welcome. He sits unmoved and thoughtful, and almost immediately attention is diverted from him as the foreign ambassadors file into their reserved seats; grandees from Thessaly in richly embroidered robes, envoys from Argos angling for support in the Peloponnese and, most exciting spectacle of all, the three swarthy Egyptians who have persuaded the board of generals to help them against Persia.

The envoys are followed by the ten judges, chosen by lot, who will decide the prize of victory to the best set of plays. Then the great theatre falls silent; the aged priest of Dionysus is seen coming from sacrifice to the god. He walks slowly to his central throne with hands uplifted to heaven; a flute thrills out one silvery note; and the Agamemnon begins.

Our next picture will be again one where spectacle and religion are combined. It is now a late July morning in the Outer Ceramicus, 438 B.C., and for five days Athens has been in a turmoil of excitement. The greatest of all the festivals is being celebrated, the Panathenaea, the festival of Athena, **Athena at Play:** patron goddess of the city, **the Festival** and all the people have united in doing honour to heaven, their country, and themselves. So elaborate are the preparations required that this particular feast only takes place once in four years, but in the year in which it comes it is always by far the most important event in the calendar. On this occasion, moreover, there are circumstances that give it a unique interest.

Two decades have passed since the glorious year when the Agamemnon was first performed, the year that is still kept fresh in men's minds by the monument in the Ceramicus recording the names of the Athenians who, in those twelve months, were killed in battle in Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, Halieis, Aegina and Megara. Now Athens is reaping the reward of their sacrifice. For a moment war has ceased,



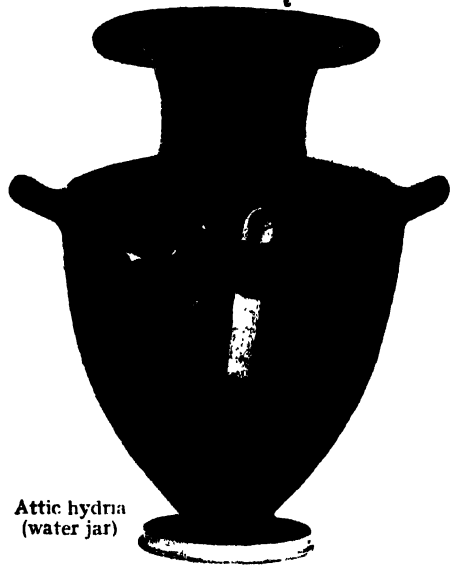
#### EXAMPLE OF ATTIC VASE PAINTING AT ITS UNEQUALLED BEST

Greek vase forms and vase painting reached their highest expression at Athens in the mid-fifth century B.C., when the red-figure style (see next page) was used for all but deliberately archaistic work. On this splendid amphora, showing a young warrior for whom Victory is pouring wine, note the purity of outline, the minute delicacy of the details, and the restraint of the accidental ornament.

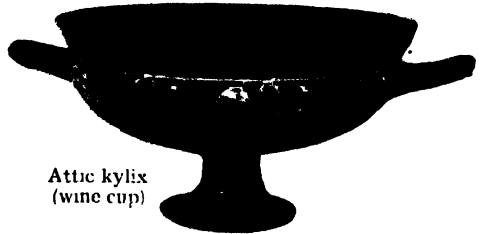
*British Museum*



Early Attic amphora  
(two-handed storage jar)



Attic hydria  
(water jar)



Attic kylix  
(wine cup)



Attic  
amphora



Attic krater  
(wine mixer)

#### PROGRESS OF A CENTURY IN THE GLORIOUS WARES OF ANCIENT GREECE

Various periods, shapes and styles of Greek vases from Attica are here illustrated. The topmost archaic amphora shows the sacrifice of Polyxena. The lowermost (Achilles slaying Penthesilea; signed by Exekias) and the krater (Athena crowning a harpist) contrast the black-figured and the red-figured techniques: in the first the figures are black silhouettes on the red of the clay, with details scored through or added in white or purple; in the second it is the background that is blacked in.

*British Museum*



Mourning women making offerings at the tombs of departed relatives : fifth-century white Attic lekythi

#### BEAUTIFUL VESSELS DESTINED FOR THE DARKNESS OF THE TOMB

One class of Attic vessels differs from the red-figure and black-figure vases in being painted in colours on a white ground. They are mostly lekythi or oil-pots, used for anointing the dead and so placed in great numbers in tombs ; but sometimes the method was employed for other vessels, such as the lovely kylix (bottom left) with Aphrodite riding on a goose. On the lekythi the subjects are funerary ; the example (right) shows a young warrior being laid in his tomb by Death and Sleep

*British Museum*



# COLOURS SUCH AS SOFTENED THE GLARE OF WHITE MARBLE UNDER THE BLAZING SUN OF GREECE

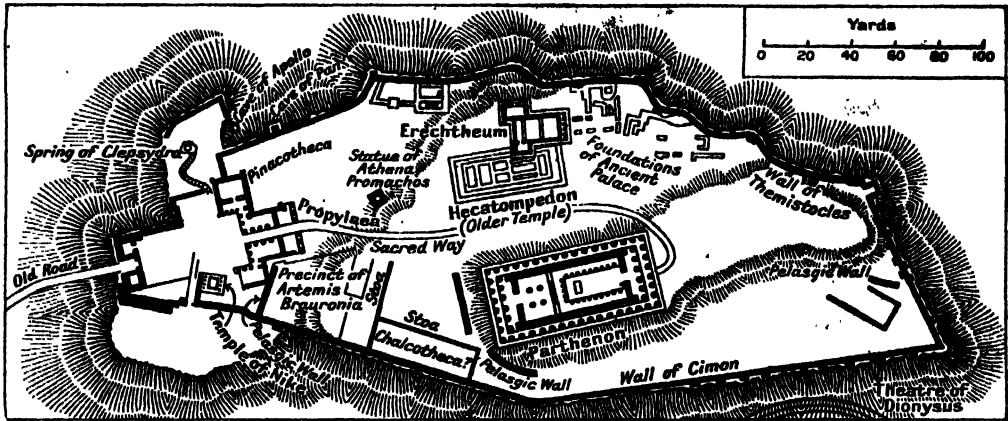
The ancient statuary that adorns our museums and the weather-beaten ruins of Greek temples that survive, have mostly lost all traces of colouring, and thus leave the impression that the art of the Greeks was a 'white' art. This is far from the truth. The statues were tinted; those close to the eye in natural shades, those high off the ground, as in temple pediments, in a bolder, more conventional fashion. The temples themselves, too, were picked out in brilliant hues. All this can be realized from the reconstruction above, which as far as the form is concerned is based on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

*After the reconstruction by Carl Schwanitz, 1904.*

and in this brief breathing space the people have been able to devote all their energies to the arts of peace and to the adornment of their town.

The Outer Ceramicus has been laid out by Cimon as a public resort, the Inner Ceramicus beautified by frescoed porticoes and colonnades. The theatre of Dionysus has been remodelled by Pericles, and near it the covered building of the Odeum

an institution which Peisistratus had originally founded, now by an ironical turn of fortune combined with a celebration of the heroic deed of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in slaying Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias, and held upon the anniversary of the tyrant's death. On the next two days gymnastic sports of every kind, and on the third night the relay torch race, one of the most



**PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD**

Themistocles erected the existing north wall of the Acropolis after the departure in 479 B.C. of the Persians, who had destroyed the earlier fortifications. The wall on the south and east sides was added after the victory of the Eurymedon in 467 B.C. by Cimon, who also extended and heightened Themistocles' wall and levelled the ground until the enclosed area received its present shape and dimensions. The great monuments of the classical epoch date from the age of Pericles.

erected for musical performances. Above all, the Acropolis has been made the visible centre of the wealth, the piety and the festive splendour of the imperial city. There, for the last nine years, the Parthenon has been in course of building. A host of masons under Ictinus has been squaring the stones and fluting the tapering columns of the shrine. A band of sculptors under Pheidias has been carving the bas-reliefs and statue groups for pediments and frieze. And Pheidias himself has made from ivory and gold the image of the goddess whose abode on earth the Parthenon is to be. To-day the Maiden's house is ready for the Maiden's statue, and all Athens is alert to see her take possession of her new home.

Throughout the week competition has followed on competition, procession on procession, and feast on feast. On the first day musical and literary contests in the Odeum and the recitations from Homer,

popular of all spectacles. In this teams compete one against the other, passing from hand to hand a blazing torch without permitting it to go out, and finishing at the Cave of Pan just outside the city wall. The competitors in all these athletic contests are arranged by degrees of age, boys, youths and men, and the victors receive jars filled with olive oil and ornamented with paintings of athletic scenes.

The fourth day was given up to chariot racing and to exhibitions of horsemanship in the Hippodrome near Piraeus, and on that evening there were rowing matches between war triremes close to the shore. Finally, on the fifth day, there was a typically Greek event, a beauty contest confined to that sex which Greeks considered superior, the male. Each of the ten tribes into which the people were divided entered twenty-four men, and the prize was given to that tribe whose representatives were judged to be the comeliest in appear-

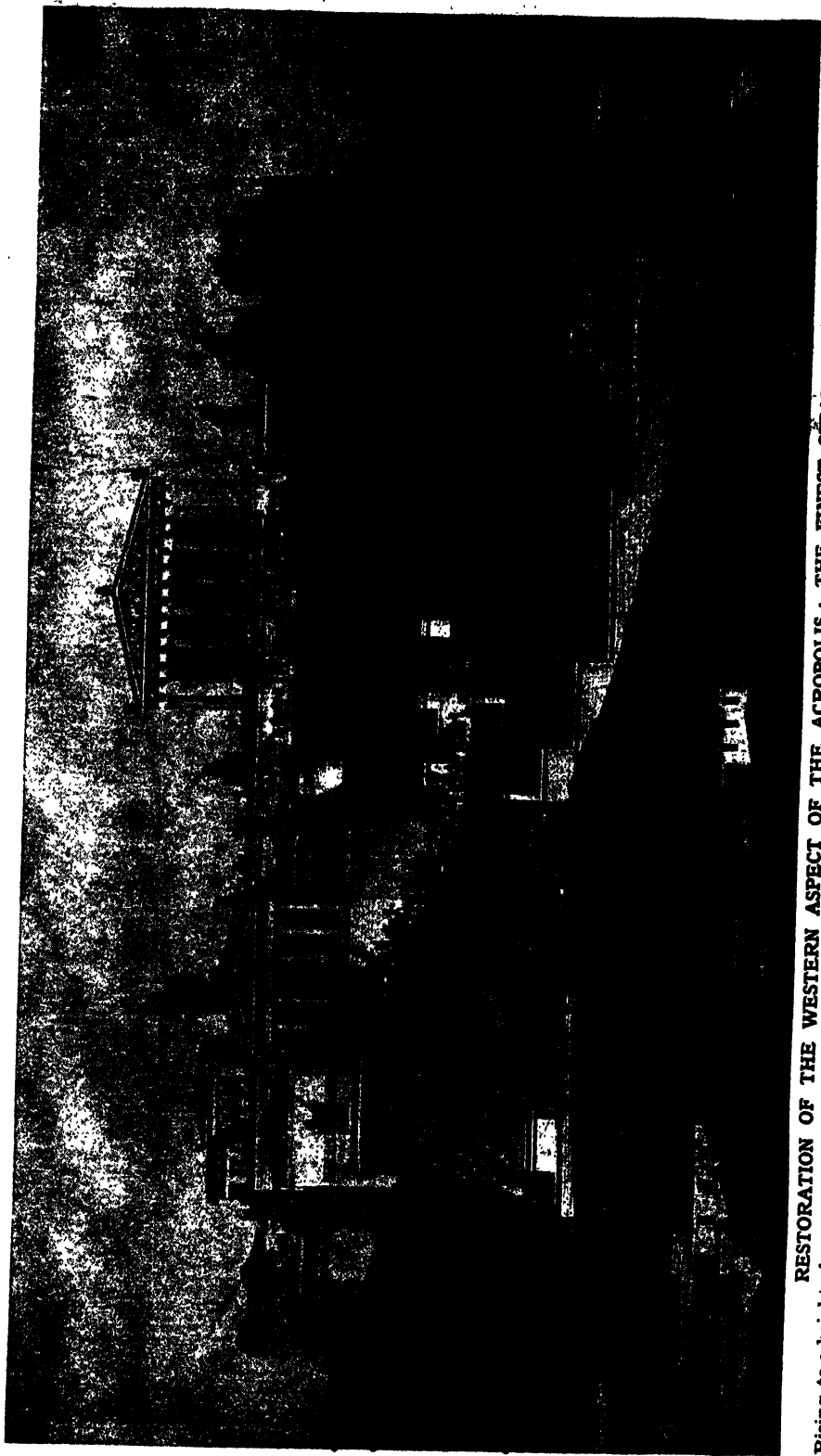




**VIEW OF THE ACROPOLIS: MATCHLESS IN ITS PRIME AND LOVELY IN DECAY**

Even with its glorious classical structures in decay, and set about as it is by the unlovely architecture of modern villas, the Acropolis is still incomparable. As ever, the Parthenon fills the centre of the picture, dominating the height by a beauty that more than counterbalances the massive grandeur of the Propylaea on the left. Below these are the ruins of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus—not shown in the plan in page 1256 because later than the period dealt with in this chapter—with the portico of Eumenes stretching away to the right. Beyond the Acropolis, Mount Lycabettus points upward to the sky.

*Photo, E.N.A.*



### RESTORATION OF THE WESTERN ASPECT OF THE ACROPOLIS : THE FINEST CITADEL OF ANTIQUITY

Rising to a height of more than 500 feet, the fortress rock world-famous as the Acropolis of Athens was the natural nucleus of all the settlements on the Attic plain. After the destruction of the earlier buildings by the Persians in 480 B.C., Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles became the founders of the splendid citadel reconstructed here. On the west side were the Propylaea, or gateways of approach, beyond which stood the bronze statue of Athena Promachos (Athena of the Battle Front). To the left was the temple of Erechtheus, and overshadowing the whole was the incomparable Parthenon.

*After the reconstruction by Marcel Lambert in 'Monuments Antiques'*



#### WINE FOR LIBATIONS TO ATHENA

Preceded by a marshal, youths bearing offerings marched in the great Panathenaic procession. Some carried trays or baskets of assorted gifts; some, like the three here pictured, large pitchers filled with wine. Behind them came the musicians, four flute players and four lyre players in each little band.

*Acropolis Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari*

ance, the fittest in physical condition, and the most tastefully dressed.

All these competitions, however exciting though they be in themselves, are meant only as a prelude to the great proces-

sional offering which is to take place on this, the sixth day of the festival. From daybreak the Ceramicus has been the centre of busy preparations. The white cattle for sacrifice and the sheep with silvery fleeces that the colonies send as offerings to the goddess are drawn up in lines. The richer youths of Athens have groomed their sturdy little horses, donned their short riding cloaks, their crested helmets and their bright metal greaves, and are waiting the order to ride off bare-back. Near them stand the four-horse chariots which only the wealthiest can afford to maintain, their teams magnificently caparisoned, their drivers gay in festal attire. The victors in the games, wearing their crowns of olive leaves, have had their station assigned to them, and

flute players are ready to pipe them a triumphant march as they go.

Even the aliens are allowed a humble share in the city's rejoicing. As a reminder of their dependent condition, however,



#### YOUNG KNIGHTS MAKING READY TO RIDE IN THE PROCESSION

The Ceramicus by the Dipylon Gate was the place where the procession was marshalled and from daybreak it was the scene of busy preparations. Detached incidents in these were chosen by Pheidias as subjects for the west frieze of the Parthenon. This slab, for example, depicts a young Athenian donning his short riding cloak and another, already cloaked, fastening his greaves. Their small and sturdy horses, bare-backed but groomed to perfection, stand beside them in charge of a groom:

*British Museum; photo, M&S*

they carry stools and parasols for the Athenian girls who on this occasion, alone in the year, play a prominent part in a public ceremony. Under priestly supervision, chosen maidens have for months been weaving the robe wherewith the goddess this day is to be invested, and they are now ready to escort it to the temple. The robe itself, fastened sail-wise to a ship moving on wheels, is in the very front of the procession.

At last the marshals have got everyone into his or her proper place. The signal is given, and from the Ceramicus through the market place, crowded with cheering throngs, the solemn pomp makes its way to the open space before the Acropolis. The riders dismount and give their horses to their grooms, or to the Thracian policemen, who are doing their best to keep the crowd back. Then in closed ranks they mount the marble stairway. The board of generals with Pericles at

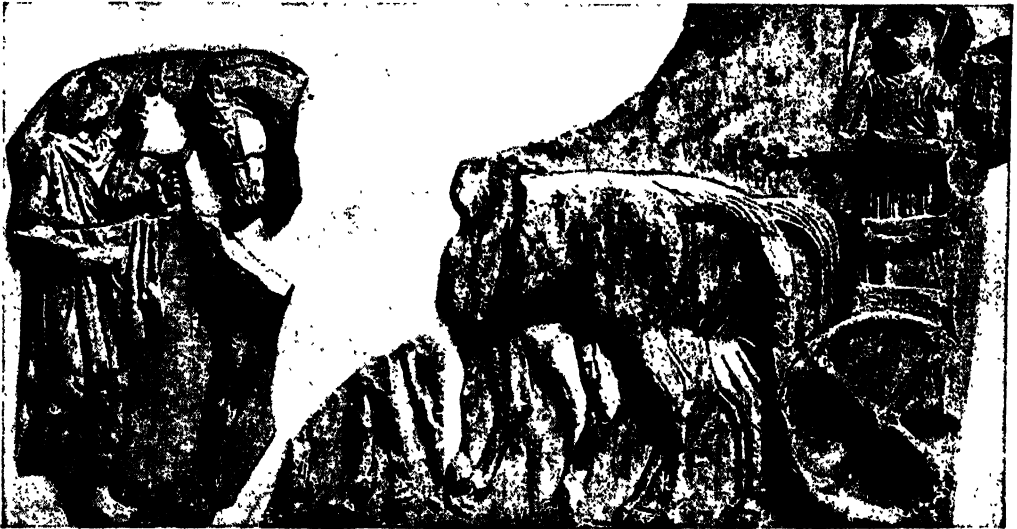


#### SPECTATORS AWAITING THE PROCESSION

From Athens and from the surrounding country the entire population gathered to watch Athena's robe being borne in solemn pomp from the Ceramicus to the Acropolis. Here are four typical citizens as delineated by Pheidias, engaged in animated conversation while awaiting the procession.

*British Museum*

their head, the treasurers and the temple priests are waiting to receive them before the colossal bronze figure of Athena Promachos. The victims are led off for sacrifice, and the robe is carried into the shrine, where the ivory limbs of the new



#### OSTENTATIOUS FOUR-HORSED CHARIOTS OF THE PLUTOCRACY

Only the richest citizens of Athens could afford to maintain a four-horsed chariot with its necessary complement of charioteer and 'apobates,' whose skill in vaulting from horse to horse, leaping on to the bare back when travelling at high speed, and other feats of equestrian dexterity reflected credit on his wealthy employer. All the four-horsed chariots available took part in the Panathenaic procession, the teams magnificently caparisoned and their drivers gay in festal attire.

*From Smith, 'The Sculptures of the Parthenon,' British Museum*



#### FOLDING THE NEW PEPOS IN PREPARATION FOR DRAPING IT UPON ATHENA

The frieze of the Parthenon is a continuous band of sculpture nearly 3 feet 4 inches high and 524 feet in length over all. Its main theme is the procession on the occasion of the Panathenaic festival, the principal feature of which was the offering of a new robe to the goddess Athena. This 'peplos' was a woven mantle which, folded once lengthwise and twice breadthwise, was draped over the gold and ivory image of Athena. This slab on the east side of the Parthenon shows a priest in the act of folding the peplos square, assisted by a lad who grips one angle of the cloth between his elbow and his side.

*British Museum; photo, Mansell*

statue gleam in the subdued light, to be draped reverently upon her shoulders. A herald from the top of the steps cries out to the people that the goddess has deigned to accept their offering, and the huge multitude, citizens, aliens, slaves and foreigners, disperses for one great final carouse before they take up the burden of work upon the morrow.

So much then for annual plays and festivals; let us now take an Athenian's daily recreation and imagine that it is a spring afternoon, 424 B.C., outside the city walls in the grove of the hero Academus. The sun is shining brightly and small groups of men, with

**Athens at Play:** stout sandals on their feet the **Gymnasium** and carrying walking-sticks, are making their

way leisurely to the playing fields upon the banks of the Cephissus. In summer the little river sinks into its stony bed, but on this early spring day it is still a considerable stream. There have been heavy rains in the mountains among which it rises and it is running strongly down to the sea. Its course inland can be plainly traced by the thick belt of grey-green olive trees that stretch past the hills of Colonus to the north. But by the meadows of the Academy there is a break in their dark verdure and long lines of poplars and planes, watered by rivulets from the main stream, give an effect of lighter green and cooler shade.

The wide expanse of ground sloping down to the river is already thickly dotted with men of all ages from eighteen to seventy, some resting, others engaged in various sports; and as the afternoon draws on the numbers increase, for every Athenian of the leisured class considers it a prime duty to take some form of active exercise every day. From the roadway you may see them passing first into a range of low white buildings which front the playing fields. Through a

passage they enter a large hall, the Apodyterion, opening directly on to the colonnade which surrounds the central court.

Here the athlete's first task is to strip himself of his clothes. All physical exercises are performed naked, and to wear even a loin cloth is the mark of a barbarian, a relic of that false shame from which the Greeks so happily freed themselves. His next business is to anoint himself all over with oil, and carefully to rub it into his skin. Every Athenian carried an oil flask as we carry an umbrella, and this constant practice of embrocation not only gave their bodies the rich golden brown tint which they considered the perfection of manly beauty, but was also a safeguard against chills. As Lucian says:

When their first pithless tenderness is past, we strip our youths and aim at hardening them to the temperature of the various seasons till heat does not incommode them nor frost paralyse them. Then we anoint them with oil by way of softening them into suppleness. It would be absurd that leather, dead stuff as it is, should be made tougher and more lasting by being softened with oil and the living body get no advantage from the same process.



**CATTLE FOR THE SACRIFICE**

Tributes of cows and sheep—the latter being offerings from the colonies—appear at the head of the procession on the north side of the frieze. So far as is known the Athenians only offered cows, and these are shown here being led by a youth.

*Acropolis Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari*



#### PLEASURES OF INOCENCE

Childhood always finds its own happiness. This little maid's greatest treasures were her doll and her pet goose, and it is as she used to play with them that she is pictured on her tomb.

*Glyptothek, Munich; photo, Dr. Weichert*

His oiling over, our athlete goes next into the Konisterion and powders himself freely with dust, which was thought to close the pores of the skin, check excessive perspiration and keep the body cool.

Then at last he is ready for exercise. If he is alone, he will probably visit the Korykeion, and wrestle with the heavy sacks that hang there, or punch the lighter balls, before he goes into the open to practise running and jumping. But it is more likely that he will have a companion, and then the pair will engage in a wrestling or a boxing match. Wrestling was one of the favourite sports at Athens, a science and an art, invented by the national hero Theseus, its rules drawn up by Athena herself. Victory alone was not sufficient; the winner must win gracefully and according to the precepts of the schools.

After their wrestling the two friends may take a turn at throwing the discus or flinging the javelin, exercises designed to strengthen the body muscles which in modern life are so neglected; and then they will perhaps find it advisable to repair to the bath house. Like everything else

in the Academy, this is a very simple affair, a bare room with a large stone basin on a stand as its chief feature. There they will scrape the oil, dust and dirt from their limbs with a flesh scraper, and swill each other down by turns from a bucket. Their toilet thus completed, they will resume their clothes and stroll out again, this time as spectators.

There is no lack of interesting sights to engage their attention. In one place a little company has hired a flute player, and to the sound of his music are leaping, one after the other, with dumb-bells in their hands, into the long-jump pit. In another a squad of military enthusiasts has been drilling in full panoply of sword, shield, spear and helmet, and is now listening to an amateur expert who is explaining a new weapon he has invented, a combination of spear and scimitar.

A cock-fight is going on in a quiet corner, and upon the level ground by the river two teams of young men, who



#### MEMORIAL OF MOTHER-LOVE

Athenian women led very secluded lives. They were given no education, married far too young and were not very efficient mothers. But their capacity for mother-love is justified by many an epitaph and many a tombstone such as this.

*British Museum*

have not forgotten their boyhood, are engaged in a vigorous ball game, while in the shady colonnade parties of their elders are equally intent on draughts and chess. The colonnade is also the recognized place for discussions, and quite a number of people, young and old, are gathered there about a thick-set, snub-nosed man going prematurely bald, who by a process of question and answer is proving to his own satisfaction that neither he nor his auditors can be said really to know anything.

Each one of these groups our two friends will visit in turn, acquiring wisdom in the process, until the cool of evening comes and they stroll back to Athens, discoursing, as young men will, of all things in heaven and earth. One of them, as it happens, is called Aristophanes, and in his 'Clouds' the next year he enshrined the memory of days such as these :

Then you will below to the  
Academe go, and under the  
olives contend

With your chaplet of reed in a  
contest of speed with some excellent rival and friend,

All fragrant with woodbine and peaceful  
content and the leaf which the lime  
blossoms fling,

When the plane whispers love to the elm  
in the grove in the beautiful season of  
spring.

In the temperate climate of ancient Athens most amusements took place in the day-time and in the open. Our last glimpse of Athenian

*Athens at Play :* • life shall be an autumn  
the Feast evening, 416 B.C., in the

house of Callias at the Piraeus. Callias is one of the richest men in Athens; his trading interests extend over the eastern and western Mediterranean from the Black Sea to the Gulf of the Lion, and, although he has been hard hit by the war with Sparta, he is hoping to make a new fortune out of the expedition to Sicily which he and his



#### MAN'S MOST FAITHFUL FRIEND

Argus, immortalised by Homer, is the archetype of canine fidelity; but his devotion to his long absent master, Odysseus, had its parallel in many a Greek home. Witness these grave sculptures from Thespiae and Orchomenus, where youth and age are commemorated with their favourite companion, the dog

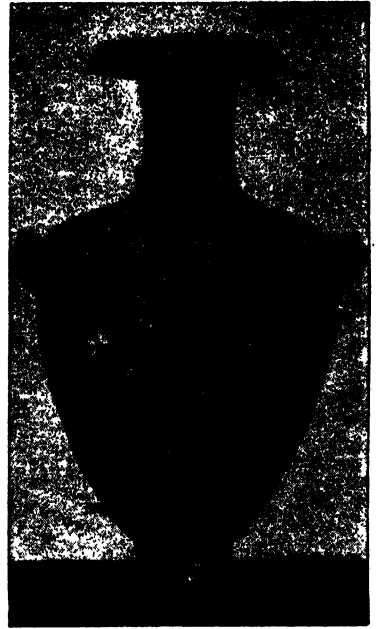
*National Museum, Athens : photo, Alinari*

friends have engineered for next year. In preparation for that event he has recently built himself a new house in one of Hippodamus' finest boulevards, and he is giving a dinner party there to-night to some of his confederates.

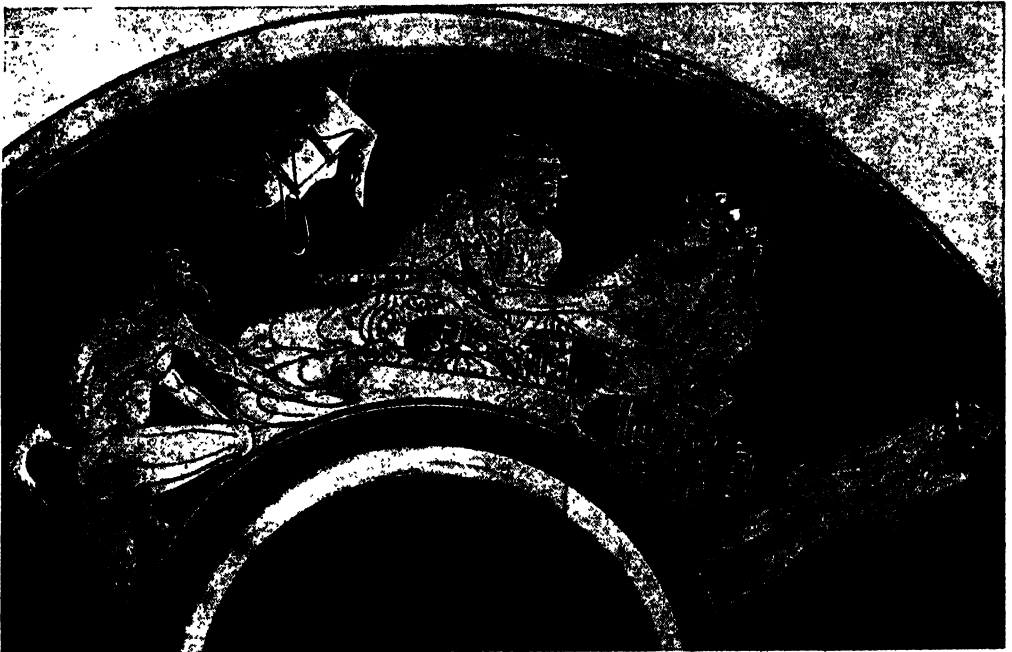
The house is redolent with unusual odours. Callias' wife and children have been sent off to bed, and a hired cook with his staff of helpers has established himself in the kitchen. Over one brazier a large pan of eels is simmering, over another a highly seasoned fricassée of game. The chef is preparing a dish of honey-cakes, and his assistants are busy dressing vegetables in oil and vinegar. Meanwhile, the house slaves are engaged in the dining-room, getting out the wine cups and preparing everything for the meal.

The room itself is plain to the point of bareness, but such furniture as it contains





Women were represented at Athenian dinner parties only by the professional actresses, dancing girls and flute players who were engaged to amuse the guests. One such dancing girl is depicted on this cup (left) pirouetting before a young man who is holding her flute. On the vase (right) is a clever representation of one of the acrobats, probably Syracusan, who often performed on such occasions.



Athenians adopted from the East the luxurious habit of reclining at meals, the food and wine being served on low tables set before the couches. Dionysus and Heracles are so represented on this red-figured cup having a banquet together, at which two satyrs are acting as servants. One of these uncouth waiters has just filched a cake from the table and the artist probably found his subject in the so-called satyr-drama, a comic performance making fun of divine beings.

#### THE LIGHT SIDE OF ATHENIAN LIFE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

*British Museum and Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

is of exquisite proportions. Eight guests are expected, and accordingly four couches, made of fine wood with coloured inlays and silver fittings, have been heaped with cushions. Four small tables with ivory feet, somewhat lower than the couches, are set in readiness near them. Upon a buffet at the side of the room are eight drinking cups, signed by Duris, and towering above them the huge mixing bowl in which the wine is to be blended, a two-handled black vessel, with figures of satyrs in red dancing round upon it.

By this time the master of the house has arrived from the gymnasium with his young boy friend, Lysicles, and the other guests soon follow. Lysanias, the father of Lysicles, a man as wealthy as Callias himself, is accompanied by the two orators who know best how to catch the ear of the Assembly. Hipponicus, Callias' partner, has insisted on bringing the stonemason Socrates, whom we have met in the Academy and whose reputation as a talker has already made him invaluable at such gatherings as these. Lastly there is the guest of honour, Nicias, the head of the Imperial-Conservative Party at Athens,



**A BULL DRINKING-HORN**

Caprice was given full play in the designs for drinking cups. These were often moulded in the form of animals' heads like this fine bull rhyton, the upper part being not infrequently painted in the red-figure style.

*British Museum*

marked out even now as leader of next year's great undertaking.

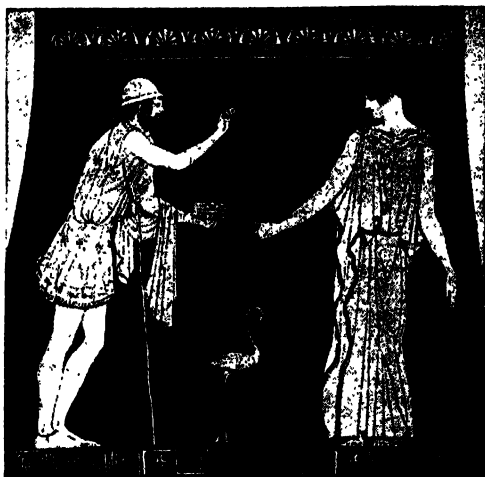
When all are in their places on the couches, servants come round with scented water for the hands. Knives and forks there are none, for an Athenian meal usually consists of simple cereal dishes or even of plain bread and cheese.



**MY LADY'S TOILET IN THE DAYS OF PERICLES**

Woman's life in classic Athens was rather aimless, her toilet being her principal occupation apart from actual supervision of her children and home. Maids doing their mistresses' hair, lacing their sandals and bringing them trinkets or perfumes are the subject of the decoration on many of their jewel-boxes. These were called 'pyxides,' because in most instances they were of boxwood; but they were also made of terra-cotta. They were usually cylindrical, with a cover, and stood on three feet.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A.G.*



### STREET HAWKERS OF OLD ATHENS

Pedlars played their part in the social life of Greece, not as a rule travelling from place to place, but frequenting the market-place in large towns or plying from door to door, much like licensed street-hawkers to-day.

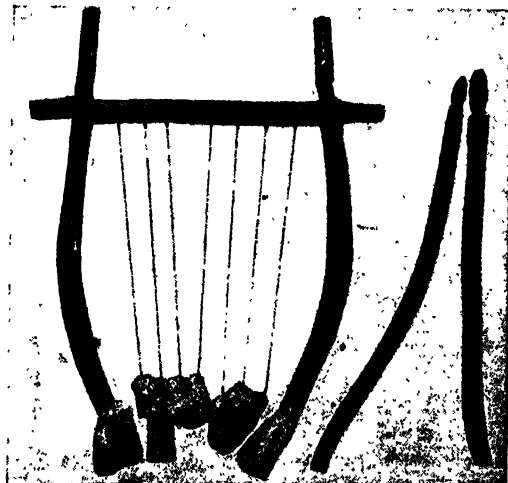
From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei.'

This is a special occasion; but the food is still taken with the fingers, and pieces of soft bread serve as napkins. After the solids have been consumed hands are again washed, the wine is brought forward for the first time, and a libation poured out to the gods. Then the tables are changed and set with dessert, and the symposium begins.

A symposium was by no means merely the drinking party that its name would indicate. It is true that Callias' servants stand ready to fill his guests' glasses with the mixture of wine and water that is customary; but drinking is only a very small and unimportant part of the proceedings. Two flute-girls are in attendance, and to their music Lysicles begins by singing the patriotic ballad of 'Harmodius.' At its conclusion one of the orators launches into a glowing panegyric of the boy's beauty and modest grace, while Nicias in his turn gives the company some confidential information he has received about the riches of Sicily.

Then Hipponicus challenges Socrates to a game of 'Kottabos,' and as he loses has to pay forfeit by composing an impromptu limerick. Hardly has the laughter at his attempt subsided when Callias claps his hands and some hired entertainers appear, a Syracusan actor with a girl acrobat and a boy musician. The lad performing upon the harp, the girl dances and throws somersaults through a hoop encircled with daggers, and as a finale the three mimic the story of Ares and Aphrodite caught in the toils by the jealous husband.

Just as the actors are concluding their little play, a noise of shouting is heard in

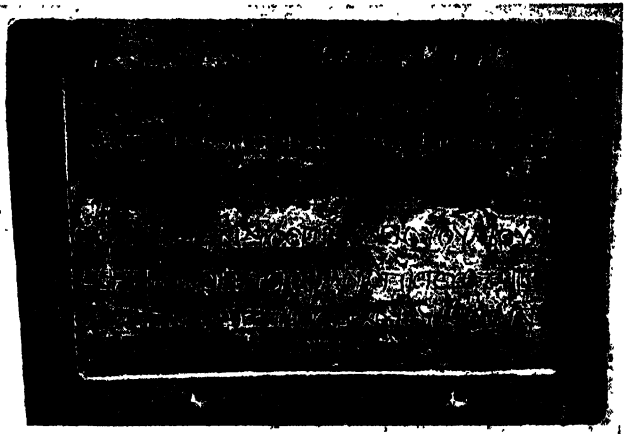


### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS THAT EVERY GREEK LEARNED TO PLAY

Lyre and flute were the instruments in almost universal use among the Athenians. The flute—usually double—was made of reeds and had a mouthpiece and four or more holes or stops. The lyre had seven strings, stretched from the yoke to the sounding-board. It was played sitting, as shown in the painting on the left, the strings being thrummed from outside by the left hand and plucked with a plectrum, which was tied to the lyre, held in the right hand.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' and British Museum

the road and a violent knocking at the front door. A voice cries out 'It is I, Alcibiades, and I am rather drunk. May I come in or shall I go away?' Callias leaps up from his couch and, after a little delay while the door is being unbolted, the rising young politician makes his appearance. His face is flushed, he is wearing a garland of roses, and it is plain that his description of himself is not altogether false. But the sight of his mentor, Socrates, somewhat cools his excitement, and when room is made for him on one of the couches he settles down quietly enough, and listens while his friend introduces a discussion, 'Is wealth necessary to happiness?' Like most Socratic investigations, this lasts a long time. The flute-girls, who see that there is no further probability of their services being required, fall fast asleep, and Alcibiades soon follows their example. At the end Socrates convinces his auditors that the philosopher alone is really wealthy and really happy, inasmuch as he alone is really self-sufficient. And so the symposium ends.



#### COPYBOOKS FOR LITTLE SCHOLARS

Tablets like modern 'slates,' with waxed surfaces, were used by Greek school-children. The frames were perforated so that two tablets could be tied together, faces inwards, to form a book. In this specimen the copy is written by the master at the top and copied twice—both times incorrectly—by the pupil.

*British Museum*

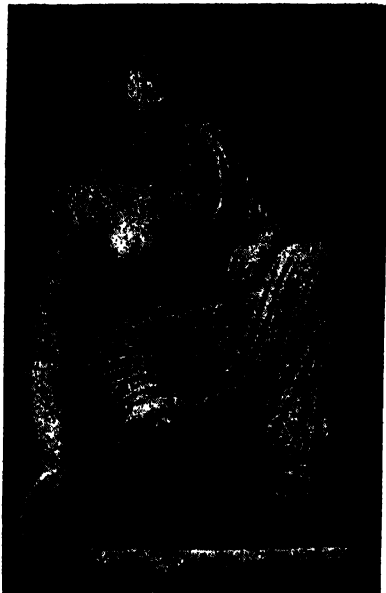
It may perhaps have been noticed that in an account which purports to describe social conditions at Athens scarcely anything has been said about women or about home life. The reason for the omission is that an Athenian took very little pleasure in or with women, and that home life as we know it scarcely existed. For those few men who liked female society there



#### AN ATHENIAN SCHOOL OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

Music was an important part of the school curriculum. On this cup in the Berlin Museum a master, momentarily ignoring the plectrum, is depicted showing a pupil how to grasp the chords of the seven-stringed lyre by the left hand. On the right another pupil is reciting a poem, the text of which is written on the scroll in the master's hand. On the wall two lyres, a flute case, a basket to hold manuscripts and two drinking-cups for the pupils' use are hanging.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A.G.*



Seated figures are less common than standing ones in Greek terra-cotta work, but they are equally charming and instructive in their freedom from the conventional poses of classic sculpture. These figures of girls playing knuckle-bones illustrate the negligent way of wearing the chiton indoors and the style of coiffure and, incidentally, the rather aimless life of Greek women and girls.



Tanagra in Boeotia has proved the most fruitful source of the terra-cotta figures of 'genre' type so popular with the Greeks, and the 'korai,' or maidens, of fourth and third century manufacture are invaluable as illustrating the daily life of Greek women. Here we see the mode of draping chiton and himation leaving the hands free (right), and of drawing the mantle hood-fashion over the head (centre) and closely round the figure concealing the arms. The shady hat worn out of doors appears on the left.

**CUSTOMS AND COSTUMES OF GREEK WOMEN SHOWN IN TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES**

*British Museum*

were the 'hetairae,' free foreign women, who, relying on their personal attractions, had come to the city, or had been invited there by some travelled citizen under whose protection they were domiciled. But a 'female friend' was an expensive luxury, and in fifth-century Athens the number and the social importance of the hetairae were small. It was in the Hellenistic Age that the great courtesans flourished—Thais, Glycera, Phryne and the rest—for women then began to play an equal part with men in affairs, and the riches of Asia, flowing into Greek pockets, made every sort of extravagance possible. In fifth-century Athens most women were either wives or slaves, neither kind regarded as fit objects for a man's affections.

In no respect is the difference between an ancient Greek and a modern Englishman so striking as in their varying conceptions of a man's public and private obligations. The normal Englishman is a kind father, a fairly affectionate husband and a fairly considerate employer; but he can scarcely be called a good citizen. He pays his taxes ungraciously and with reluctance; he bitterly grudges the few days of jury service that the country occasionally requires of him; as for training himself in peace time so that he may be able to perform a citizen's duty in war, he loathes the very idea.

In both regards, in his devotion to his home and in his indifference to the state, he is the exact antithesis of the Greek. An Athenian was an ardent patriot whose time and purse and life were always at his country's disposal. He took a pride in keeping himself fit for active campaigning until he had reached the age of sixty. But he was an indifferent father; he wilfully shut his eyes to the evils of slavery; and in his conjugal relations he was altogether unsatisfactory.

Social functions in most modern countries are arranged by women for women,



**BABIES' BOTTLES : 500 B.C.**

When the babies had to be weaned they were fed on broth, sweetened with honey, until they could digest more solid food. Their bottles, or pap-boats, were similar to the feeding cups used for invalids to-day.

*British Museum*

and a man's social success depends as much upon his wife's personality as his own. A wife to-day is often her husband's companion on the golf links and the tennis court, his partner at bridge as well as in the serious business of life. At Athens all forms of recreation were designed by men for men, and women were no more allowed to share in them than they were allowed to manage property. The husband went out; the wife stayed at home. The husband mixed freely with his male companions; the wife rarely saw any man except her relatives, and lived within four walls, a harem prisoner.

Not that she enjoyed any of those luxuries which are sometimes supposed to alleviate the tedium of harem life. The house where she spent her days lacked nearly all the conveniences which we regard as essential. Usually of one storey only and often without any windows, its front to the street was a blank wall of sun-dried brick. In the wall was one door, kept carefully closed, and through it the rare visitors passed into an open court, surrounded by a veranda on to which all the house rooms opened and from which they obtained their light and air.

There was no water supply laid on, no plumbing or pipes of any kind, no drainage and no sanitary arrangements. The kitchen fire had no



**'SLEEP, BABY, SLEEP'**

Considerable humour effluens this terra-cotta figure of an old nurse walking up and down trying to soothe a baby.

*British Museum*

chimney, and although the smoke was supposed to find an exit through a hole in the roof it generally preferred to remain indoors. In the winter the only alleviation against cold was furnished by small three-legged braziers filled with burning charcoal which could be carried to where they were needed most. The dim flame of an olive-oil lamp gave illumination at night.

It is not surprising that a dwelling of this sort was used by its master chiefly as a dormitory. His wife stayed indoors and kept the house company; his children and their nurse played in the courtyard; the five or six slaves who formed the establishment in a middle-class household went through their daily tasks of spinning and weaving, of fetching water and grinding corn, of buying provisions and preparing food; the husband was normally to be found anywhere except under his own roof. He might be in the market on business; he might be visiting some manufactory in which he had an interest; he might be in the Law Courts or the Assembly; he might be strolling or lounging in the streets; but he was scarcely ever at home.

We must acknowledge that in Athens wives seem to have lacked the charm that is usually the natural gift of their sex. One reason perhaps is that they were married far too young—the average age was about fifteen—and the result of these early marriages was that by the time

a wife had arrived at years of discretion and might have been an intellectual companion for her husband, her beauty too often was gone and she herself was worn out, a premature old woman.

For girls no education was considered necessary, and throughout their childhood they, like their mothers, were kept in seclusion. They were valued only as potential bearers of legitimate children, and the most extreme precautions known to modern eugenics were apparently practised before marriage. But even as mothers they were not very efficient; owing to the narrowness of their lives and the poorness of their food, their physique was very inferior, and the wet-nurse was to be found in most families. Just as Breton girls are brought to Paris, so those Athenian households that could afford the expense hired some sturdy Lacedaemonian to take the mother's place. It was in Sparta, where girls lived in the open and wrestled and raced with young

men, that Paeonius found the model for his Victory, with her flying feet, deep bosom and firm rounded limbs (see page 1200).

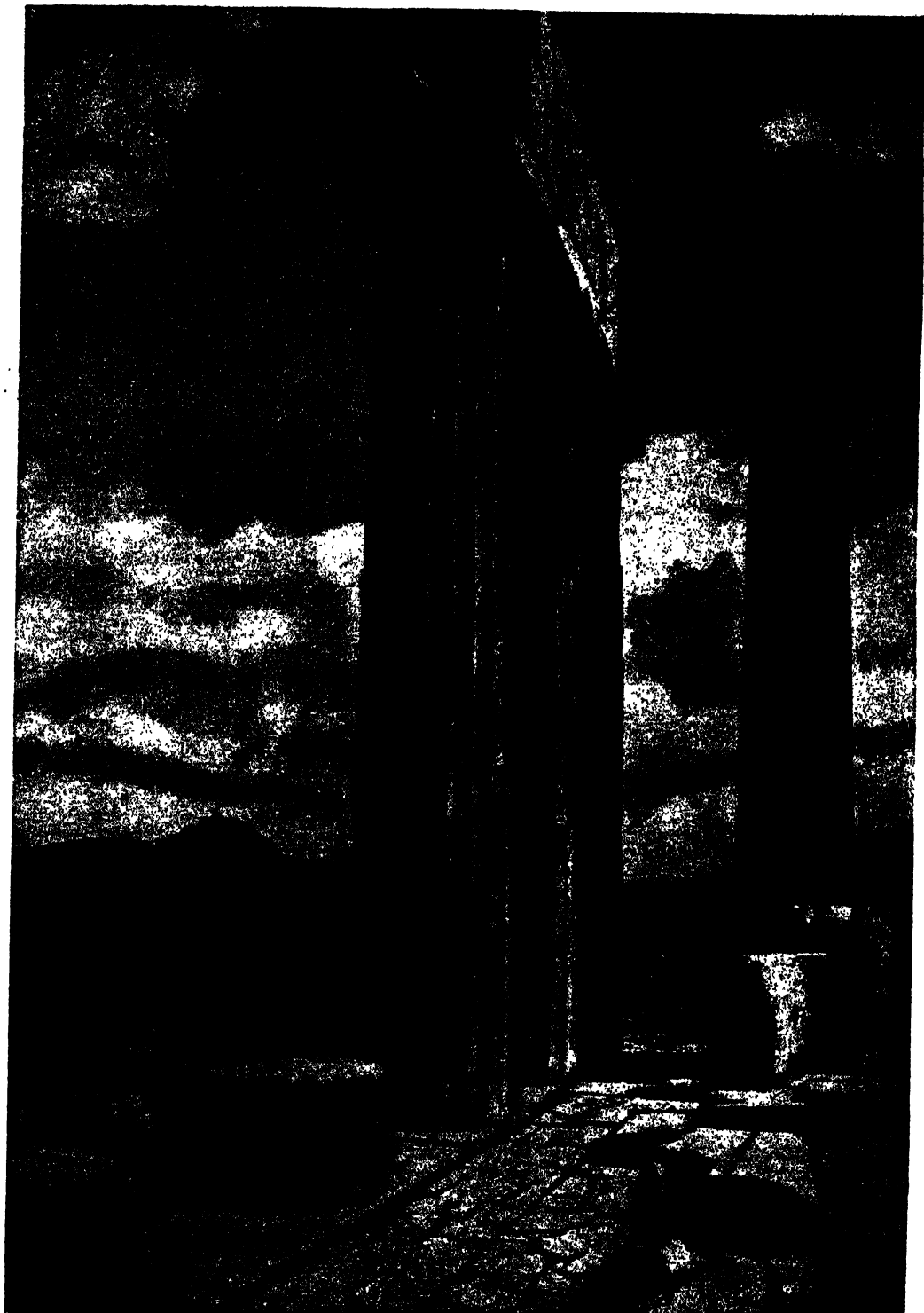
In Athens, such a type could hardly have been discovered and there can be little doubt that the physical and moral degeneracy of Athenian women, the direct result of their cramped lives, was one of the main causes of the all too steady decay of the Athenian State.



#### GREEK STYLES OF COIFFURE RECORDED IN WORKS OF ART

Modes of wearing the hair in fashion at Syracuse are depicted in these coins: from left to right, the hair turned up under a bandeau but curling low over the brow (470-460); curls massed on the crown (460-450); and hair held under a fillet on the forehead and confined in a net at the back (413-399 B.C.). The stater of Thurina (Bruttium) on the right (425-400 B.C.) shows the back hair folded over a head-band.

From Dr. G. F. Hill, 'Select Greek Coins' (G. Vass, Paris), and Berlin Museum



**MAGNIFICENT DORIC PILLARS OF THE PARTHENON AGAINST AN ATTIC SKY.**

The superb manner in which the Parthenon both blent with and dominated its glorious natural surroundings is well shown in this view towards Lycabettus from the north-east angle ; and suggests that the Greeks were not as indifferant to scenery as they are sometimes accused of having been.

*Photo. Alinari*





#### WHERE PILGRIMS MOUNTED TO THE RESPLENDENT RELIGIOUS CENTRE OF THE ATHENIAN PEOPLE

The stately approach to the Acropolis of Athens, a series of porches and vestibules built by Mneseles and called the Propylaea, is a triumph of adaptation to circumstance. No symmetrical plan could be followed owing to the prejudice against interfering with certain sacred sites; and by a happy inspiration a bastion of the old defences (right) too massive to remove, was crowned with the exquisite little Ionic shrine of Nike Apteros—'Victory come to stay.'

*Photo. Alinari.*



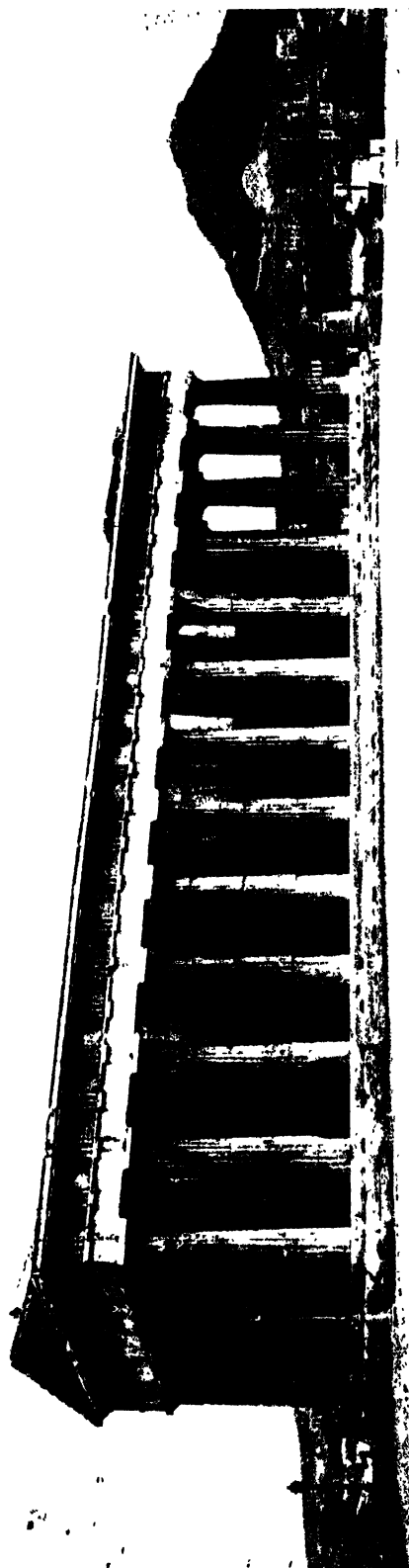
From the Propylaea a path led round the Parthenon to this, the eastern, façade—the main entrance through which the sun streamed at dawn on to the gold and ivory statue of Athena. The building stood intact until 1687, when a Venetian shell set off the Turkish powder stored within



As he passed through the massed marble splendour of the Propylaea this is the view of the Parthenon that met the eye of the ancient Athenian. The desolation behind is masked by the still standing west wall of the cella, and imagination can replace the sculptures, many of which we still possess

**WHAT TIME AND WARFARE HAVE SPARED OF THE PARTHENON**

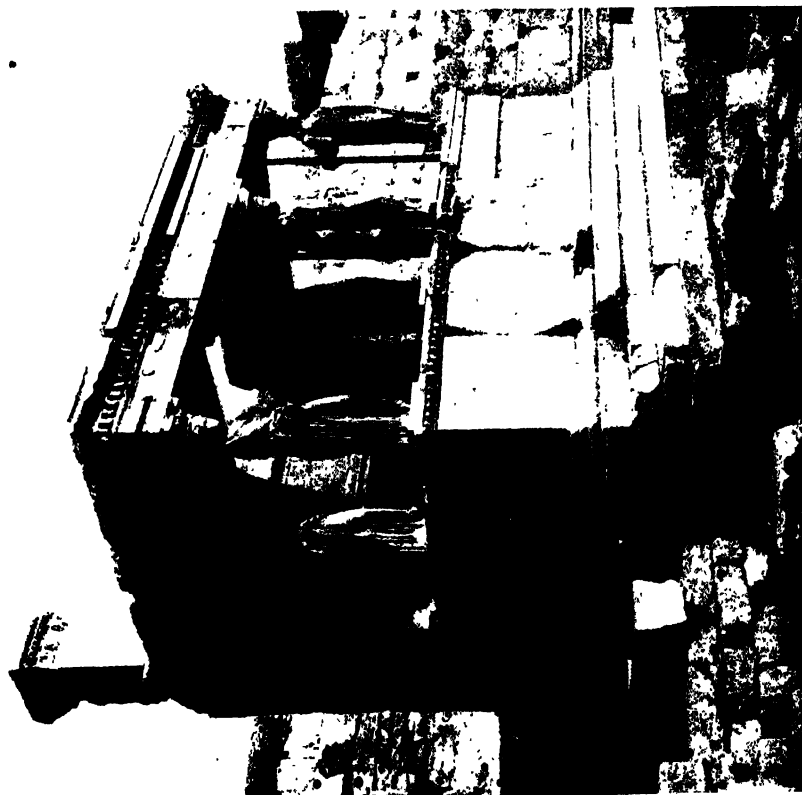
• • Photos, Alinari •



#### ONE OF THE BEST PRESERVED TEMPLES OF ALL HELLAS : THE THESEUM AT ATHENS

Called the Theseum, these some of its names plus the divinity of Theseus, the patron god of the temple, coeval with the Portico, was more probably dedicated to Hephaestus. Together with the Parthenon it was used as a church in the Middle Ages, to which it owes its preservation, but there is no evidence that it suffered the further change into a mosque like its sister building, or, like the Erechtheum opposite, into a Turkish harem.

*Arch. Assoc.*



#### PATIENT MAIDENS AND IONIC COLUMNS THAT GRACEFULLY SUPPORT THE ENTRANCES OF THE ERECHTHEUM

North of the Parthenon stands a most curious Ionic temple, that probably owes its unique shape to the necessity for including older shrines of immemorial sanctity and avoiding others. It is called the Erechtheum, because part of it was certainly sacred to Erechtheus; but the porch of the Caryatides (left) seemingly gave access to the tomb of Cecrops, another legendary Athenian king, while the whole was dedicated to Athena Polias. On the right is the north porch

*Picture Library*



The east pediment showed the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, but the central figures are lacking. This lovely group, from the right angle, is generally called 'The Three Fates', but in any case they are evidently just hearing the joyful news—note the crescendo of interest towards the left.



Much discussion centres on the sculptures in the Parthenon pediments—both the restoration of their grouping and the significance of the surviving pieces being uncertain. These come from the east façade\*, the noble figure below is sometimes called Theseus, sometimes a personification of nature.

#### NOBLEST SURVIVING FRAGMENTS FROM THE PARTHENON PEDIMENTS

*British Museum: photos, Mansell*



The frieze ran round the top of the cella wall, inside the colonnade and high up under its roof—involving a most awkward angle of vision. How the sculptor overcame this difficulty, by increasing the depth of the relief from below upwards, is admirably shown in this group of spirited horsemen.



The Great Panathenaic Procession, commemorated by the Parthenon frieze, has been described in pages 1276-79; here we are more concerned with the technical excellence of the conception and execution—as, for instance, in the restful balance of this scene showing rulers preparing to mount.

#### UNEXCELLED WORKMANSHIP LAVISHED ON THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

*British Museum: photos, Mansell*



#### DIGNIFIED PICTURE OF AGE AND AUTHORITY

feeling that the sculptor or sculptors of the frieze lingered most lovingly over the bands of young Athenian knights, the flower of the city. But the centre of interest was supposed to be the east side where the 'peplos' is being presented to Athena in the presence of a company of gods; and certainly some of the finest craftsmanship was expended on this episode. Here we see a group of magistrates or notable citizens engaged in serious converse while they wait to receive the head of the procession. On the left, and on the same scale, are two of the deities who spiritualise the scene, Aphrodite and her son Eros: an intimate, friendly mingling of the human and the divine such as is typical of the Greek genius, and the Greek genius alone.\* Eros is charmingly shown carrying a parasol.

*British Museum; photos, Mansell*





# THE FLOWER OF ATHENS SPLENDIDLY LIMNED

An amazing quality of Greek relief work, whether monumental or miniature, as of coins, but nowhere better shown than in the Parthenon frieze, in the skill where-with the sculptor produces the illusion of a number of receding planes within the compass of an inch or two. In the part of the Procession occupied by the cavalry, the horses and their riders are advancing in parties of five or more, nearly abreast, there are six visible in the slabs on the left. Nevertheless this total perspective of quite twenty feet involving at least three separate planes for each horse, is suggested by relief nowhere more than 2 1/2 in. in depth—a truly marvellous achievement. And with this is combined the optical correction mentioned in page 136. Apart from mere technique, observe the endless variety of attitude lavished on the riders and their stocky Attic stallions.

*British Museum*







**MASTERPIECE OF AN UNKNOWN WORKER IN BRONZE**

One of the very few original Greek bronzes extant, the Charioteer was discovered at Delphi. The magnificent pose, the severe though perfectly natural folds of the drapery, and the calm features set in unemotional concentration on the business of driving a team, all typify early fifth-century art.

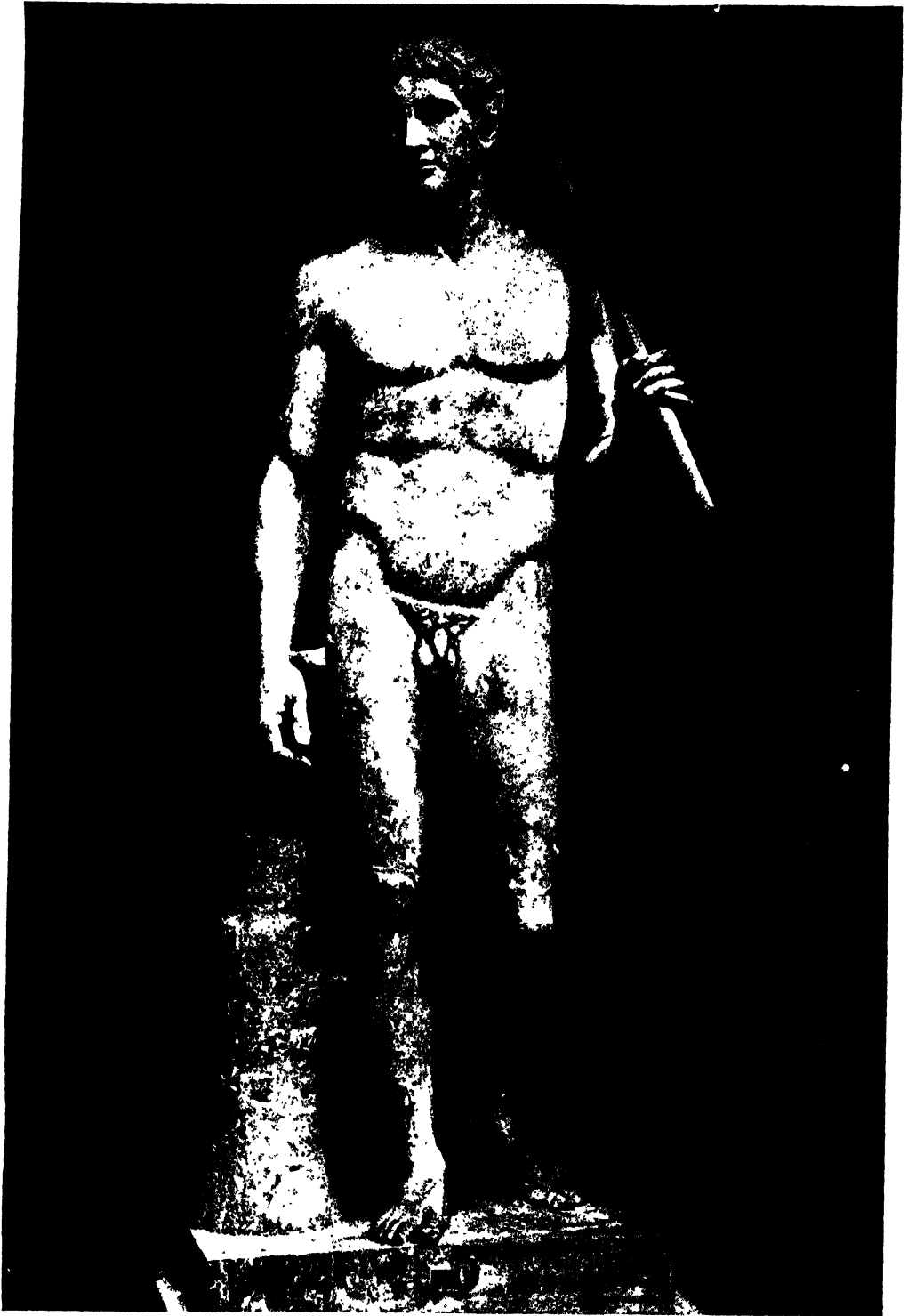
*Delphi Museum; photo, Alinari*



#### TYPE OF GREEK GIRLS WHO WERE THE GLORY OF SPARTA

During the fifth century Greek statuary acquired greater freedom of attitude, but lost little of its severity; attention was still concentrated on the body rather than the face. This girl competitor in one of the Games, a copy of a bronze original, is a splendid type of young and healthy womanhood.

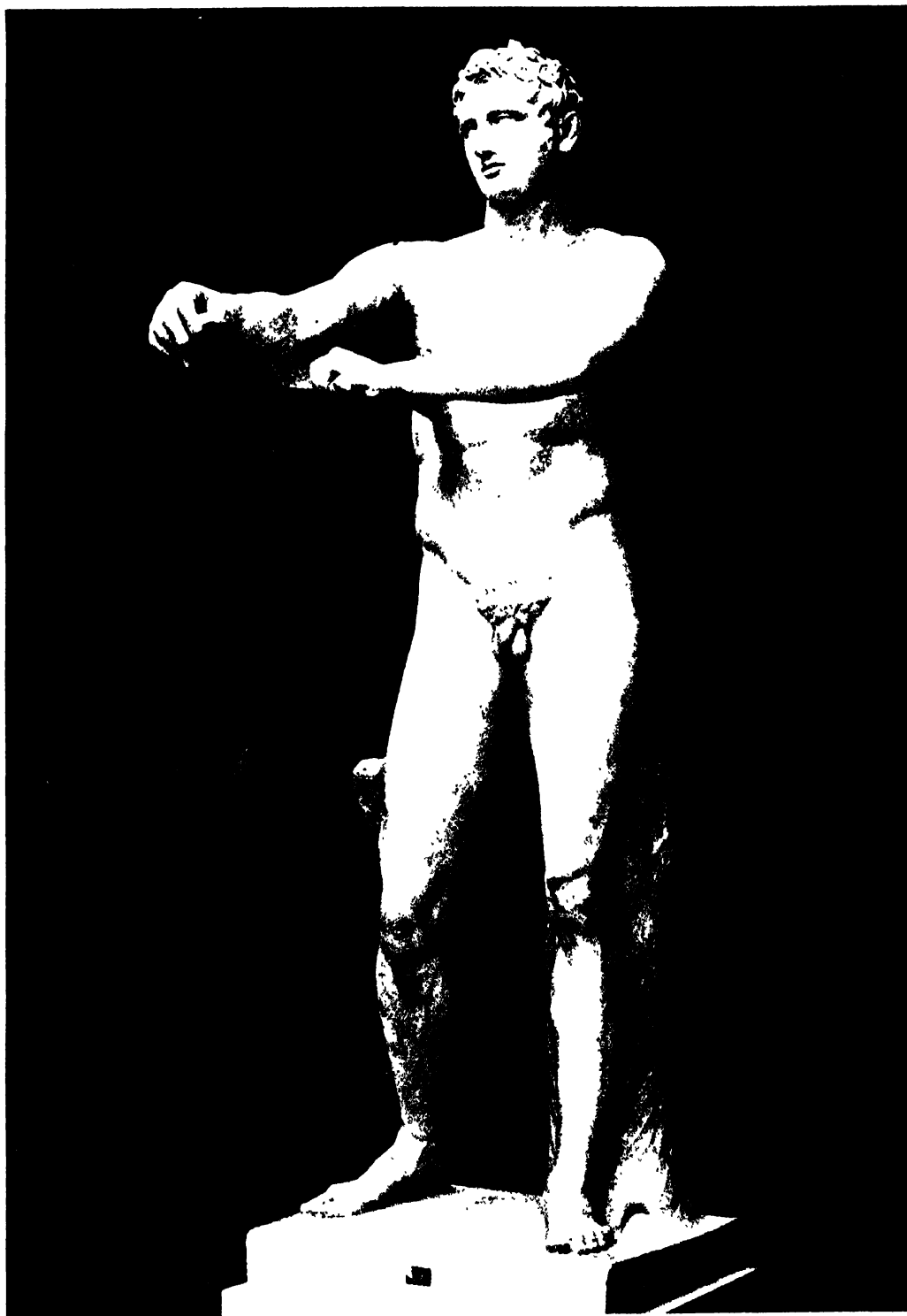
*Vatican Museum, Rome; photo, Anderson*



**GREEK IDEAL OF MALE PERFECTION : THE 'CANON' OF POLYCLEITUS**

Polycleitus, of the Argive school (5th century B.C.), embodied his canon of male perfection in a bronze statue called the Doryphoros or Spear Bearer, which gave rise to many copies in stone of varying merit. From them we gather an idea of heavy muscularity ; but the pose is restful and harmonious.

*Vatican Museum, Rome ; photo, Anwarson*



#### TECHNICAL ADVANCE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY: THE APOXYOMENUS

In the fourth century Lysippos of Sikyon further emancipated the sculptor's art. Comparing this copy of his bronze Apoxyomenus, or Athlete using the Strigil, with the 'Canon' we notice a more lissom form and a freer attitude; and, instead of repose, movement of body and animation of features.

*Vatican Museum, Rome • photo, Ascherson*



**ORIGINAL WORK OF AN ATHENIAN MASTER SCULPTOR**

Still more a sculptor of mood than Lysippus, Praxiteles informed his works with a luminous grace. At Olympia was discovered the actual original in Parian marble described for us by Pausanias: Hermes, the perfect elder brother, carrying the infant Dionysus and dangling a bunch of grapes.

*Olympia Museum, photo, Aynari*



# THE IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD AS CONCEIVED BY PRAXITELES •

The naked form of woman was treated comparatively late in Greek art, but Praxiteles excelled in carving bodies half human, half divine in their exquisite proportions; and his Aphrodite of Knidos was the wonder of the age. As exhibited in the Vatican, this copy now wears metal drapery.

•Vatican Museum, Rome; photo, Mansel •



# ATHLETES SUCH AS INSPIRED THE FINEST ACHIEVEMENTS OF ANCIENT GREEK SCULPTORS

Most of the sculptures in these sixteen pages are inspired by athletics, that institution by which the male form was displayed naked in palaestra or stadium. The Charioteer is draped to protect his body against the wind, but the statue nevertheless commemorates a victory in a horse-race ; and the Girl Runner, in spite of her sex, is an athlete at some Dorian festival. The two bronze wrestlers above seem to sum up this aspect of Greek art.

*Naples Museum ; photo, Allen.*

# THE GENIUS OF GREEK ART AND ITS RELATION TO ATHLETICS

A Wonderful Efflorescence of Painting and Sculpture  
that grew from the Idealisation of the Human Body

By PERCY GARDNER Litt.D. LL.D.

Emeritus Professor of Classical Archaeology, Oxford University; Author of Principles of Greek Art, New Chapters in Greek History, etc.

**I**N Chapter 25 an account has been given of the culture and the art of the people who dwelt in Greece and the Aegean Islands before the invasion by the Hellenes, who came in from the north and by degrees either expelled or absorbed the earlier races. Between what is called the Minoan or Mycenaean age and the classical age of Greece there is an interval of centuries. A curtain falls, and when it is drawn up we find ourselves in the presence of a people who differ in race, in language and in ways from the prehistoric races.

The present chapter deals with the art of the Hellenic race, settled in the great cities of Greece proper at least as early as the ninth century B.C., and in the eighth spreading over the Aegean area from Italy to Asia Minor, with a homogeneous and highly developed civilization. The two main strains of the race were the Ionian, settled in Asia Minor and Thrace, as well as in Attica and Euboea, and the Dorian, of which the headquarters were in the cities of the Peloponnese, Argos, Sicyon, Sparta and the rest. In character the two strains were very different. The Ionian was pleasure-loving and artistic, but had a fatal tendency towards luxury and ease; the Dorian inclined towards discipline and organization. Both contributed largely to the great Greek civilization, which gradually spread over the whole of the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, and laid the foundations of all science, philosophy and art in the western world.

A few words must be said as to the origin of Greek art. In this matter there are two views, between which the truth

probably lies. Some archaeologists are disposed to think that the art of the Minoan age in a measure lived on through the troubled times of the Hellenic conquest, and even speak of the art of early Greece as a renaissance of it. For this view, though it is plausible, there is at present very little evidence. Scarcely any lines which continue Minoan influences into Greek history have been traced. But if the primitive population was not exterminated but absorbed, the artistic tendencies shown in the remains of the prehistoric people would live on, often below the surface, and tend to come to light again with fresh opportunities.

The other school of archaeologists, who have much more evidence to adduce, maintain that Minoan art was all but brought to an end at the time of the Hellenic invasions, and that all artistic activity disappeared for centuries, after the lapse of which art took a fresh start. The impulse, it is maintained, was given by imported works of the cultured races of the East, the Egyptians, Babylonians and Phoenicians.

But wheresoever lay the roots of Greek artistic activity, and whencesoever the Greek artists took their earliest models, it is quite clear that, from the sixth century onwards, they worked in an original and national style. As they borrowed the forms of their alphabet from other races, but used them to express their own ideas, so they soon filled the primitive art forms which they adopted with a new and national meaning.

The art form of the Sphinx came from Egypt, where it had been in use from time



immemorial, but when the Greeks took it over they linked it with the Theban legend of Oedipus, and filled it with pathetic beauty on their grave monuments. In the earliest times we have figures parallel to the deities of Anatolia, holding in each hand a lion or a monster as symbols of their power; but before long this crude symbolism fell away, and the qualities of such deities as Apollo and Artemis were embodied by Greek sculptors in the forms of the deities themselves, not suggested by external attributes.

In the development of Greek art two features are most conspicuous, the rise of the temple as the centre of religious art, and the rise of athletic sculpture, one of the most characteristic results of the working of the spirit of humanism. We may consider athletic sculpture as primarily Dorian, since the great early schools of it flourished especially in Argos, Sicyon and Aegina, though it was also prominent at Athens and elsewhere. Temple architecture we may regard as largely Ionian, since the earliest and greatest temples arose in Miletus and other cities of the Ionian coast. But in Greece and South Italy there were also early Dorian temples. The art of painting as well had in early

times its greatest vogue in *Ionian*. But temple building, athletic sculpture, fresco painting and the great art of vase painting all reached their



#### FRAGMENTS TESTIFY TO ROYAL PIETY

Characteristic of the Ionian artistic genius, debris from the vast temple of Artemis at Ephesus affords excellent examples of archaic sculpture. Here are the remains of the shaft of a column presented by Croesus of Lydia to the temple, and (right) of the base of a column on which the gift is recorded.

*British Museum*



#### TRANSFORMATION OF A MONSTER

Although borrowed from Egypt, the sphinx was given a new nature and person in Greek art. It became a creature with the head of a woman, wings and a lion's body, as in this vase painting (c. 460 B.C.) showing Oedipus and the Sphinx.

*Photo, Alinari*

highest development in the fifth century B.C. And in them all Athens took the lead in the great age, though Argos then rivalled it in athletic art, Sicyon in painting and Syracuse in the art of coins and in gem engraving.

It was in the sixth century B.C. that the art of the Ionian Greeks who were settled on the coast of Asia Minor attained its splendid development. The temples which then arose at Samos, Miletus and Ephesus were on an enormous scale. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus, for example, excavated by J. T. Wood for the British Museum, covered a space four times as large as the Parthenon, larger than our greatest cathedrals. The dimensions of the area once covered by it are given by

Wood as 342 by 163 feet. It was surrounded by a forest of columns, a hundred in number, each about fifty-five feet high; and we know from an inscription found on one of them that some were given by Croesus, the wealthy king of Lydia. The temples of Samos, Miletus and other cities were on the same scale, filled with works of art and dedications due to the piety of the art-loving Ionians.

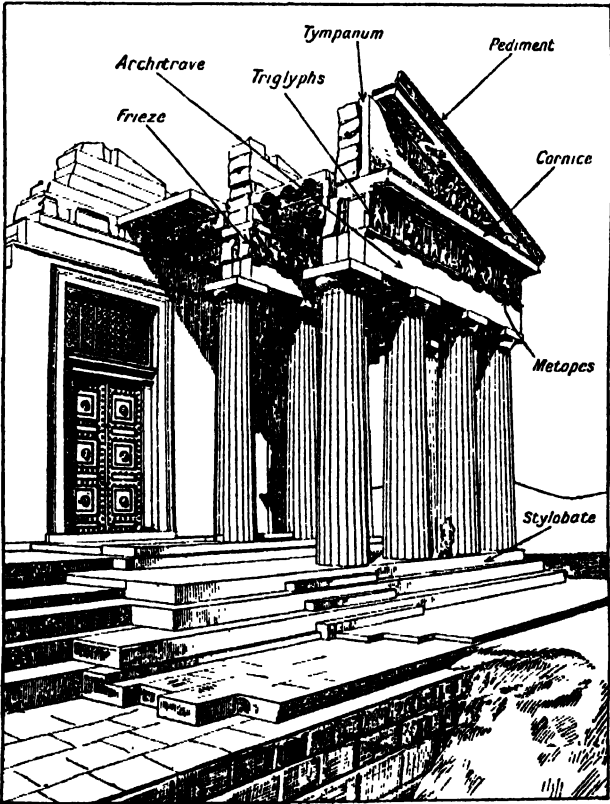
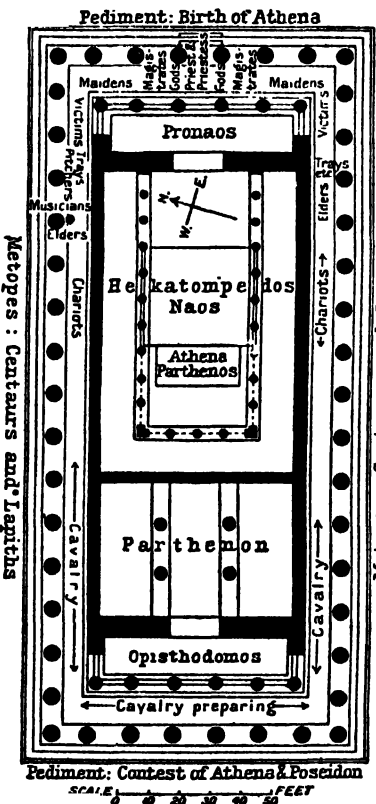
In the same period smaller temples in a more severe style (Doric instead of Ionic) arose at Delphi, Athens and other sites in Greece proper, and the Greater Greece of South Italy.

Of the origins of the Greek temple we cannot speak. It is sufficient to say that, from its development to its decline, it embodies Greek ideas, and is constructed on one principle. The central point, the nucleus of the whole, is the 'cella,' the abode of the deity, or of his representative, the statue. All the rest is subordinate, a mere adornment of the sacred shrine.

The plan of a temple familiar to most, the Parthenon, will clearly show this. Here the kernel is the shrine (cella) called Hecatompedos, because of its length of 100 feet; it contained the great statue of the goddess Athena, a masterpiece by

Pheidias, a standing figure holding in one hand a Victory, in the other a spear and shield. This statue was the centre of Athenian religion, the visible embodiment of the divine ruler of the city. Behind the statue was the chamber, called distinctively the Parthenon, full of the treasures which belonged to the goddess; two porches, front and back, permitted approach. The whole was surrounded by a series of columns, which supported the roof and within which was a walk round the cella itself.

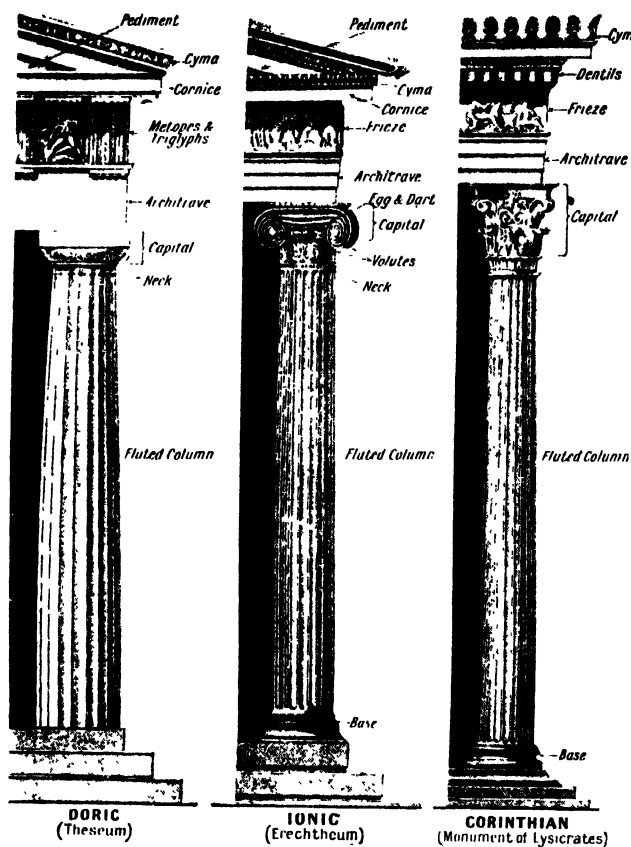
The stateliness of Greek temples was matched by their simplicity. Each part was worked out with a view to a definite purpose. The columns, massive and close together, bore the weight of the roof; the function of the walls was less to support than to divide room from room: the basis



CONSTRUCTIONAL DETAILS OF THE NOBLEST TEMPLE IN ATHENS

The fundamental simplicity of Greek religious buildings is illustrated clearly by the temple of Athena on the Acropolis. It consists, as this plan shows, of a central block—which contained the Hecatompedos shrine and the treasury whose name, Parthenon, is borne by the whole temple—with porches and colonnades. Details of the pillars, their arrangement and entablature, and of the fabric between it and the roof-lines, are given in the sectional diagram of one end of the temple.

Reconstruction after Niemann



### STYLE DETERMINED BY FORM OF COLUMN

Each of the three 'orders' of Greek temple architecture was distinguished by its peculiar pillars and entablature. The Doric gave simplicity and massive grandeur, the Ionic richness and lightness; these orders were used alternatively before the ornate but degenerate Corinthian captured Roman taste.

*After Poland and Reisinger, 'Die antike Kultur'*

was a solid mass of stone resting on the virgin rock, defying time. And, to avoid too great rigidity of outline, a number of adaptations to the eye were in use, which gave a human touch to the vast structure.

The keynote, so to speak, of Greek architecture is the pillar, which appears in three forms. The Doric pillar is solid and massive, without a base, but having at the top a swelling to make a transition to the level architrave. The Ionic column is more slender; it has a base, and at the top volutes. The Corinthian column is a variety of the Ionic with acanthus leaves at the top in the place of volutes. All columns are as a rule grooved in the perpendicular direction to carry the eye upwards towards the roof. The three styles are like modes in music, which

dominate the composition; and the main principles of construction are so simple that it is possible to reconstruct in drawing any temple of which fragments have been recovered. Yet there is so much variation in the exact proportion of part to part that an expert mathematician alone can deal with them.

All the parts of the building which bore a strain, which had work to do, the columns, the cornices, the walls, were left undecorated in simple majesty; but the gable spaces in front and behind, and the lines of metopes under the roof—peculiar to Doric temples—which had been originally open spaces, were carved in high relief, or even filled with figures in the round. Thus was given to the sculptors an opportunity to represent scenes depicting certain activities of the deity, or processions in his honour.

A great part of the remains of Greek sculpture which have come down to us belonged to the decoration of temples. Such works were not usually the actual handiwork of great sculptors, but of their subordinates and assistants. They were regarded as mere appen-

dages to the magnificent statues, sometimes of ivory and gold, which dominated the interiors of the temples. The traveller Pausanias, in his catalogue of the works of art which existed in Greece in the age of the Antonine emperors, dismisses the subordinate figures in a line or two, or does not even mention them, while he describes with meticulous minuteness the great figures of the gods. Nevertheless, to us these less important sculptures seem of extremely great merit. We even regard the figures which decorated the Parthenon as the highest achievement of sculptural art.

The way in which this sculpture was planned and executed is very characteristic. The subjects were sometimes chosen with reference to the deity whose temple

they were to adorn; sometimes they were merely taken from the general stock of Greek legends. In the case of the Parthenon, in which a higher note than usual is struck, we may venture to trace something like a continuous history. It must be remembered that the pediments fill the triangular gables, above the columns and under the roof; the metopes alternate with the triglyphs above the columns, under the eaves; the frieze runs along the top of the wall of the cella, within the line of columns.

The story begins in the eastern pediment with the birth of Athena, hardly to be distinguished from Athens itself, who represented the divine purpose in the making of Athens. According to the old barbarous legend, which has been imitated by Milton in the *Paradise Lost*, Athena sprang full-armed from the head of her father Zeus, and at once took her place among the gods. In the pediment this story is only hinted at; Athena stands armed in the Olympian assembly, and the gods look on in wonder. In the western pediment Athena asserts her possession of the city of Athens by the creation of the

olive tree, than which no divine gift was more highly appreciated by the Greeks, who used olive oil for cooking, for light and for body culture. Poseidon, who had also claimed the city, retires discomfited. We may well see in the story a prophecy that though Athens was great on the sea, her chief fame was to arise from wisdom, from art and from arms.

Then in the series of metopes we have a sketch of the growth of civilization, in which Athens played so great a part. In some modern buildings, such as the royal palace at Dresden, the Museum of Arts at Boston and the Houses of Parliament in London, great painters have represented the same subject in notable frescoes. But Greek ideas differ from ours. The modern way of treating the theme is to give us a series of vignettes representing events in history, and showing the gradual softening of manners and the refinement of conditions. The Greek way is to exhibit in a number of groups the victories of the ancestors of the Athenians over monstrous and barbarous foes: the victory of the



**MAGNIFICENT SANCTUARY COMMEMORATED BY ITS BROKEN COLONNADE**

Standing upon a commanding height in the island of Aegina, this great temple, built about 500 B.C. and probably dedicated to the local goddess Aphaea, constituted a very interesting example of Doric architecture. Although its position and the platform of hewn stones upon which it was erected would add to the dignity of the building, its exterior was surpassed in symmetrical beauty by the interior; the shrine, or cella, was of noble proportions, being divided by columns into three aisles.

From *Picturesque Greece*, T. Fisher Unwin.



#### TEMPLE STATUARY GROUPED AS OF OLD

To give additional animation to their carvings, Greek sculptors arranged them with true dramatic sense. In this reconstruction of the west gable of the Aphaea temple on Aegina, the disposition of the painted casts is thought to be that given to the original statues; their order in page 1311 is now considered incorrect.

*From Furtwängler, 'Die Aegineten der Glyptothek'*

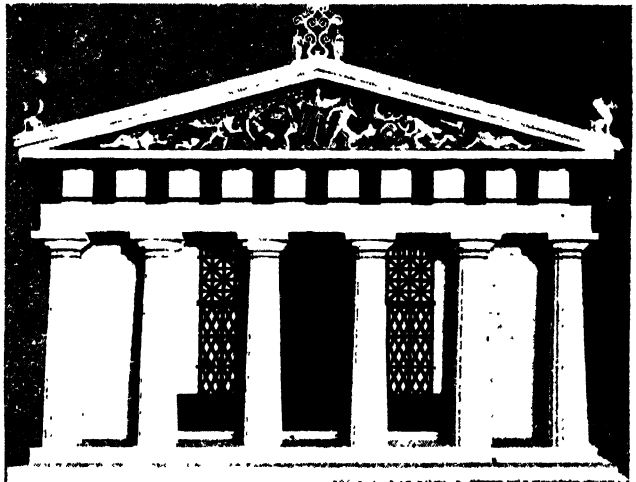
Gods over the Titans, of the Greeks over the Centaurs and the Amazons, the taking of Troy to avenge the abduction of Helen.

Finally in the frieze we come to the present, to the procession which concluded the Panathenaic games, and escorted the sheep and cows sent by the Athenian colonists to be sacrificed to Athena. The procession also accompanied the victorious athletes who received in front of the Parthenon the wreaths which were the reward of victory. Over the main door of the temple, that which faced the east, there was represented in the frieze a group of the deities of Olympus, seated, to greet the procession and the offerings. Past and present were united by the favour of the guardian goddess; strife and war led to a great religious ceremony. All these sculptures can be studied in the British Museum.

A temple of a different kind, representing Dorian rather than Ionian tendencies, was that erected by the people of Aegina, in honour of their goddess Aphaea at the time of the Persian Wars. This

temple has been completely excavated and the figures which adorned its pediments or gables are preserved at Munich. They represent the battles waged by the noted heroes of Aeginetan race against Troy. The fighting men are rather smaller than life-size, naked, but armed with helmet, spear and shield. They are marvellous on account both of the accuracy of their modelling and of the energy and vigour of their attitudes. To a modern eye the faces, which are without much expression, seem quite inferior to the limbs and muscles; but this is natural in purely athletic art.

Within, the temples were filled with ex-votos, and with every kind of splendid offering belonging to all periods, with copies of laws and of treaties and with statues of benefactors. Congregational worship was not known--that belonged to the Jewish synagogues of a later period--but at great festivals and anniversaries the shrines were thronged with those who came to offer prayer, to deposit gifts



#### ARCHITECTURAL SPLENDOUR REVIVED

The Greeks used paint and statuary freely in the adornment of their buildings, as is demonstrated in the reconstruction in page 1272. This imaginative but adequately substantiated restoration of the east front of Aphaea's temple shows the function of carved figures in its scheme of decoration.

*'From Furtwängler, "Die Aegineten der Glyptothek"'*



#### VIGOUR AND REFINEMENT IN THE MODELLING OF HEROIC FIGURES

However idealistic Greek sculpture might be it was distinguished by accuracy of detail, as is shown by these figures—some of which are included in the reconstruction seen in the opposite page—from the west gable of the Aegina temple. The majesty of Aphaea is emphasised by the scrupulous and dignified treatment of her draperies; and each of the warriors has the perfectly proportioned body of an athlete. Every muscle and gesture is rendered with conscientious fidelity to nature.

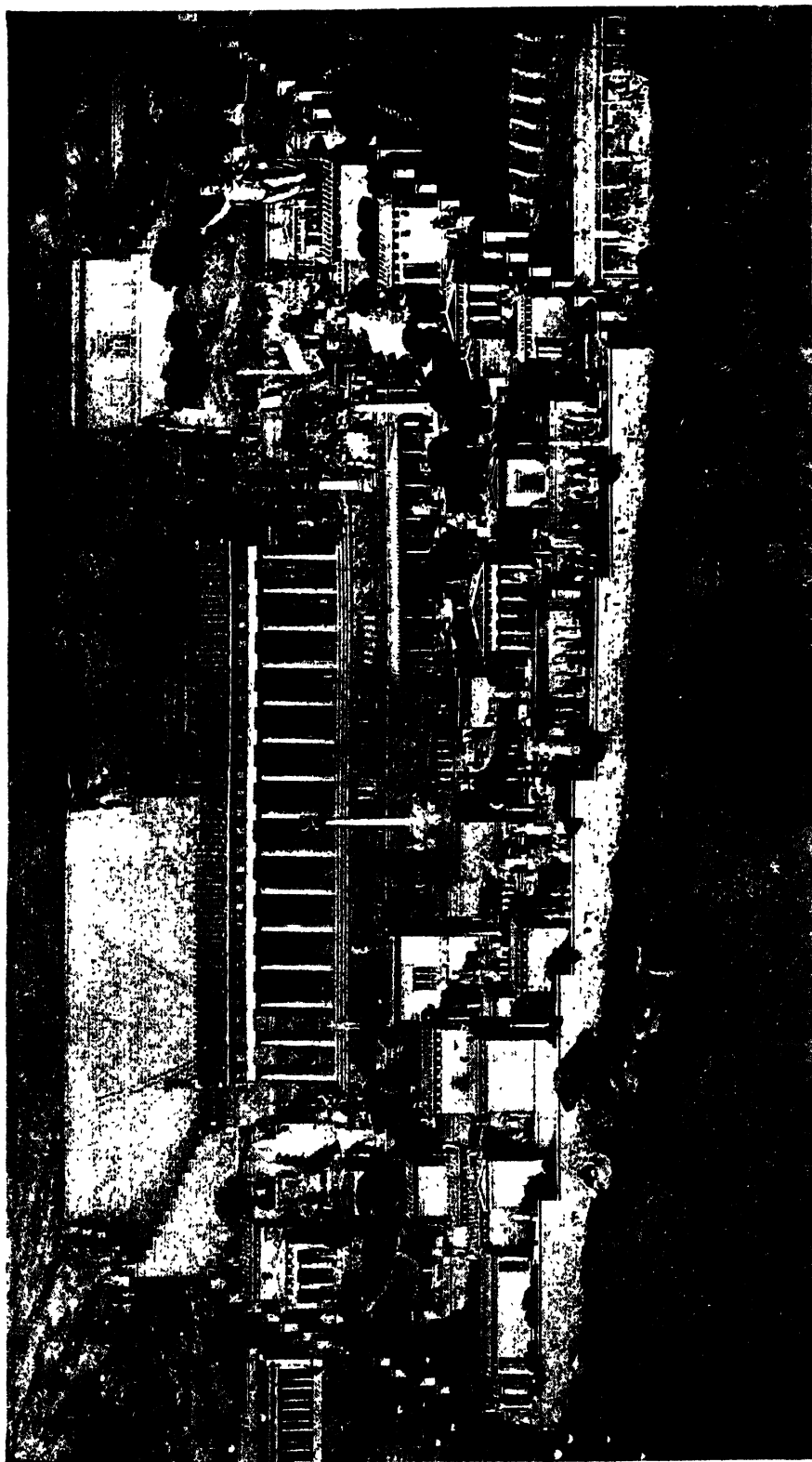
*Courtesy of Dr. F. Stödtner, Munich*

or to make vows. Processions, hymns and the like belonged rather to the precincts of the temple than to its interior; and animal sacrifices were always, for obvious reasons, performed at great altars outside the building.

The wealth of temples and the exuberance of Greek religious art can best be appreciated by considering one of the great religious sites which have in recent years been excavated. We will take Delphi as an example. The site, noted through the ancient world as the abode

of Apollo and the place of his oracle and his sacred festivals, was covered by a squalid modern village. By a happy agreement between the Greek Government and the French Institute, it was decided that this village should be removed, the inhabitants being, of course, compensated. Then the site was excavated by French explorers with the most profitable results.

The plan of Delphi was laid bare, and the remains of temples, treasuries and gymnasia, with the long lines of bases of statues of winners in the athletic



# **CROWDED MAGNIFICENCE OF APOLLO'S ABODE AT DELPHI WHILE IT WAS YET THE HOLIEST SANCTUARY IN GREECE**

A great religious centre sacred to Apollo, in whose temple was the celebrated and exceedingly influential oracle, Delphi was enriched and beautified by the offerings of the Greek states—becoming a vast repository of art, as is shown by this restoration. Everything is grouped round the splendid Doric temple of Apollo, whose colossal statue stands near by; behind the temple and occupying one corner of the precinct (top left) is the theatre. Among the innumerable monuments and groups of statuary was the 'Auriga,' or Charioteer, shown in page 1208. On the hillside immediately below the left-hand column of the temple as made clear in the plan opposite, is the treasury of the Athenians, with those of other cities and communities clustered about it

contests, trophies set up by victorious states, copies of decrees and treaties and the like, were revealed. Of course, only the foundations of buildings survived so many centuries of destruction, but buried amid the ruins were found a number of beautiful statues, the sculptural decorations of the temple of Apollo and the treasure houses, with hundreds of smaller objects in bronze and terra-cotta.

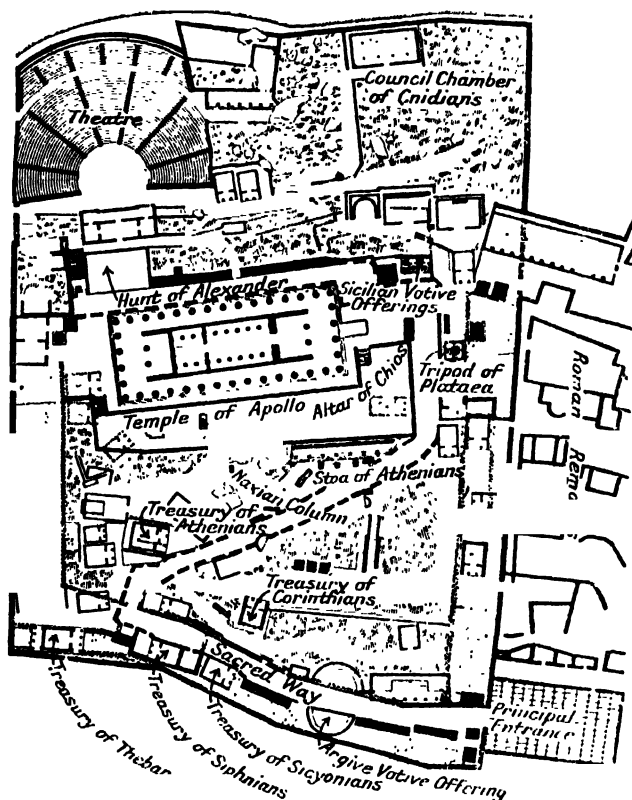
The visitor entered the sacred enclosure by the gate at the bottom of the plan given in this page, and mounted the slope by a zig-zag path, which led to the front of the temple. He would pass between treasure houses and dedications, an inventory of which still remains to us in the guide-book drawn up by the traveller Pausanias in the age of the Antonine emperors. Above the temple were the theatre, where performances, of course, were given in the open air, the race-course and a building erected by the people of Cnidus to contain the fresco paintings of the great Ionian painter Polygnotus. As regards sculptured remains we are very fortunate; the bronze statue of a charioteer (page 1298) and a group of statues of athletes by the great sculptor Lysippus are spoil of immeasurable value.

It is not, however, mainly in its religious and mythological aspects that we propose here to treat of Greek sculptural art, but with regard to athletics and human beauty. One may fairly say that but for the admiration in Greece of the healthy and beautifully proportioned figures of young athletes, ideal sculpture would not have been developed. And further, since the idealisation of the human body is quite peculiar to Greece, it is to Greece that we moderns owe our perception and appreciation of human beauty in art.

Sculpture and painting have been practised in all countries, and in some, such as China, Japan and, on the whole

India, not in subordination to Greek ideals. But in no case have these countries risen to an appreciation of the ideal of human charm and loveliness. And when Greek art had for a time disappeared, our own ancestors in the Middle Ages, though they reared cathedrals richly adorned with sculpture, were greatly inferior to the Greeks in their treatment of the human body.

We propose to treat of the art and the physical training of the Greeks in their great period. At first sight it may seem that the two subjects are not closely connected; certainly in modern times we do not expect athletes to be closely connected with art; nor artists to take a strong interest in athletics. But in Greece art and athletics were very closely related; in fact, it was in a great degree from the practice of athletics that Greek



#### CENTRE OF THE WORSHIP OF APOLLO

The piety of the Greek states made the great temple at Delphi one of the richest of religious institutions. The Sacred Way which ran to it from the main entrance to the precinct was lined with the treasuries of the states—wherein were stored the spoils of battle vowed to Apollo—war-memorials and shrines.

After Poulsen, 'Delphi,' and Hamolle, 'Fouilles de Delphes'





In Greek cities the gymnasium was not merely an institution at which instruction in physical training was given, but also corresponded to the modern club, attracting men of very different occupations and having various interests. It afforded every facility for exercise, and here athletes prepared themselves for contests in the stadium. Above, we see the ruins of the gymnasium at Delphi.



Foot-races and other athletic contests were not only held at the great Panhellenic festivals, but were popular at all times. Delphi, the centre at which the Pythian Games, second in importance only to the Olympic, took place, had its public stadium, which stood to the north-west of the city. Considerable remains still stand, as we see in this photograph, but there is now no trace of the marble seats with which, according to an ancient author, it was once furnished.

#### PROMINENT PLACE FOR ORGANIZED ATHLETICS IN GREEK LIFE

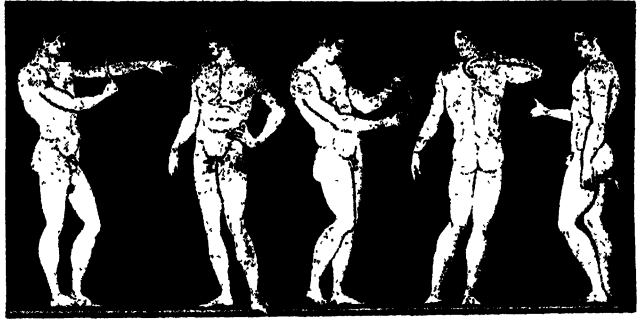
*Photos, Alinari*

sculptural art had its rise. And this fact suggests the order in which we must treat our subject. We must speak of athletics first. Both art and athletics are embodiments of the Greek genius for beauty and sanity. The attempt to reach these at first produced the physical culture of Greece and then embodied in works of art the results of that culture.

The love of athletic sports was deeply seated in the Greek race, and was most conspicuous in the great age culminating in the later sixth and the fifth centuries. They were not consciously carried on with a view either to amusement or to health; but were rather a natural manifestation of the Greek spirit, an outflow of its abundant energy. An upright and manly carriage, well turned limbs, physical courage and energy were as essential attributes of the gentleman as modesty, self-control and intelligence. Hence arose gymnastic training; gymnastics for the body and music in the broad Greek sense for the spirit—music which implied all mental cultivation—were associated in the education of children and the life of men.

Gymnastics pursued as a mere means of health and physical development are painfully dull. As a stimulus and an object competitions are needed, the conflict of man with man, the outdistancing of friends and competitors.

Physical training may be carried on in three ways: first, by military drill, as in France and Germany; second, by competitive team games like cricket, rowing and



#### REMOVING THE TRACES OF EXERCISE

As well as being used by athletes to scrape their skins the strigil served bathers as a kind of scrubbing-brush, and, indeed, was apparently to be found in the toilet-sets of most men and women. The ordinary functions of the implement (including the cleaning of finger-nails) are shown in this vase painting.

*From Gerhard, 'Ausgewählte Griechische Vasenbilder'*

football, as in England and America; third, by competitive athletic sports. The tennis and track athletes of to-day are of the last-named class. But track athletics are almost wholly derived from Greek prototypes; and in Greece such sports stood higher in the opinion of the people and reached a more complete development than among all other races.

No doubt cricket and football encourage and produce a high spirit of sportsmanship, and a willingness to sacrifice oneself for the sake of one's side; and in these respects modern athletics are superior to those of the Greeks. But the Greeks had certain advantages on their side, and two in particular. The first is universality, at least so far as the male sex is concerned. It has become of late more and more the custom among us for youths who have no special qualifications for athletics to stand aside, and to watch matches, instead of taking part in them so far as their faculties allow. This is greatly to be regretted, for those who are not perfectly fitted to take part in athletics are often those who would derive most benefit from them.

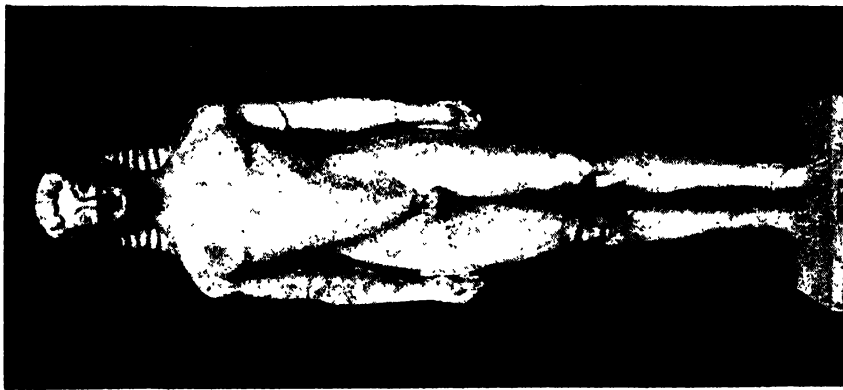
In the age after Alexander the Great there existed in all Greek cities great gymnasias, with a multitude of rooms adapted to exercises of all kinds, with running grounds, gymnastic apparatus and hot and cold baths, oiling rooms and



#### A NECESSITY TO THE GREEK ATHLETE

Since, before they exercised, Greek youths anointed themselves freely with oil and coated themselves with dust, the strigil was considered indispensable for cleaning the body after these operations. It was usually fashioned in bronze or iron and, while the pattern varied, that shown here was most common.

*British Museum*



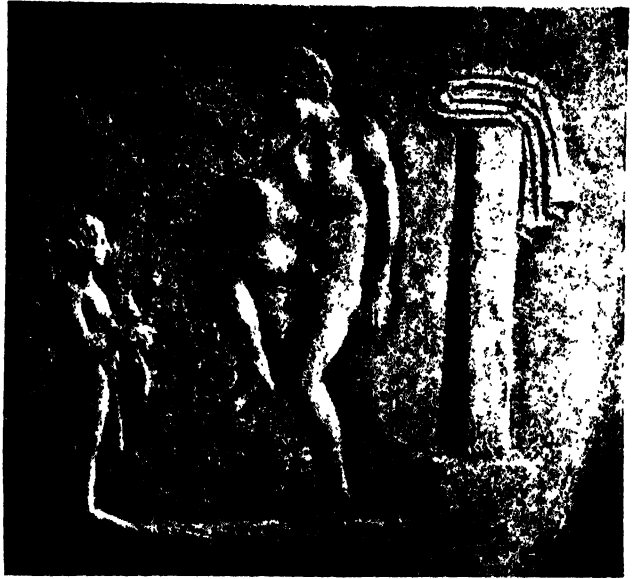
# ADVANCE IN ARTISTIC KNOWLEDGE SEEN IN THE INCREASING NATURALISM AND BEAUTY OF ATHLETIC STATUES

The first sculptors to study and represent skilfully the nude male figure were the Greeks, who drew their inspiration from the gymnasium. Many statues of young men still survive, to which the name 'Apollo' is usually given without justification. Early examples show Egyptian mannerisms: the figure from Aegina (left) and the seventh-sixth century Apollo of Tenea (next) are Egyptian in attitude, but the accuracy of anatomical details testifies to the genuine ability of the Greek artists. Aegina produced many statues of athletes—the 'Strangford' Apollo (next) is probably one of these—whose beauty influenced the art of the mainland. While these three figures have all archaic traits, the fourth, shown above, the 'Choiseul-Gouffier' Apollo, is free from them.

*Marich and British Museums ; photos, Mansell*

the like. But in an earlier and simpler age, before professionalism appeared and rigid courses of training were introduced, attention was concentrated less on the means and more on the end. Every young citizen would spend some hours of the morning playing some ball game, running, leaping or throwing the discus; then he would bathe and go home to dinner. Even men of middle age would continue their training, for military service was incumbent on all but the aged, and everyone must be prepared for the hardships of a campaign or for a charge against the enemy. And since such charges ended in a scrimmage in which man grappled with man, no one could afford to be unwieldy or short of breath.

Another feature in Greek physical training was the custom of athletes to put away every scrap of clothing, and to oil themselves. Once at least every day a man would go to the gymnasium, strip himself, rub himself all over with oil, sprinkle dust or powder



#### VIGOROUS EXERCISE WITH A BALL

While we have ample evidence that the Greeks played many varieties of ball game, details as to their nature are lacking. The purpose of the youth depicted in this relief, for example, is uncertain; his attitude suggests that the ball balanced on his thigh may be weighted and used like a 'medicine-ball.'

*National Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari*



#### EMBLEMATIC OF THE AMATEUR

A victor in Greek Games originally received a crown of leaves as his sole prize. This relief from Sygium shows an Attic youth about to set upon his head the insignia of victory (the actual crown has disappeared from his hand).

on the oil, and remove the whole with the 'strigil,' a curved instrument with a sharp edge. Then would come the exercises; after the exercises the bath, and perhaps another oiling. Immense quantities of oil were used in the gymnasia; and the simplicity of ancient costume prevented these customs from being uncleanly. The amount of clothes which men and women wear is in a remarkable degree a matter of convention; one can become used to any excess or scantiness. But the Greeks were quite convinced that to wear any clothes when exercising was unmanly and a habit appropriate only to barbarians. Of course the climate of Greece is much warmer than ours.

Another feature was the cultivation of style, of what the Greeks called rhythm, in all exercises. We moderns look only at results, a mile run in so many minutes and seconds, a leap measured by feet. But the Greeks attached great value to manner as well as to results. An athlete who was awkward would be hissed like a bad actor; and it was customary for those who took part in exercises to go through them to the sound of the flute.



#### ACCURATE OBSERVATION OF ACTION

Intimacy with gymnasium and running-track is seen in the exactly detailed work of Greek artists. The slow, regular stride proper to a long-distance race is brilliantly suggested by the poise of these athletes. Their nakedness is not artistic convention: Greeks wore no clothes when taking part in sports.

*British Museum*

The seal of nationality and of the highest religion of Greece was set upon athletic sports when the great games were instituted at Olympia, the seat of Zeus, at Delphi, the seat of Apollo, and at the Isthmus, in the precinct of Poseidon. Nothing gave so great an impulse to the development of the Greek nationality and Greek civilization as these noble assemblies. From every part of the Greek world, from South Italy and Sicily, the islands and the coast of Asia Minor, men flocked to Olympia or Delphi; they came even from Greek colonies in the Crimea and Africa; some to make a pilgrimage to the great religious shrines, some to meet friends or learn the news.

But the great feature of the festivals was the athletic contests. Under strict rules, and after careful training for thirty days, athletes from every land contended one with another in all athletic sports, and the victors, who received as prize a mere crown of leaves,

won honours which might well have turned their heads. When they went to their homes the whole city assembled to greet them. In some cities they had a right to dine thereafter with the magistrates in the town hall. At Sparta they had the Spartan privilege of being ranged close to the king in battle. They conferred deathless honour on the house of their fathers. The great poets composed lays to be sung in their honour, some of which, by the poet Pindar, are still extant. The greatest sculptors were proud to make their portraits.

It is, however, a striking fact that we hear almost nothing about the losers. They seem to have disappeared without notice or honour, a fact which reminds us that amid all the striking qualities of the Greeks, feelings of chivalry and respect for noble failure are not to be found: they only flourish against a background of Christianity.

It is obvious that I cannot here set forth in full the details of the exercises practised



#### SEARCHING TEST OF RUNNERS' METTLE

The race in armour—an event in which each competitor had to wear his helmet and carry a shield on the left arm—was for some time included in the Games. The postures of the runners depicted above and of those in other vase paintings seem to

• indicate that it was a short, fast race.

• *British Museum*



### PUGILISM A FAVOURITE GREEK SPORT

A code of rules governed boxing in ancient Greece, skill and agility, in the early days at least, being more highly esteemed than brute strength. In a match boxers had their hands bound with protective leather thongs, like those seen above worn by the two actual combatants on the left, and carried by the two young men on the right who are preparing to fight. The figure in the centre is the boxing instructor or master of the gymnasium with his wand.

*British Museum*

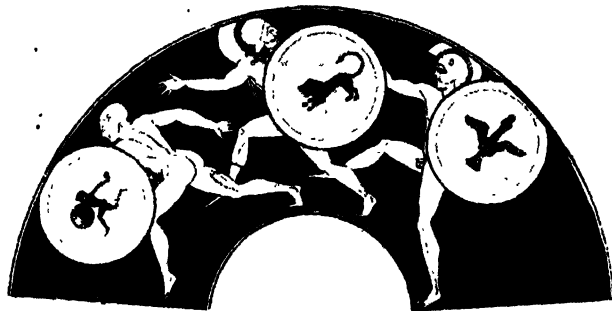
by the Greeks. There is an excellent account of them in Dr. Norman Gardiner's Greek Athletic Sports. The writer is a good scholar and quite familiar with the modern practice of athletics, facts which save him from many of the blunders which disfigure the pages of his learned predecessors.

Two exercises which may be considered as preliminaries to athletics proper were dancing and ball play. The Greek notion of dancing was very different from ours. The two sexes did not dance together, in pairs, as is now the custom; and the dances of men were usually mimetic in character, imitations of the movements of

those taking part in the chase or in war, but gentle instead of violent, and carried on to the sound of the flute. They were like modern folk dances.

Ball play was extremely varied, but we know little of the varieties. Both men and women practised it. Alexander the Great was fond of it; in connexion with which we may remember how fond the English and French kings were of tennis.

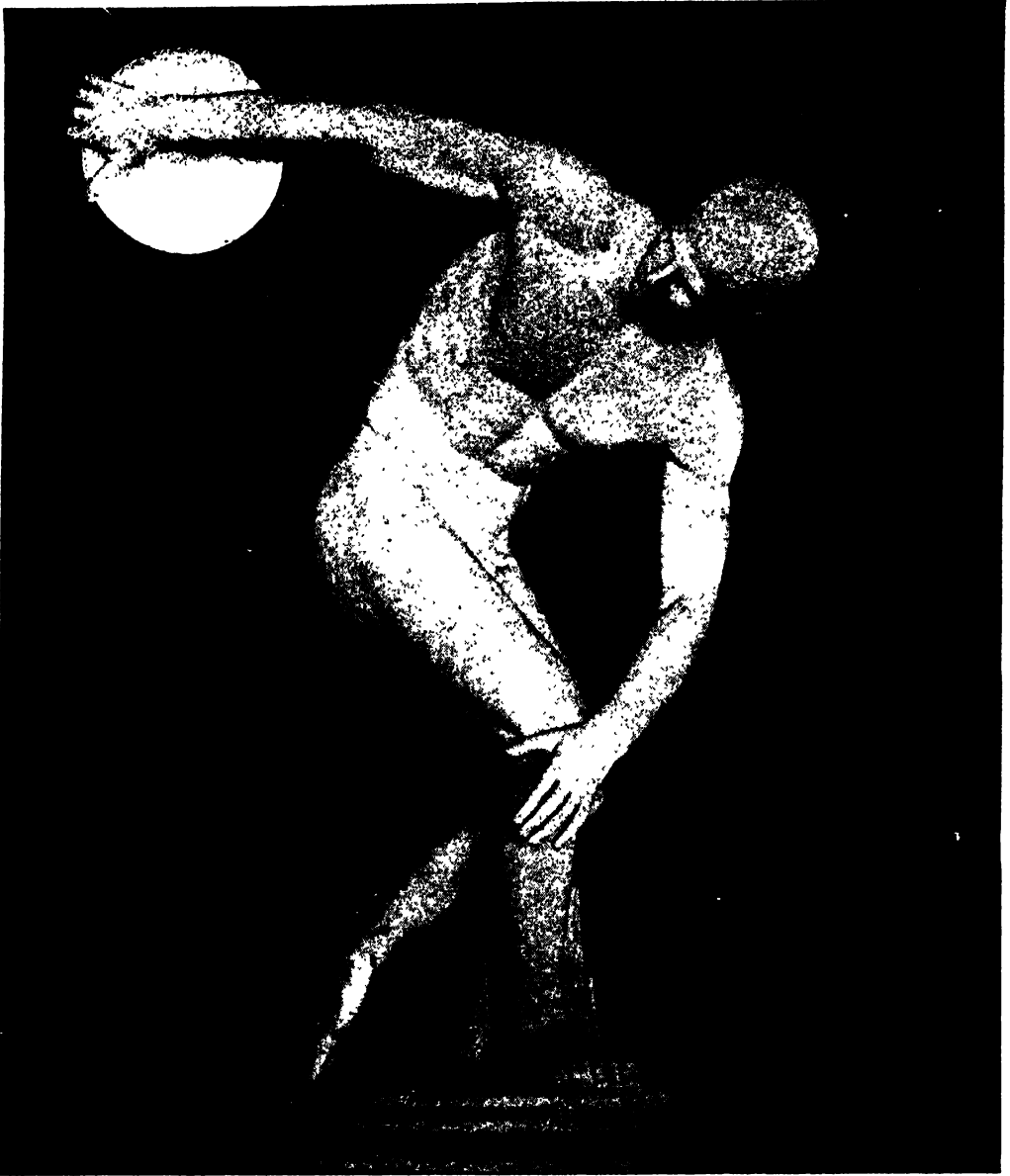
Some of the exercises of the Greeks, such as running, leaping and wrestling, are features of athletic competitions everywhere. Others were peculiar to them, such as discus throwing, spear throwing, the armed race and the torch race, though



### SPORT THAT WAS AN EXCELLENT FORM OF MILITARY TRAINING

The Greek citizen was on occasion a soldier, and his ability to advance at the run for considerable distances when heavily armed was of great tactical value, as was proved at Marathon. Thus, as Plato observed, the race run by athletes in armour was very valuable preparation for active service. The runners represented in these paintings from a vase have the round shields and types of helmet usually borne, and make vigorous play with their arms as sprinters do to-day.

*From Berlin. Ausgewählte Griechische Vasenbilder.*



#### EMINENT GRACE OF AN ATHLETE'S ACTION IMMORTALISED IN STONE

One of the most beautiful studies of the human body ever made, the 'Discobolus'—discus thrower—of Myron (fifth century B.C.) owes much to the close connexion between Greek art and sport. To show the perfect proportions of the young man, the result of constant physical training, no artist could have devised a better pose than this, assumed naturally by him when throwing the discus—a sport that brings all the limbs into play, and in which rhythmic movement is essential.

*See also on in the Glyptothek, Munich; photo, Mansell*

some of these have lately been revived through classical influence.

The length of the short race was that of the running ground at Olympia, somewhat less than 200 yards. The long races involved turning at a post at the end of the course and running back, and this might be done several times. The repre-

sentations on vases, of which we shall presently speak, show that whereas in the long race men held their arms close to their sides, in the short race they threw them backwards and forwards to increase the speed. Instantaneous photography has shown that such is still the custom of our runners. At the starting place, as may still



#### STRAIN OF FIERCE CONTEST WONDERFULLY REPRESENTED

Besides boxing and wrestling, the Greeks had a third type of combat at their Games—the pancratium, in which both fisticuffs and holding were permitted. A bout ended only when one of the fighters admitted himself beaten. The magnificent physique of those who took part in the pancratium, and the attitudes into which they were forced in their struggles, afforded sculptors unrivalled opportunities which were fully utilised, as in this masterly group (largely restored).

*Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari*

be seen in the running grounds of Olympia and Delphi, grooves were cut in the stone, apparently one for each of the feet of the starters.

A variety of race consisted in running in armour; in this event the athletes had to wear a helmet and carry a shield on the left arm. This was a very favourite sport,

which is no wonder, as it was a direct preparation for charging in the battle-field. In charging the Persian host at Marathon (according at least to Herodotus) the Athenians ran more than a mile over rough ground, and the astonishment of the enemy at their temerity went a long way towards securing the victory.



Another popular form of racing was the torch race, in which, as in our relay races, the torch was passed on from one member of the team to another until the last ran to the goal; but great caution was needed, as the torch must not on any account be extinguished.

The wrestling was what is now called 'upright.' With well-oiled bodies the competitors stood face to face, and he who fairly threw his opponent three times was victor. Wrestling on the ground seems to have been confined to another sport, the *pancratium*. This has commonly been regarded as a brutal form of exercise, since the competitors were set to strike, throw and maul one another until one of

them confessed defeat. But it has been pointed out that in many ways it resembled Japanese wrestling, the *jujitsu*, in which also defeat is confessed by holding up the hand, and this kind of struggle has never been considered brutal, though strict regulations are necessary.

In boxing, the hands were in early times enveloped in long strips of hide, not so much to soften the blow as to protect the hand. In Hellenistic times hard leather was used, which might inflict a serious wound, and in the Roman age the 'caestus' was weighted with iron and lead. Between the boxing match described by Homer and that described by Vergil there intervenes a long period of change, in which



#### VARIED ACTIVITIES WHICH CENTRED IN THE GYMNASIUM

Exquisite examples of late sixth-century relief-work, these panels from a pedestal were found built into the wall of Athens. According to the rules of Greek wrestling, opponents met face to face, as seen in the upper relief; struggling on the ground was forbidden, and a man was beaten only when he had been thrown three times.\* The lower relief seems to indicate that some form of hockey was played, the attitudes of the central figures definitely suggesting the modern 'bully off.'

*National Museum, Athens; British Museum casts*

amateur gives place to professional boxing, and sport to brutality.

Leaping was reckoned by length, not by height. The competitor appears to have found that the use of weights, like dumb-bells, in the hands aided him, either from a standing position or after a few running steps. But leaping was not a separate competition at the games; it was only one event in the 'pentathlon,' or five-fold contest. In the pentathlon the winner must defeat his competitors in three events out of five, running, leaping, throwing the discus, hurling the spear and wrestling. This sport exercised all parts of the body: running the legs, spear-throwing the arms, wrestling the trunk. Those who excelled in it were regarded as the most accomplished athletes, and their full-length portraits in bronze abounded in the sacred precincts of Greece. Discus throwing, the discus being a round plate of metal of some eight to twelve pounds weight, involved rhythmical movements of all the limbs, and has been immortalised by the Discus Thrower, the magnificent statue by Myron. It has lately been reintroduced in modern revivals of the Olympic games.

We have evidence from Athenian inscriptions that a feature of some of the festivals was boat racing. But the vessels used were not triremes, as in the story of Vergil, nor the light river-boats of modern days (since the Greeks had no large rivers), but sea-going boats rowed by the youths of Athens, who were called ephēbi. As all the naval fighting in Greece was done in galleys propelled by rowers, these boat races also must be considered as a military sport.

There is a very beautiful class of painted Athenian vases, called 'red-figured' because the designs are drawn in outline on the red clay of which the vases are made, and the background painted

**Athletics on Greek Vases** out with black pigment. They belong to the best period of

Greek art (520-440 B.C.) and are wonderful examples of delicacy and accuracy in drawing (see pages 1269-70). There is also a class of large vessels, amphorae or two-handled urns, in which the designs are painted in silhouette in black on the red ground. These latter were given as prizes at Athens in the



**STUDY OF A PRIZE-FIGHTER**

The leather thongs which were swathed round a boxer's hands were latterly reinforced by hard straps such as this pugilist has fastened across his fingers. His 'cauliflower' ear shows the damage wrought by these knuckle-dusters.

*Museo delle Terme, Rome*

games called Panathenaea, of which an immortal memorial is to be found in the frieze of the Parthenon, preserved in the British Museum.

There are many examples of both of these classes of vases to be found in all our larger museums. The drawings on them take us in a vivid way right to the heart of Greek athletic sports and the festivals of which they were a prominent feature. They show us the youths of Athens in their gymnasias, bathing and oiling themselves, or competing together in running and boxing and the other sports of the time. Our illustrations, taken from these vases, will give the reader a more vivid understanding of the games than many pages of description necessarily hard to follow.

Though athletic competitions were a main feature of the great games, they did not stand alone. There were also com-



### INSTRUCTION IN DISCUS-THROWING

The Greeks valued style very highly in all forms of athletics. Here in this vase painting, now at Munich, we see a bearded gymnasium instructor with his forked wand showing a youth how to place his feet when throwing the discus, which was a heavy circular slab, usually of iron or bronze.

*From Pfuhl, 'Masterpieces of Greek Painting'*

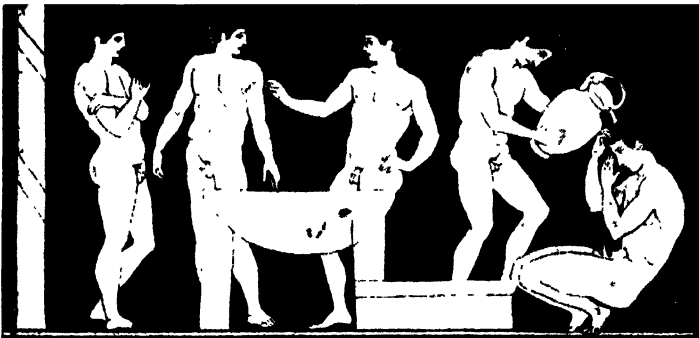
petitions in music and singing, and in recitations of poetry, especially at Delphi and Athens. The wealthy who had not the physique for bodily feats competed with horses—with chariots drawn by four horses, with mule cars and with riding horses. Thus the splendour of the show was greatly increased; and it is quite in accord with human nature that triumphs won by the expenditure of money were almost as highly rated as those won by personal prowess. The difference was that while the horse races only favoured the

production of fine breeds of horses, the athletic sports raised the standard of the beauty and efficiency of men.

Of the athletic sports of women there is not much to be said. The secluded women of Athens amused themselves by playing ball games. Xenophon expects the perfect wife to spend much of her time in the arrangement and folding of the household linen, no very absorbing occupation. But we are told that at Sparta the girls were accustomed to the same exercises as the young men. At Olympia, at the festival of Hera, girls ran foot races, though the distance was made shorter for them, as it is to-day in golf courses.

Some reference must be made to the deterioration and decay of Greek athletics, the account of which forms one of the most instructive chapters in all ancient history. We have seen what they were like in the time of their full bloom, in the ages of the Persian wars and the Athenian Empire of the fifth century.

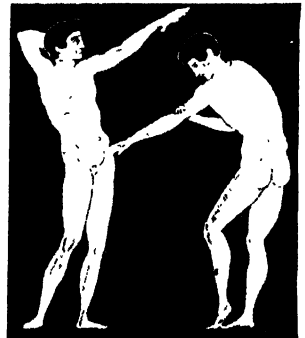
The wisest of the Greeks were fond of the rule 'nothing in excess.' They loved moderation and proportion in all things. The body should be harmonious in every detail, they thought; one part should not



### GYMNASIUM'S PRIMITIVE BUT EFFECTIVE CONVENIENCES FOR WASHING

The bath was not the important institution in ancient Greece that it was, some centuries later, at Rome. This does not mean that the Greeks were not cleanly in their habits: the men always washed themselves thoroughly after the heat and sweat of their daily exercise. Here we see a group of youths gathered about the gymnasium's public wash-basin, while another enjoys an impromptu shower-bath. The two on the extreme right are carefully massaging themselves.

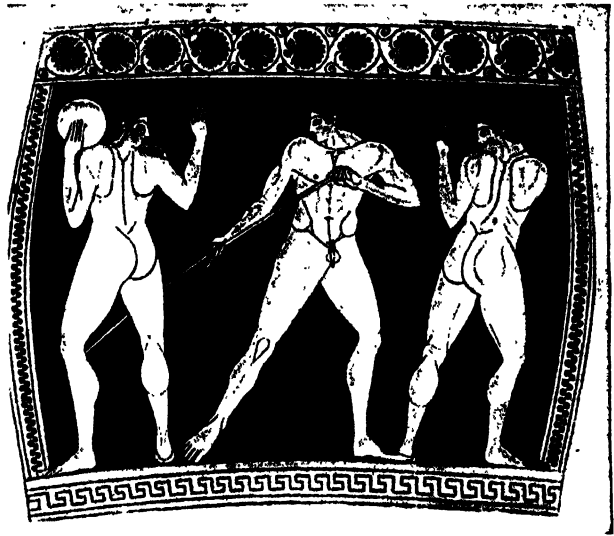
*From Gerhard, 'Ausgewählte Griechische Vasenbilder'*



be developed at the expense of another; and the body should never be developed at the cost of mind and spirit. The first sign of the decay of athletics, a sign which appears before the end of the fifth century, is over-specialisation. Socrates observed that runners often have over-developed legs and weak trunks, while boxers are too heavy in the upper part of the body.

The important discovery was made that a man may by careful training and repeated exercises so promote the growth of his body along certain lines that it becomes efficient for some particular competition, but less well proportioned and less healthy. The discovery was fatal, because nothing succeeds like success; and the athletes who specialised, with their trainers, could not be stopped in their course. Yet when it was necessary that a boxer should give his whole life to boxing, or a runner to running, in order to succeed, every man of sense and spirit began to despise both.

Specialisation led directly to what is now called professionalism. Successful athletes would go from one athletic



#### ATHLETIC PRACTICE IN FULL SWING

Since grace and expert skill in games were held to be of primary importance, training was constantly in progress in gymnasium and stadium. Above, a discus thrower coming into position, a javelin thrower about to begin his preliminary run, and an amateur pugilist apparently 'shadow boxing.'

*From Journal of Hellenic Studies*

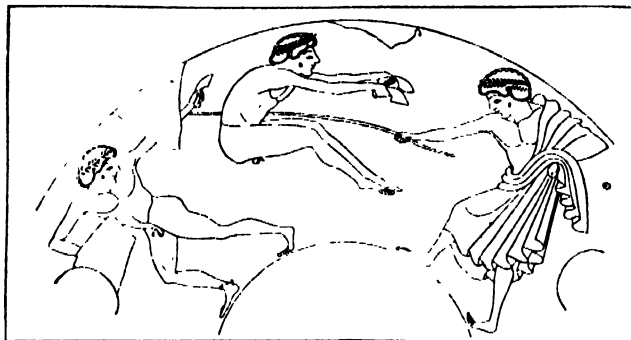
festival to another, anxious to break a record or secure an acknowledged primacy. What we call 'pot-hunting' could not be practised in Greece, for until quite late times the reward was only a wreath. Still, victories in the games gave a man immense dignity and privilege; and probably enabled him, if he chose to set up as a trainer, to follow a lucrative profession.



#### YOUTHS PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR THE RACE IN ARMOUR

The Greeks considered athletics a serious element in education, so that the instructors in sports were rather tutors than drill-sergeants. In this vase painting we see the instructor giving advice to his pupils who are in training for the armour-race. On his left hand is one who has obviously finished an exhausting trial run; another, on the right, is about to start. A third youth, evidently a late arrival, is donning his greaves; his helmet and shield are laid near-by.

*From Hartwig, 'Die griechischen Meisterschulen'*



#### GRACE IN PERFORMANCE OF LONG-JUMP

ipping contests were held at the Games, the winner being who covered the greatest distance; the record is said to have been 55 feet, but this is incredible. Little weights were carried by the jumpers, to help them to attain momentum, and they usually 'took off' from a slight eminence.

*From Archäologische Zeitung*

We see clearly in the Greek writers how at the end of the fifth century fatal principles came into training. The Greeks as a rule ate very little meat; their diet consisted mainly of bread, fish, cheese, fruit and milk. Such diet contented the great athletes of the earlier age, Theagenes and Milo and Phayllus. But two trainers—Dromeus of Stympalus and Pythagoras of Samos—discovered that in the heavier competitions, boxing, wrestling and the pancratium, the most successful candidates were those who trained on meat, a food not natural in the climate of Greece. So to produce bulk of body and great outstanding muscles they made their pupils eat great quantities of flesh, and, in order to digest it, lead a life of alternate sloth and exercise.

From that time the repute of the athlete fell rapidly. Socrates, says Xenophon, disapproved of specialised athletics as injurious to the soul. Plato had in his youth won victories at Delphi and the Isthmus in wrestling; but in his works he speaks with contempt of the condition of the specialised athlete, who is liable to illness on any cessation of his regime. Epaminondas, the model patriot of Thebes, turned away from gymnastic exercises to such as prepared a man for actual war. Alexander the Great, too, had a very low opinion of the military efficiency of athletes: he considered them too delicate for the hardships of a campaign. The writers of epigrams are never tired of

ridiculing athletes, their vast muscles and small wit, their appetite for food and their sleepiness and sluggishness.

When the young men of Greece paid less attention to their daily exercises, and instead of competing themselves were content merely to watch the athletic contests of professionals, their physical type seems to have degenerated. In the *Clouds*, Aristophanes draws a contrast between the old-fashioned youth, ruddy with exposure to the air, finely formed, a pattern of modesty, and the young man of the newer generation, pale-faced

and narrow chested, loitering in the market-place and given to luxury.

In Hellenistic and Roman times we reach a third phase of athletics, which we may call the self-conscious or scientific stage. It is best presented to us by the great physician Galen, whose works on medicine reached a higher level than any modern works until the rise of systematic medicine after the Renaissance. By his time the distinction between the specialised, highly-trained athlete and ordinary young men was fully established. Of the former class he has a very low opinion. He will



#### ATHLETE'S ACTIONS BEFORE LEAPING

Two kinds of long-jump were practised in Greece; in one the jumper had a short run; in the other he leapt standing. In both the 'halteres' or weights were used; they were swung by the athlete before he 'took off,' and dropped as he sprang.

*From 'Juhl,' Masterpieces of Greek Painting'*

not call athleticism a profession because it does not tend to the improvement of life. In the blessings of mind and thought the athletes have no part. As he writes :

Beneath their mass of flesh and blood their souls are stifled as in a sea of mud. Nor do they enjoy the best blessings, even of the body. Neglecting the old rule of health, which prescribes moderation in all things, they spend their lives in over-exercising, over-eating, over-sleeping. They have not health, nor have they beauty. Even their vaunted strength is useless.

But though averse from professional athletics Galen is keenly appreciative of the advantages of good physical training. He wrote a treatise on ball play, which, as it was greatly valued at Sparta, must have been highly developed. Galen says that it can be practised with any degree of moderation or violence, and exercises every part of the body, legs, hands and eyes alike, while at the same time it occupies the mind. Evidently it took much the same place in Greece as is taken among ourselves by tennis and golf. Dr. Norman Gardiner sums up the later



IN MEMORY OF AN ATHLETE

The honour in which athletes were held in ancient Greece is faintly reflected in inscriptions and such monuments as this grave-relief. In it is a youth receiving a vase from his attendant.

*British Museum*

history of Greek athletics in phrases which may well serve as a warning to us :

Nowhere is excess more dangerous than in athletics, and the charm of poetry and art must not blind us to that element of exaggeration which existed in the hero-worship of the athlete. The nemesis of excess in athletics is specialisation, specialisation begets professionalism, and professionalism is the death of all true sport.

The perception and admiration of the beauty of the human body arose in relation to young men ; the appreciation of the charm of women, or clothing, or animals, was of subsequent growth. This must become apparent to all who survey the monuments of Greek art in their historic succession. The earliest statues represent young men, naked, with powerful muscles and upright carriage.

No such work is more characteristic than the figures of Cleobis and Biton, see page 1003) found by French excavators at Delphi. They were set up by the people



MARTYR IN CAUSE OF SPORT

The great Games aroused such enthusiasm that many competitors overstrained their physical resources. Ladas, a Spartan, dropped dead after winning the 24-lap race, and this stele shows a runner dying after a similar event.

*National Museum, Athens ; photo, Alinari*



### HOW EVEN THE VASE PAINTER'S ART WAS AFFECTED BY ATHLETICS

While artistically they were perhaps not of the very highest order, these painted vases had a surpassing value in the eyes of their possessors, since they were awarded as prizes at the Pan-athenaic games. The martial figure of Athena, as the goddess believed to preside over the festival, is seen on two of them—one (top right) being the prize of a Spartan athlete. The other two are decorated with very spirited representations of a horse race and of a boxing-match respectively.

*Courtesy of Hellenic Society and British Museum*

of Argos to commemorate a feat of strength and piety performed by the two youths in dragging the chariot of their mother to a feast at Argos. The simplicity of the statues is as remarkable as the solid and stalwart build of the heroes. The sculptor was an Argive. These figures may well be placed among the earliest of the statues of athletic victors which adorned the sacred seats of the games and the market-places of the cities.

They date from about 600 B.C., and from that time onward we have a constant succession of the statues of athletes, many of which are extant in our museums. By degrees they gain in charm and become more life-like. Solidity gives way to muscular strength, rigid pose to elasticity. The outlines become more rounded and graceful. Finally we come to the magnificent athletic art of the great age.

If we seek to discover the inner impulse which inspired this series of athletic statues, it is not hidden. 'We live by admiration, hope, and love'; all works of art are the rendering in various materials of impulses which come from within. The admiration of human beauty and the desire to perpetuate a record of it were more deeply seated and more powerful in the Greek mind than they have been anywhere else, even than in the Italy of the Renaissance.

The impulse, however, could not have taken form had it not been for the customs

**Influence of, the Gymnasium** of the palaestra. The sculptor did not have, like his modern successor, to select a model, and to put him in a pose. He had but to pass his days in watching the baths and the exercises of the young citizens, and he would become thoroughly familiar with the appearance of their bodies in every attitude of action and of strain. Their forms would become as familiar to him as those of horses and dogs are to grooms and fanciers. Having within him the idea of beauty, the sculptor



#### COMMEMORATING AN ATHLETIC VICTORY

The design on each vase awarded at the Panathenaic games was appropriate to the form of sport in which it had been won. Thus one side of the Spartan victor's prize seen opposite was adorned with a stirring representation of a fragile chariot drawn by prancing horses.

*From Journal of Hellenic Studies*

would find that idea constantly growing in energy and refinement. Thus the art of sculpture, and with it that of painting, was rooted and grounded in the customs of athletic sport.

It is obvious that the modern spirit and that of Greece are in this matter widely apart. When we speak of natural beauty, we are usually thinking of the beautiful scenes of inanimate nature—the forest and the mountain and the sky. When we speak of the beauty of living things, there come first to our mind the exquisite forms and colours of flowers or of insects, or of the wild creatures of nature. In thinking of human beauty we lay the stress upon face and hands rather than on the beauty of the whole form.

All this is almost reversed in the mind of the Greek. His notion of human beauty included the head, but was by no means confined to it. When we see a man wholly nude the head, as has often been observed, appears as but a small part of the organism. Beauty in nature, whether inanimate or animate, was regarded by the Greek as a mere background to humanity. There is an enlightening passage on this subject in Plato. When, he says, a painter renders mountain or river, forest or sky, we are content with mere suggestions.





**WOMEN WORSHIPPERS OF ATHENA DISPLAY A PROCESSIONAL DIGNITY IN THE PARTHENON FRIEZE**

Before the fourth century B.C. the Greeks, while producing innumerable statues, reliefs and paintings of the nude male body, considered it indecent to represent women without clothes. In their treatment of drapery, however, they showed themselves masters of their art as clearly as when they carved or limned the torso of an athlete. The disposal of long folds and the indication of the figure that they hid offered every opportunity for the sculptor to prove his genius. Perfect harmony between the lines of the body and the garments gave to studies of draped women the dignified beauty seen in this frieze.

*The Louvre; photo, Archives photographiques, Paris*

Since we have no accurate knowledge of such things, we do not closely examine or criticize the paintings of them; we are in such a case contented with a vague and delusive rendering. But when an artist tries to represent our bodies, we keenly perceive his defects, and in virtue of our constant close observation, become severe critics of one who does not render in all respects an accurate likeness.

To a modern art-critic this utterance may well appear paradoxical, but it does really represent the view of the Greeks.

A hasty reader might suppose that Plato is thinking only of portraits, of which, of course, a close likeness to the person portrayed is the most obvious characteristic. The ordinary person is a more effective critic of likenesses of friends than of any other kind of representations. But the remark does not apply merely to the portrait; it is extended to any figures in art. The Greeks did pay far more attention to the human form as such than to material objects.

Hence we may trace an admirable evolution in the art of the fifth century, an evolution most obvious in the figures of athletes and such youthful deities as Apollo and Hermes. We may see how, from decade to decade, the beauty of outline and of pose increases. We may pass from the stiff figures of rigid outline, set squarely on their legs and looking straight at the spectator, to figures like those by Polycleitus (page 1300) and Pheidias, where the weight of the body rests mainly on one leg, and the face is turned somewhat aside, while the severity of the early outline gives place to a perfect symmetry, in the attainment of which the manliness and dignity of self-control are not sacrificed. Then, in the fourth century, we see the solid figures becoming slighter; the attitudes represented in statues begin to suggest ease and repose, as in the Satyr and the Hermes of Praxiteles (page 1302), figures in which enjoyment takes the place of simple strenuousness. Later still, in the third century, the study of anatomy affects the art of sculpture: the artists are learned, and know not only the human figure as it appears to the ordinary observer, but the exact form of the muscles beneath the

skin, and the way in which their tension affects the surface.

The ability to render the human body in a truly noble fashion was acquired gradually by sculptors: their attention was first devoted to the feet, then the course of their mastery over detail mounted regularly upwards. By 500 B.C. the feet and legs and the arms of statues were represented with much success. In the next half century there was a progressive understanding of the markings of the body, and



FINE USE OF DRAPERY

The Greeks well knew how to use draperies to produce an effect of grandeur in their works of sculpture. The archaic image of a woman by Antenor (sixth century B.C.) has a godlike dignity that is largely due to her elaborate vestments.

Acropolis Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari

the stiff and rigid poses of early art gave way to more grace and variety. The head was the last part of the body to be successfully studied, and of the head the mouth, the eyes, the hair were rendered with a good deal of archaic convention to the end of the fifth century. Even in the frieze of the Parthenon the eyes are not represented in true profile.

The beauty of the female form was realized later than that of the male. This was no doubt the result mainly of the customs of the country.

**Late appreciation of female beauty** Women, especially in Ionia, were somewhat secluded and no decent woman would use the public baths. So instead of nudity and oil, clothes were essential in the representation whether of goddesses or mortals. This opened to the sculptor another field—the combination of beautiful forms with beautifully arranged drapery; and in this field the Greek artist was as successful as in any other.

There is something very fascinating in the mingled delicacy and simplicity of the costumes of many votive figures of women of the sixth century found in the excavations of the Acropolis of Athens. And it is a matter of common knowledge how, in the women of the Parthenon pediments and frieze, the drapery and the underlying forms are blended into a marvellous whole. It was Praxiteles who, in the fourth century, broke through the old tradition, and almost for the first time exhibited the lovely nude form of the female body as something to be dwelt on and admired for its own sake. His Aphrodite of Cnidus (page 1303) started a wave of beauty-worship which swept through the whole of Greece, and changed the general taste. And it was succeeded by an endless succession of nude beauties, some of lofty and noble type, like the Aphrodite of Milo (Mélös), some merely fleshly like the Medici Aphrodite.

It was the constant play and interaction of naturalism and idealism that directed the evolution of Greek art. The close observation of nature which was notable in the representation of athletes became a constant feature of it, at all events in all that concerns humanity; every artist found some new aspect to portray and some

awkwardness to avoid. Just as in nature the unsatisfactory variations of plants and animals are eliminated and disappear, so in art the attempts at representation which were eccentric and inadequate died away. Through the individual the artist was ever trying to reach the type, the idea of the Creative Spirit, of which all visible forms were but the imperfect and temporary reflections.

It is in portraiture that the clashing of the individual and the type is most clearly seen. In the great art of Egypt, except during outstanding periods, the individual is almost lost in the type, which varies but little in the representation of kings or deities. The great art of Greece was infinitely more varied and progressive. The portrait sculptors fully intended to copy both the body and the head of the persons whom they portrayed.

The Greek philosophers speak of sculpture as a mimetic or imitative art. Yet the simplest work of sculpture cannot be merely mimetic: human purpose and personality must to some extent guide the chisel.

**Idealism in Greek portraits** The art of the fifth century, therefore, being intensely idealist, could not help looking beyond the individual to be portrayed to that which was beneath the individual—the type. In the language of Plato, the sculptor might be said to copy not the individual, but the idea according to which the individual was made. Nor does Aristotle take a very different view. 'Nature in Aristotle,' writes Butcher, 'is not the outward world of created things, it is the creative force, the productive principle, of the Universe.'

That Greek artists in the fifth century really, though perhaps not consciously, worked on these lines is clear if we carefully consider the most authentic portrait of the age which has come down to us, that of the great Pericles (see page 1239). It is true that we have not the original, but we have copies of the Roman Age. A modern critic would be ready to say 'It is not a portrait at all, it has nothing individual in it,' and this would be in effect true, though something of an exaggeration. There is doubtless in it something of the man Pericles, but how much we cannot

possibly determine. What strikes us, however, is that it has in it so much of the time, so much of the race, that it would hardly be incongruous as representing the typical Athenian father, or the typical Athenian statesman.

Something of this idealism, of this search for the type behind the individual, belongs to great portraits of all ages. Only a materialist would be content slavishly to render the exact form, perhaps copying a death-mask. But with the greater individualism and want of reverence of

modern times, the ideal in portraiture has receded before the characteristic.

It is a proof of the marvellous vitality and flexibility of Greek art that in the later (Hellenistic) age we have sculptured portraits which are in the highest degree characteristic. The portraits of the later philosophers, such as Zeno and Poseidonius, are wonderful on account of the character expressed in them and their realism, and these two qualities actually help us in the study of the writings of those philosophers. A modern critic might



#### IDEALISM AND NATURALISM IN THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN

When Greek sculptors turned to the representation of women in the nude a long series of very beautiful studies was produced. Two tendencies are discernible in them: a striving to give artistic expression to imaginative idealism and the desire merely to present female loveliness. The Aphrodite of Melos (second century B.C.), for example, is the result of an endeavour to endow a woman's body with ideal qualities, while in the so-called Medici Venus we have the glorification of carnal beauty.

*The Louvre, and Uffizi Gallery, Florence: photos, Ajlvars*

say that the busts exactly reproduce the men themselves; but this again would be an exaggeration, for those closely acquainted with Greek art are aware that the typical and idealist tendency is never wanting in it. In modern days characteristic portraiture is apt to run to an extreme, and to become caricature. This was never a tendency in Greek art.

The keen and incessant pursuit of the ideal, the humanism which sees every feature of nature in the light of human character and purpose, is the main guiding light of art in the great age; and those who do not care for or appreciate the ideal will never understand it. It dominates the writing and the acting of dramas, the building of temples, their adornment with sculpture, the figures of the gods, the representation of scenes from either myth-

ology or history. In Greek art the gods and goddesses are supermen and superwomen: Zeus the divine father, more majestic and benevolent than any human father; Hermes the athlete, more active and supple than any mere runner; Hera the divine matron; Aphrodite the embodiment of beauty such as a man may dream of but will never find incarnate.

Any siege of a city represented in relief tends to resemble the great siege of Troy, idealised for all time by the Iliad. In a representation of a marriage procession, Apollo, as **Art and Mythology** god of music, is often present to introduce the element of song, and he scarcely seems out of place. A boar hunt is modified by recollections of the hunting of the boar of Calydon, in which the great heroes of early time, Theseus and Castor and Pollux and Meleager, took part with Atalanta, who is hardly to be discriminated from Artemis.

Other features which are universal in Greek art are rhythm and balance and measure. Every sculptured hero or athlete is carefully placed so as to show a balance in attitude, and the figures in a relief or a painting are so arranged, with respect one to the other, as to show a sort of pattern. No figure could be taken away or moved without spoiling the composition as a whole. It is evident that if external symmetry were carried so far as to be mechanical and monotonous the result would be wanting in life and character. But this does not happen in reliefs of an early period, because the order and balance are not mechanically determined, but are the inspired composition of the artist; they seemed to him conditions without which his work would lose its charm. In vase paintings also they are most carefully preserved.

We are familiar with the masterpieces of Greek sculpture, but few know much about Greek painting. Yet in Greece the painters were quite as celebrated as the sculptors, and regarded as their artistic equals. A great feature in buildings such as town halls and porticoes was the fresco paintings on a large scale which adorned their walls, and were often the work of the most able painters of the fifth century. The subjects were taken from Greek



#### TRIUMPH OF PORTRAITURE

The sculptors of Greece did not develop their genius in portraiture until fairly late. This bust of the Stoic philosopher Zeno (c. 340-260 B.C.), however, admirably demonstrates their subtlety in the interpretation of character.

National Museum, Naples; ph. to, Anderson

mythology; but occasionally actual events of history were depicted, such as the battles of Marathon and Oenoe. The Chamber of the Cnidians at Delphi contained a series of scenes painted by the great Polygnotus, representing on one wall the fall of Troy, on another the descent of Odysseus into Hades, scenes of which the only remains now are a few handfuls of coloured dust. Alas! all the great frescoes of Greece have thus disappeared. a few gravestones painted by inferior artists alone remain, and even on them the colours are nearly obliterated.

We are obliged to derive our notions of Greek painting from the painted vases of which we shall presently speak, and from sculptured reliefs—for these are half way between sculpture in the round and painting. Not only were reliefs usually coloured, but in composition also they closely resembled paintings. Greek painting was undoubtedly very simple in character; perspective was rendered in an almost childish way; atmospheric effects and landscapes as backgrounds were not attempted. We must not be misled by the paintings of Pompeii and Rome; they much more closely resemble those of modern times; and, moreover, they come at the end of a long period of evolution. Paintings in the fifth and fourth centuries represented detached figures in statuesque attitudes, very often single figures, sometimes a succession of figures standing side by side.

Greek painted vases occupy a great space in all our museums; there is room after room full of them in the British Museum. They are a very fascinating object of study; and as their subjects are more complicated and extensive than those of sculpture, they throw even more light than the latter on Greek mythology, on athletics, and even on daily life. But, on the other hand, they require much more explanation, and it is rare to find in the museum galleries visitors examining them with the attention which they deserve. Setting aside the pottery of the Mycenaean age, in its way very charming, but also very un-Greek, we find a continuous succession of wares, from the eighth century to the third, which illustrate with wonderful clearness the

contemporary ideas of religion, and illustrate festivals and customs.

But before the vase paintings can be used to throw light on ancient life, some training is necessary. In books dealing with Greek history and antiquities the designs of vases are often inserted without explanation; and the reader naturally proceeds to interpret them by his knowledge of modern paintings and engravings. Before one can really understand them, one has to consider the human and subjective elements which are dominant in them. The vase painter begins by mapping out his space and choosing some subject suitable to it. If the space is round or square, a composition of one, two or three figures will be most suitable. If it is oblong more figures are desirable.

Greek vases may be roughly divided into two classes, the black-figured and the red-figured. In the black-figured class—wares made in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.—the figures were drawn in black silhouette on the natural red or buff ground of the vase. Touches of white and red were added to vary the effect, and the anatomical and other markings on the figures were made by lines incised in the clay with a sharp instrument. In the red-figured class, which came in towards the end of the sixth century, instead of the figures thus standing on a red ground, the outlines were drawn, and the whole background painted in black. The figures, therefore, stood out in red against black, and any further markings were made with a very fine brush full of black or dark paint. These markings are often marvels of delicacy and accuracy. Specimens of both kinds are represented in these pages; see also the plates in pages 1269-70.

Within the round, square or oblong framework, which, as we have said above, was prepared for the design, the painter depicted some familiar tale of mythology, or some battle-group, or some agonistic event, probably without the conscious intention of copying any well-known group in the paintings and reliefs familiar to him, but also without any definite attempt to be original. Thus there is immense variety in the representations which have come down to us of

any event in epic or tragic tradition or in folk-lore or the traditions of particular sacred places; but the variety is bounded by definite limits. The forms of the gods on vases vary in details; the normal types are preserved. The forms of athletes are simple and typical. Portraits or any immediate renderings of nature do not occur. Occasionally the artist seems to have had in his mind a line of Homer or Hesiod, or (in later times) a scene from Aeschylus or Euripides; but he is more concerned with beauty of grouping and delicacy of detail than with the exact meaning of the group.

We must add a few words on the subject of composition and grouping. The illustrations which we give are sufficient to show how carefully the Greek laws of balance and symmetry are preserved. Every figure is drawn in relation to every other; and none could be altered without injury to the design. Commonly, as in those shown in pages 1315 and 1319, the two halves of the design are symmetrically grouped on either side of an imaginary vertical line which divides it in the middle. Every Greek drawing is an ordered whole, a cosmos and not a chaos.

None of the remains of Greek antiquity are more beautiful, or more interesting, than coins. In spite of their small size, they are often exquisitely planned and

executed. And they bear a closer relationship to history than any other works of art. They can be attributed within narrow limits to a city and to a period. They inform us as to the deities of the city, **Exquisite Coinage** and often are related **of Greek Cities** to political events and changes. Also they were the necessary materials of commerce, since bank notes and credits were unknown in Greece. By their standards of weight they inform us of the commercial relations of cities. In some cases they reveal to us the existence of monetary and commercial leagues, as to which the ancient historians tell us little or nothing.

Few people have any notion of the complexity of Greek coinage. In the great age every city was autonomous and uncontrolled, and chose its own monetary standard and its own types. First and last, about two thousand cities issued money, some almost continuously through their history. In the island of Sicily, which was thoroughly Hellenised, about fifty cities had coins of their own. The little island of Zea (Ccos), half the size of the Isle of Wight, had three active mints; and so on. Hence it can readily be imagined what a wealth of material coins offer to the historian.

From the point of view of art, coins may be regarded as small bas-reliefs of circular form. The types are chosen and arranged on the same principles as those in the metopes of temples; balance and measure are carefully preserved. The most usual types are: on one side the head of a deity, on the other some well-known attribute of a deity—the lyre of Apollo, the owl of Athena, the thunderbolt of Zeus, and so forth.

We here give illustrations of two particularly beautiful coins of Sicily, on which racing chariots are represented. It would, however, be almost impossible to give the reader any notion of the beauty and the historic interest of Greek coins, so varied and numerous are they. Anyone who wishes to train his eyes to realize the charm of Greek Art, however, cannot do better than spend as much time as possible in the splendid exhibition of coins in the British Museum.



#### MOST DELICATE OF ART FORMS

In the designing of coins Greek artists developed a genius as transcendent as that exhibited in any other department of art—witness the beauty and vigour of the heads and chariot horses on these two coins from Sicily.

*British Museum and G. F. Hill, 'Select Greek Coins'*

# GREEK LITERATURE AND THE THEATRE

Incomparable Achievements of the Hellenic Genius  
in the Realms of Poetry Prose and the Drama

By GILBERT NORWOOD

Professor of Latin, University of Toronto; Author of *The Writers of Greece, etc.*

**T**HE literature of Greece comprised an immense volume of work in almost every field, and extended over some twenty-five centuries; but a study of it will necessarily consider far less than the whole, partly because great masses have long ago perished, partly because most of the literature composed after the death of Alexander the Great, important though it often is, possesses so much less both of literary excellence and of the Greek spirit.

That spirit may be defined as a tingling consciousness of fact—spiritual, emotional, intellectual, physical—and, in art, the instinct to express such fact in brilliantly concrete form. Something of this is indicated by the title of this chapter—Greek Literature and the Theatre. In philosophic poets like Shelley and Wordsworth even the persons become etherealised into something only half-human, akin to the clouds and winds. Throughout Greek literature, however, the opposite tendency is unmistakable. Not only did the Greeks instinctively evolve the drama and carry it to heights never surpassed; in other branches the dramatic instinct—the instinct to portray life and its events by the confrontation of conflicting personalities—is from the first a leading element. Homer is full of brilliant scenes where one splendid figure faces another in a tense situation of conflict, suspicion, hope, dread or comradeship. Even the scientific historian Thucydides is so influenced by contemporary tragedy that his immortal story of the Sicilian Expedition is conceived as a vast drama. Even Plato, the profound philosopher, throws his writings, however knotty and subtle, into dialogue form.

The Homeric poems include two epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and a collection of hymns to various deities. Immense discussion has been devoted to the history of the epics. (An analysis of such discussion with a statement of generally accepted conclusions is contained in Chapter 29). Was there such a person as Homer? Did one person write both poems? Where was each written, and when? Was either composed in the form that we now know? If not, did some bard make a great poem which was later expanded here and there, or did he combine earlier and shorter lays into a continuous whole?

*Homer's Epics and  
Homer's Genius*

On none of these questions is there complete agreement, but it is generally recognized that the *Iliad* is in the main the work of a single great poet, and so is the *Odyssey*, though each may have been composed by a different man; also, that they were composed in Ionia (western Asia Minor) and—very roughly indeed—about a thousand years before Christ. Composed, not written, for it is highly uncertain whether writing was used so early in that region (see, however, Chap. 29).

Both epics deal with the cycle of stories centring round Troy, a city close to the Dardanelles. Priam, the wealthy and powerful King of Troy, had many sons, conspicuous among them being the valiant Hector and the handsome Paris. Paris came to Greece as the guest of Menelaus, the Spartan king, whose wife, Helen, he stole away to Troy. Menelaus and his brother Agamemnon raised a great host which, after ten years' siege, captured Troy by the stratagem of the Wooden Horse.



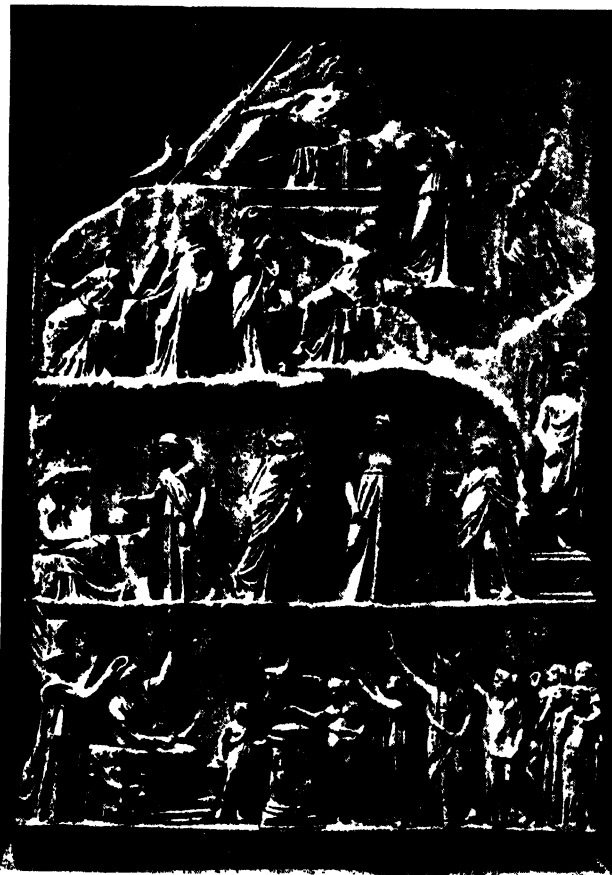
destroyed the town and took Helen home. The *Iliad* recounts the fighting during some days of the tenth year and culminates in the slaying of Hector by Achilles, the Greek champion. The *Odyssey* is the story of Odysseus, or Ulysses, craftiest of the Greeks his ten years' wandering and adventures up and down the Mediterranean, his return to his native Ithaca utterly indigent and unknown, his final triumph and slaughter of the native princes who have been wooing his wife Penelope.

'Homer' has in all ages been acclaimed as one of the world's greatest writers and its noblest epic poet. Perhaps his most striking quality is the unfailing combination of greatness with versatility. On any

subject, however terrible, charming or trivial, he writes with exquisite appropriateness, superb mastery, simple directness. When he tells of a banquet or laundry-work, we never feel that he 'unbends,' nor is there any sense of strain even in his most terrific scenes of battle, shipwreck or the adventures of Odysseus in the world of Death. A critic objected to a translation by Samuel Butler because on the same page of it occurred the august picture of the divine abode, Olympus, and Nausicaa's remark to her 'dear papa,' that he needed a clean shirt.

'They cannot both be in the right style,' said the critic. This provides an important instance of what Homer is and what Greek means. For, first, it was not Butler's fault: what he wrote is what Homer wrote (granting different degrees of verbal excellence)—the very word 'pappa' occurs in the original Greek. Secondly, Homer writes in a different manner about Olympus and about washing-day because they are different things. Thirdly, during many generations there has been an assumption (recently and vigorously overthrown) that poetry by its very nature must be 'dignified,' that some things are too homely for the poet to touch directly. Thus when Tennyson means King Arthur's moustache he has to say 'the knightly growth that fringed his lips.' All this is unknown to Homer. He says just what he has to say, with unfailing vigour and simple nobility too.

But simple as it may be, it has never been caught in a translation, because another leading Homeric quality is the elasticity and speed of his diction and metre. Our prose (and some of our verse) translations are intolerably slow and cumbrous. The poetical versions, even if elastic and rapid, are too slight: they



THE APOTHEOSIS OF HOMER

Homer, enthroned, is crowned by Time and by the World, while History, Myth, Poetry, Tragedy and Comedy acclaim him from the altar. Zeus, Apollo and the nine Muses occupy the height above. This remarkable relief, sculptured by Archelaus of Priene, dates from the third century B.C.

British Museum

rattle. Pope, for instance, is mere pretentious chatter compared with his original. One reason for this is that Pope, like almost everyone else, insists on being clever. When we read his version of (say) the exploits of Diomedes in the Fifth Book of the Iliad we exclaim, 'How well he writes!' When we read them in Homer, we tremble lest the warrior should burst forth upon us from the printed page: it is only after recovering from our terror and exhilaration that we say, 'What wonderful poetry!' So much for the strictly verbal style.

Homer's method of handling and disposing his material is the perfection and exemplar of the 'epic manner': he selects some tale of adventure and tells it on a grand scale by means of a few impressive, simply-drawn and well distinguished figures with comparatively little background of minor

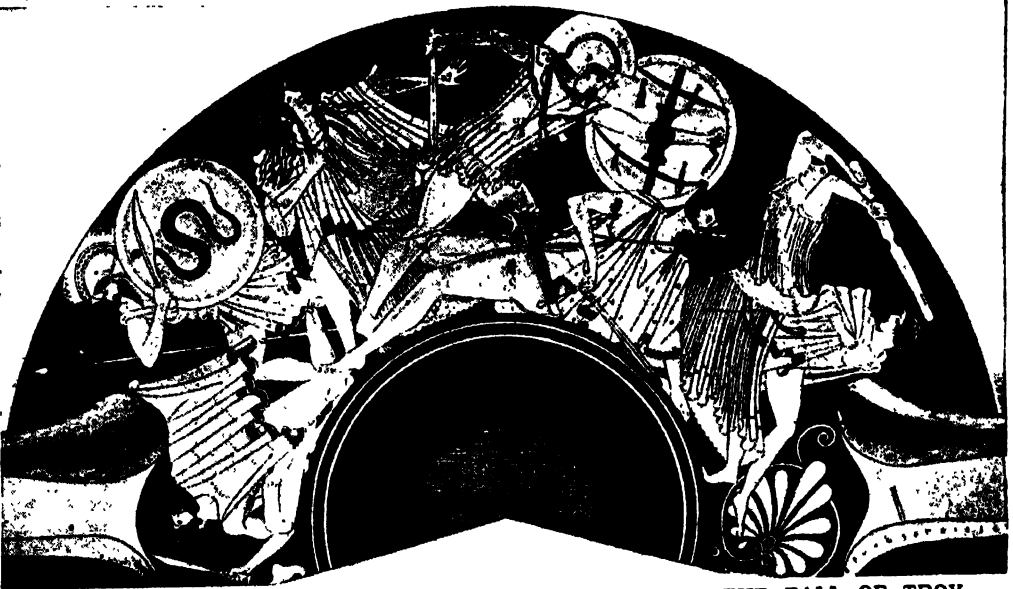


#### HECTOR ARMING HIMSELF FOR THE BATTLE

Eldest son of Priam and Hecuba, here shown helping him don his armour, Hector was the chief hero of the Trojans. Homer presents him as a very perfect, gentle knight, and his description of Hector's parting from Andromache, and Helen's lament over his corpse, are gems of literature.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

persons or events—his work corresponds to that of Michelangelo in painting as contrasted with that of Turner. Such a manner may be well seen in some English



#### WOE TO THE CONQUERED: SCENES OF CARNAGE AT THE FALL OF TROY

Arctinus of Miletus, who flourished about 744 B.C., was one of the earliest of the Cyclic poets whose appearance was the first proof of Homer's influence on Greek literature. Arctinus wrote two epics: the Aethiopis, taking up Homer's narrative from the close of the Iliad, and the Iliupersis, or Sack of Troy, telling the story of the Wooden Horse, the capture of the city and the departure of the Greeks. Episodes from this latter epic are illustrated in this Attic vase by Brygos in the Louvre.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann, A.G.*

writers, however much they may lack the Homeric elasticity and speed. *Paradise Lost* is a clear instance, but certain novelists show it too, Blackmore above all in Lorna Doone.

This simplicity has another side. Homer is the least profound, the most unreflective, of great poets: that is the only sign of earliness in his work. Moving with such superb power over the brilliant and engrossing surface of things, he penetrates little and rarely below the surface. It is true that he is conscious again and again of the pathos of human affairs, as in Andromache's farewell to her husband, Hector, and the speech of Achilles' ghost concerning death. But it is the expression of such thoughts that is magnificent: the ideas themselves are commonplace. The Greek was certainly able to feel and had begun to think, but he could not think constructively or venturously, nor had he developed that introspection which must exist if great drama or great novels are to appear.

From the five centuries which passed between Homer and the great period of Athens only a few works survive. Of the



#### THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS

Stasinus of Cyprus is generally credited with the authorship of the *Cypria*, a poem belonging to the Epic Cycle. It begins with the Judgement of Paris. This quaint sixth century vase at Munich shows Priam's herds on Mount Ida (top) and the herdsman, Paris, as arbiter between the goddesses.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

other epics we know little, the most important fact being that the lost *Thebaid*, on the expedition led by the Seven Champions against Thebes in central Greece, seems to have been more religious in feeling than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: this barely discerned fact may help to account for Aeschylus. That period saw the rise and culmination of lyric poetry and of other types such as the elegiac, the gnomic or sententious, and the satirical. Solon, the great Athenian statesman, discussed his reforms in verse which has partly survived. Theognis of Megara, also a political poet, is a vigorous witness to the feelings of the oligarchs confronted by the growing power and class-consciousness of the 'lower orders.' Archilochus, the satirist and great master of the lithe iambic, is represented now by a handful of blazing splinters. Sappho survives in two brief poems of love and a collection of fragments which reveal her as the peerless artist in passionate simplicity.

Unfortunately, there is no writer of lyrical poetry, save Pindar, who is known to us except in pathetic, tantalising



#### WHILING AWAY AN HOUR

Playing draughts was said to be one of the amusements of the Greeks while waiting at Aulis for a favourable breeze to carry them to Troy. Two heroes so employed are depicted on this vase painting attributed to Andocides.

*British Museum*

scraps. Ibycus of Rhegium in Italy still shows something of Italian warmth. Alcman and Anacreon reveal a personal joy in loveliness which is not found again till Theocritus. Here, too, may be mentioned the few popular songs which have survived: the Harmodius, sung at Athens as a national anthem, which celebrated the murder of the 'tyrant' Hipparchus, and the Swallow Song of Rhodes, chanted by the children as they went from house to house in spring. J. A. Symonds has charmingly translated it:

She is here, she is here, the swallow!  
Fair seasons bringing, fair years to follow!  
Her belly is white,  
Her back black as night!  
From your rich house  
Roll forth to us  
Tarts, wine and cheese:  
Or if not these,  
Oatmeal and barley-cake  
The swallow deigns to take.  
What shall we have? or must we hence  
away?  
Thanks, if you give; if not, we'll make you  
pay!  
The house-door hence we'll carry;  
Nor shall the lintel tarry;  
From hearth and home your wife we'll  
rob;  
She is so small,  
To take her off will be an easy job!  
Whate'er you give, give largess free!  
Up! open, open to the swallows' call!  
No grave old men, but merry children we!

There are, however, three writers whose work has survived in some bulk. Hesiod, perhaps three generations later than

Homer, is the reputed author of three poems. The Theogony is a kind of manual giving the family tree of Greek deities. The Works and Days forms a handbook of farming and a sailor's guide—definite instruction as to details of the work, tools and dates; but mingled therewith are scraps of shrewd traditional advice and longer disquisitions upon the lot of humanity. Thus we read here the famous story of Pandora's jar, and that account of the Four Ages of the world, gold, silver, bronze and iron, which so powerfully moved the imagination of posterity. All Hesiod's work, however humdrum, is in verse, that being the only vehicle of instruction and tradition at the time, because verses are so much easier to memorise than prose. Though vastly inferior as a poet, he is an invaluable pendant to Homer, since over against that glorious life of warrior princes he sets the terribly hard, grinding and monotonous life of the peasant in central Greece.

Utterly different from Hesiod is Pindar, the last of the great purely lyric poets. Of his work we possess the four books of Epini- **Pindar's glorious**  
cian Odes; that is, odes **Lyrical Odes**  
written to celebrate vic-  
tories in the four greatest athletic contests—at Olympia, Pytho (Delphi), Nemea and the Isthmus of Corinth. He was in demand also for funeral odes, paeans and many other kinds of public poem; public, because the quality of Pindar's work is very



#### ODYSSEUS TAKING VENGEANCE ON THE SUITORS OF PENELOPE

Of the twenty-four books of the *Odyssey* the first four are introductory, describing the state of affairs in the homeland due to the absence of Odysseus. The next eight deal with his return from the island of Calypso to the land of the Phaeacians and include his narrative of his adventures; the last twelve are concerned with his arrival in Ithaca, his contest with and slaughter of the suitors and his final recognition by Penelope.

Berlin Museum; from Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'



#### SAPPHO WOODED BY ALCAEUS

Both Alcaeus (left) and Sappho, 'the tenth Muse' (right), were natives of Lesbos, where they were the brilliant stars in the galaxy of poets who, in the sixth century B.C., developed the artistic song in the Aeolic dialect.

Munich Glyptothek; from *Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei*

different from that of the Asiatic lyrists, Alcaeus, Sappho and Mimnermus. By 'lyrist' we mean to-day a poet who expresses his personal interests and emotions, a love poet above all. But Greeks meant a writer who composed for the music of the strings and voice, whether drinking songs rendered by Alcaeus himself, or love lyrics for one voice, or odes for public performance by a band of trained 'chorēutae' (players who both sang and danced), or a poem voicing the sentiments of a whole city; a modern example of the latter type is Tennyson's *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*. Practically all Pindar's extant work belongs to this public and ostensibly impersonal kind (though he does here and there introduce interests of his own as Tennyson would never have done).

Like Homer, Pindar wrote for the great ones of his day, such as the brilliant tyrant of Syracuse, Hiero, whose victory in the chariot race at Olympia occasioned that fine 'First Olympian' which opens our collection of his work, and begins

with the famous aphorism that 'water is best.' The Dorian nobles of older Greece, the princes of the new Greece in Sicily—these are his usual patrons, and he expresses himself with glorious vigour and no misgivings upon what they and he believed the best things in life—stern effort and magnificent achievement in war and athletics.

Pindar is the laureate of all that is inspiring and splendid in music and colour, the dazzling richness of wine, of gold, of the sea, of beautiful bodies and masterful action, all regulated and moulded by the Greek sense of measure, exemplified most admirably in his metres. Like Homer again, he is somewhat unreflective. But he is more deeply and more frequently impressed by the pathos and sorrows of humanity: he will turn aside in the midst of some glorious triumph to ponder the fragility of man's happiness. But the age of reason had not yet appeared in poetry.

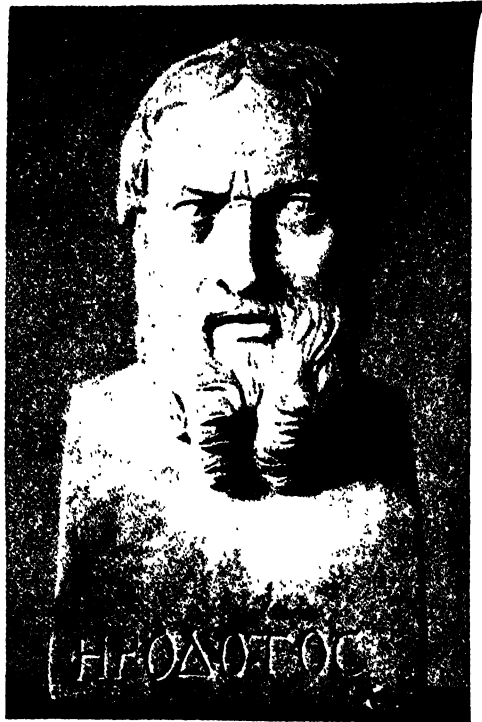
It had, however, appeared in prose, in the writings of philosophers and in the historian Herodotus, the third of the pre-Athenian writers mentioned above. (He is contemporary with the great Athenian age, but has affinities with the earlier, and wrote an earlier Greek.) It was long the custom to regard 'the father of history' as a delightful, garrulous, rather weak-headed

old man telling wonderful stories; but this is misleading. The misconception arises from two causes. First, Herodotus is undoubtedly absorbing and delightful; secondly, we work backwards to him from school histories of our own country through Macaulay, Gibbon, Tacitus, Thucydides. The progress is from less to greater austerity, and we observe that the more scholarly and authoritative an English history book is, the less it has to say, for instance, about Alfred and the cakes. Now Herodotus has many such tales, and we assume that he is no serious historian. The fact, however, is that history was then in the making, and Herodotus offers a fascinating blend of the Homeric bard who told a splendid story for its own sake, and the scientist who loves facts, their explanation and

**Herodotus the  
father of History**

co-ordination, and the exposition of his learning to others. He stands half way between Homer and Gibbon: he has the early poet's love for narrative, and his history was written for public recitation. On the other hand, he does grasp the duties of a sound historian quite as clearly as his successors. He does not always carry them out as we should wish; but that is natural: a theological explanation will satisfy him where to-day we might demand a reply in terms of economics. Another legacy from Homer is the dramatic touch. Events are made to swing upon great personalities—the Persian Wars are very much a personal adventure of Xerxes, Themistocles and Pausanias; and set speeches, sometimes in a quasi-dramatic interchange, are a favourite device.

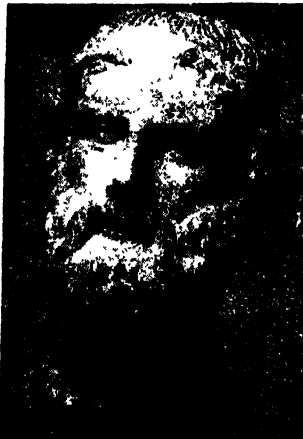
Thucydides (see page 1240), who in his eight books has related most of the Peloponnesian War, is perhaps the world's greatest historian, and a magnificent example of the Athenian spirit; he is representative of that age of rationalism when scientific thinking was deliberately and vigorously applied to all affairs, including conduct. Greeks of the central period worshipped three divinities: Beauty, Truth and the State. Herodotus and Pindar put Beauty first; Plato put the State first; Thucydides put Truth first.



#### THE FATHER OF HISTORY

Born at Halicarnassus, Herodotus (c. 484-425 B.C.) was the first writer to conceive an historical work in an artistic and dramatically unified form. He understood the duties of an exact historian and made history a most engaging study.

*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*

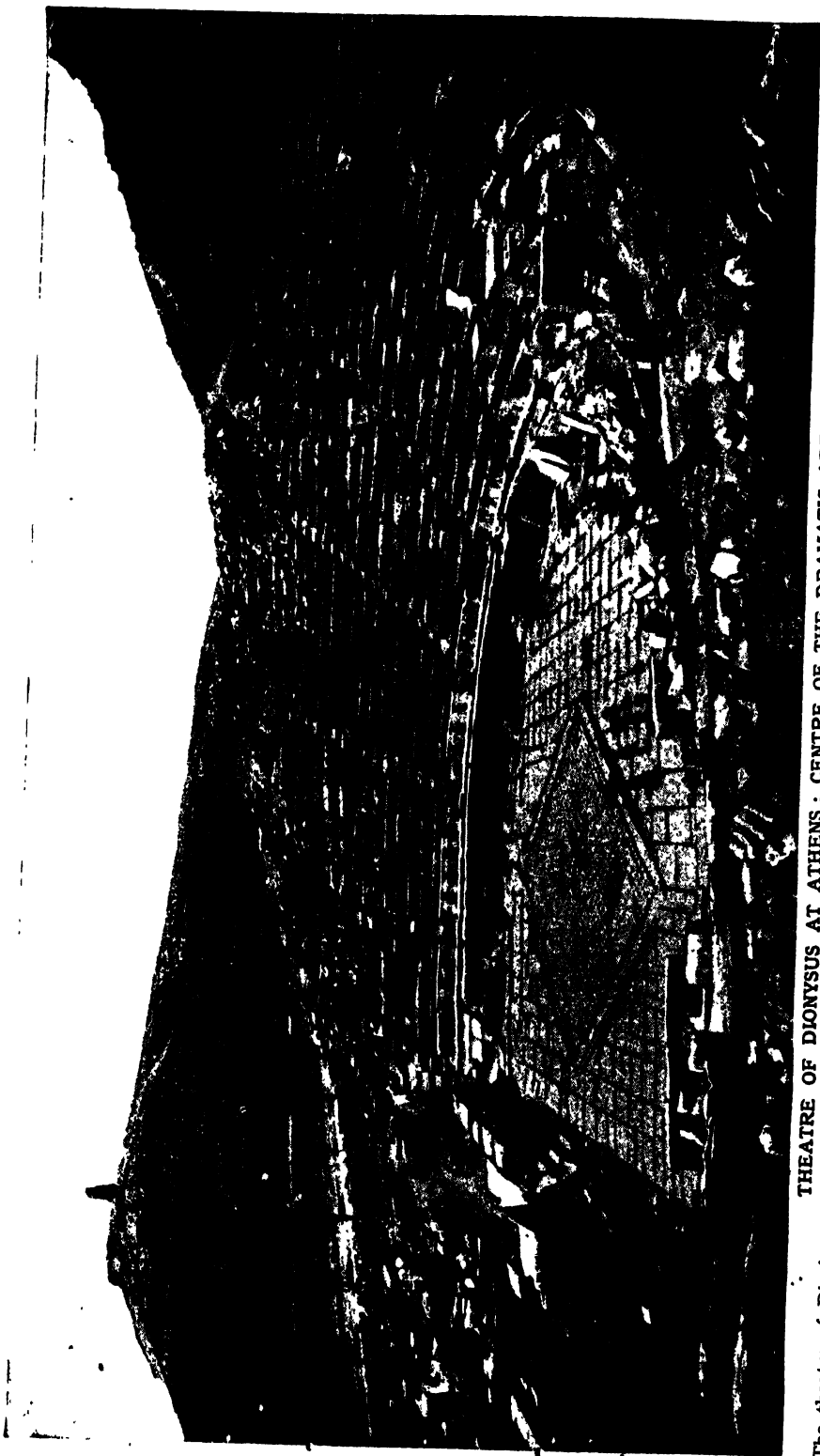


#### POETS HONOURED IN ANCIENT GREECE

The marble bust (left) presents a poet, whose name is now unknown, with lips parted in the throes of improvisation. Anacreon (right) lived from 563 to 478 B.C. Grace and charm distinguish the extant fragments of his Ionic lyrics, but he has given his name to a whole class of far inferior songs.

*From Poulsen, 'Greek and Roman Portraits,' and Berlin Museum*

He gives us a narrative magnificent but austere, utterly impartial, beautiful indeed, but not through the charm of inset ornament, only through the sheer attractiveness of immense intellect and insight expounding a complicated and impressive series of events. Men's motives are laid bare, but without pedantry or preaching; political tendencies and other gradual movements are charged with profound interest, not by irrelevant cleverness but by the union of sagacity and the assumption that his reader wishes to learn; so that on this side Thucydides resembles Defoe. More obviously exciting events are related with a flawless



# **THEATRE OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS : CENTRE OF THE DRAMATIC ART OF GREECE**

The theatre of Dionysus stood to the south-east of the Acropolis of Athens and actually within the temple precincts. This stone building, which superseded the earlier wooden structures, was completed about 340 B.C., although the permanent proscenium, of which the ruins are seen on the left, was not added until later. The thymele, or altar of Dionysus, stood in the middle of the semicircular orchestra and behind this in concentric rings rose the tiers of seats, all of white limestone except the lowest row, which were carved from Pentelic marble and reserved for distinguished personages.

*Photo. E.N.A.*

sense of significant detail, as in the brilliant story of Brasidas' attack on Pylos and the immortal Retreat from Syracuse, undoubtedly the finest achievement of prose literature in the realm of the moving and tragic.

We say 'the tragic' intentionally, for there can be little doubt that the influence of contemporary playwrights induced Thucydides to view his material as drama. In the Sicilian Expedition the chief actor is not a person, but Athens herself. As a prologue, Thucydides skilfully dilates upon the cynical brutality with which Athens destroyed the little island-state of Melos. Then he depicts the great armament setting forth from the Piraeus, amid a scene of dazzling pomp, power and boundless hopes, to the conquest of the western Mediterranean. At first Athens succeeds gradually but steadily, till the Syracusans are in despair. But in the nick of time the Spartan Gylippus enters the beleaguered town with reinforcements, from which moment the star of Athens begins to set, till the whole great army and navy are annihilated with utter ignominy. Without falsifying any details, Thucydides has marshalled them in the manner of a playwright.

The amiable Xenophon continued Thucydides' narrative in his *Hellenica*; but his

most famous work is the *Anabasis*, which describes that romantic Retreat of the Ten Thousand, the army of Greek mercenaries who, stranded in the middle of the Persian Empire, contrived to baffle the whole power of the Great King and made their way home through terrible mountains and savage tribes. Xenophon composed a good number of other books, philosophical (especially his celebrated *Memorabilia*, or *Memoirs of Socrates*), biographical (*Agesilaus*), and technical (*On Horsemanship*, for example). Under Rome the study and writing of history were assiduously cultivated. The best history in Greek is that of Polybius, who has left us an invaluable account of the Punic Wars. Josephus composed *The Jewish War* at the suggestion of the Emperor Titus.

But it is time to return to the great contemporaries of Thucydides, those

tragedians who, as we saw, helped to shape his superb history. Homer was still recited and studied, still in high favour; but he had sung for the half-barbaric kings of the old Achaean world. Lyrists like Sappho and Pindar were admired; but she wrote only of personal emotion, he was devoted to that land-owning nobility whose day was over. Some new type of poetry was needed to answer the vast uprising of a great democracy which at Athens followed the turmoils and final victories of the Persian Wars.

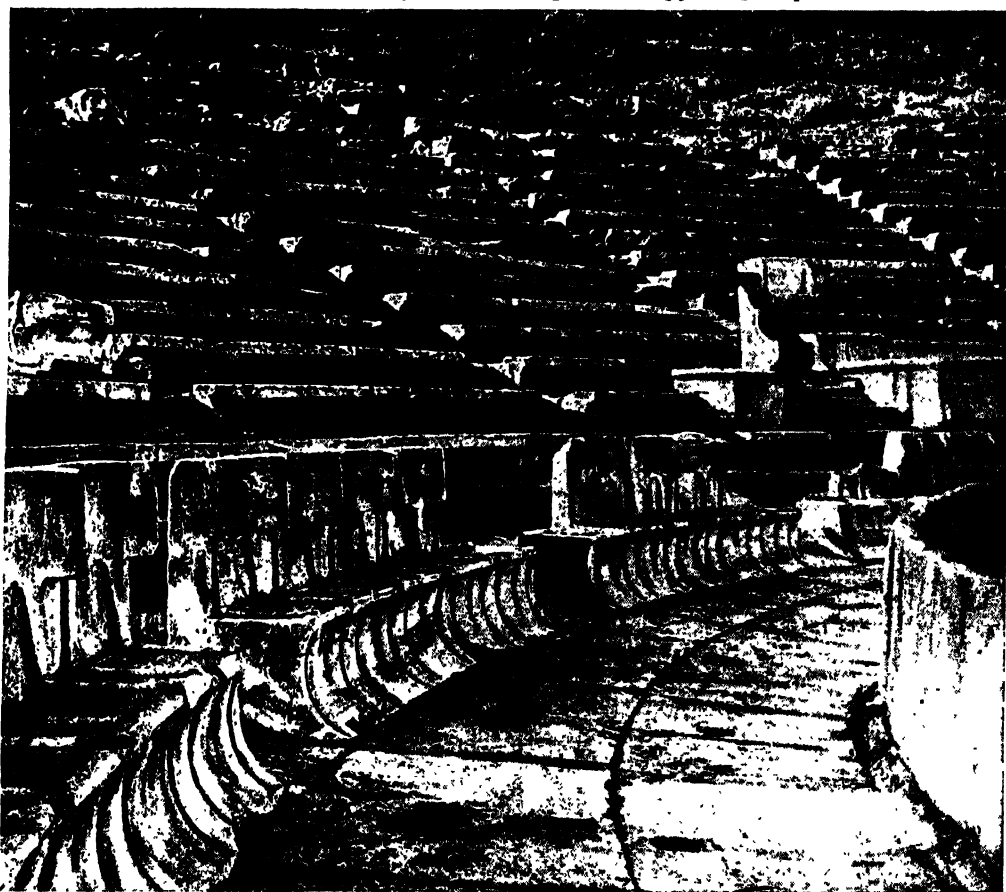
Before the host of Darius landed at Marathon, Athens was a town of no special eminence. When, a dozen years later, the last European fortress of the Great King was captured at Sestus, she was a world power, the brilliant and glorious champion of Greece, glowing with boundless pride, courage and hope drawn from her immortal services to civilization at Marathon and Salamis (see also Chapter 36). And she was a democracy. During those years of amazing expansion—in politics, in commerce, in the things of soul and intellect—there came to flower a consummate form of literature. Just as the spirit engendered in England by the defeat of the Armada exalted the Elizabethan drama, so did the overthrow of Persia create the triumphs of Athenian tragedy and comedy.

The origins of Greek drama present questions as to the importance of which opinion may well differ. The traditional explanation is that it was evolved as an act of worship, a ritual performance in honour of Dionysus, the god of wild animal and vegetable life, especially of the vine. A chorus sang and danced a lyrical poem, at the opening of spring, round the wooden altar of sacrifice. In time, these lyrical performances were broken at intervals by one of the singers, who mounted upon the sacrificial table and recited some episode of Dionysus' earthly life. Later he would himself impersonate some character in his story, by means of a mask and costume. Then, by entering a booth and changing his attire he would present some other person in the tale: this change of personality giving the possibility of something like





It is highly probable that there was no stage, properly so called, in the classical Greek theatre; but a raised platform, or 'logeion,' for the actors as distinct from the chorus, was almost always added in later Greek times. In the theatre of Dionysus at Athens its front wall was adorned with bas-reliefs depicting scenes in the life of the god, a crouching Silenus supporting the platform in the centre.



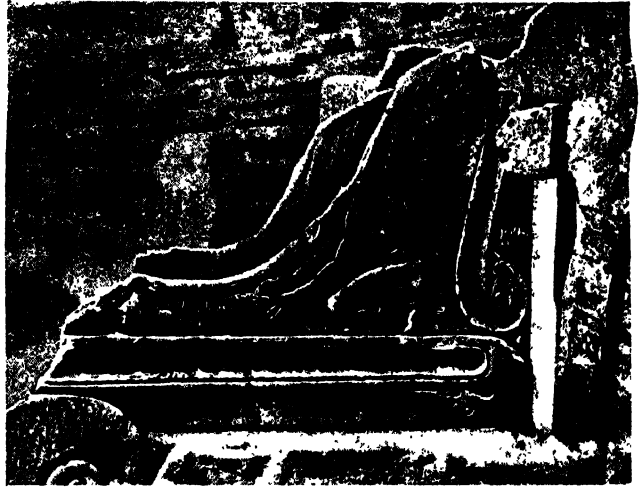
In Greece the slope of a hill was always chosen for the auditorium of a theatre and was furnished with stone seats set in rising tiers and divided by gangways into wedge-shaped blocks. The best seats were nearest the orchestra, in the lowest row, and at Athens comprised marble thrones specifically assigned to various ecclesiastical and civil officials. The chairs or rectangular seats seen here above the official thrones are remains of the later Roman period.

#### STRUCTURAL DETAILS OF THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS

*From 'Picturesque Greece,' T. Fisher Unwin Ltd.*

drama, one character seeking but never meeting another. As this single player provides the germ of the Oedipus Tyrannus and The Frogs, so does the booth foreshadow the theatre. It was a tent used as a dressing-room, and the Greek for a tent is 'skēnē' (whence our 'scene'). At first it had no more vital connexion with the play than the pavilion has with a cricket-match.

So far we are only upon the threshold of drama. The first playwright, whether Thespis or Arion, composed a kind of simple oratorio with set speeches at intervals. These elements no doubt developed in excellence and complexity, and the booth in time became an integral part of the play—it was described as the tent of Lycurgus (let us say), the enemy of Dionysus. These performances advanced steadily in popular favour. A great theatre was made on the south-east slope of the Acropolis; the people occupied benches ranged about the slope, while on the level dancing-floor ('orchestra') be-



THRONE OF THE PRIEST OF DIONYSUS

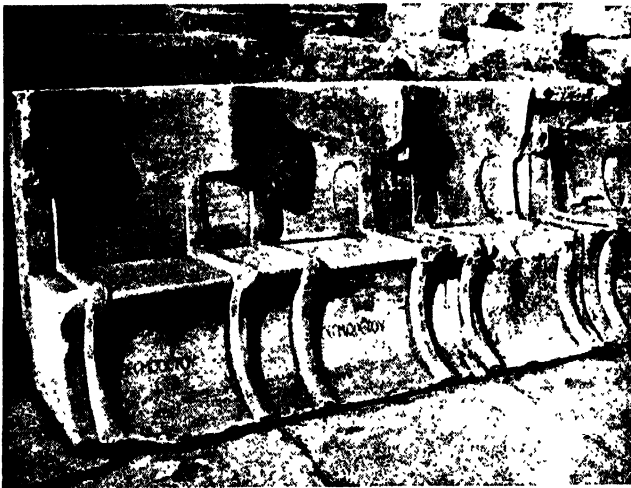
As representative of the patron god of the theatre, in whose honour the annual dramatic festivals were held, the priest of Dionysus occupied the central seat in the front row. At Athens his throne was of Pentelic marble with a finely carved relief showing a winged Eros with fighting cocks

*Photo, Messbildanstalt*

fore them the choristers performed in front of the skēnē, which became a permanent building with scenery to suit the individual play. A prize was given to the best of three competing poets, each of whom produced four plays: a collection of three tragedies (at first, but not later, a sequence) and a satyric drama. The

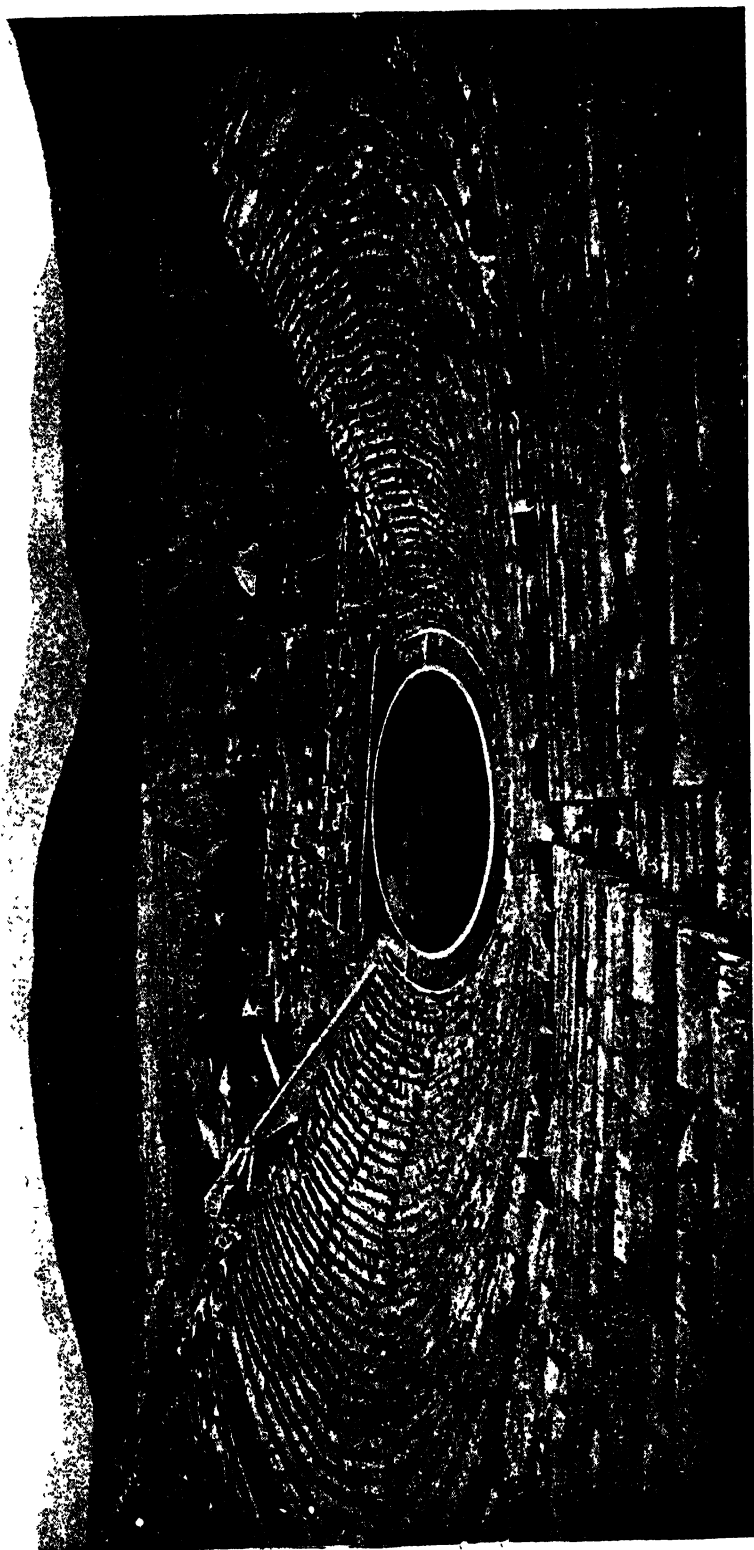
last was half tragic, half comic; the chorus was always formed by satyrs, the ridiculous half-animal followers of Dionysus, but the other characters were dignified, for example Apollo in the recently discovered Trackers (or 'Detectives') of Sophocles. The earliest great tragic playwright was Phrynichus, who is said to have won the prize first about 510 B.C. Even throughout the fifth century, despite the achievements of the Three Masters, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, the work of Phrynichus was remembered and loved, but the allusions point to his songs, not to plots or character-drawing.

Aeschylus introduced a second actor, and by so doing



RESERVED STALLS AT ATHENS

There were sixty-seven marble chairs in the front row of the auditorium at Athens, each inscribed with the name of the official for whom it was reserved. These three were assigned to thesmothetae or archons; others to hierophants and other officiating priests of Dionysus and Apollo.



#### LOVELIEST AND BEST PRESERVED OF THE THEATRES OF CLASSIC GREECE

Pausanias declared that the theatre of Epidaure, designed by Polycleitus, was 'extremely well worth seeing,' and its ruins to-day justify the eulogy. Almost every seat is in position, the symmetry of the auditorium being broken only at the wings where the separating walls have fallen. The theatre had seating accommodation for at least 16,000 people and the acoustic arrangements were so admirable that a person speaking in an ordinary tone from the stage can still be heard perfectly in all parts of the auditorium. Beyond the orchestra only the foundations of the stage buildings remain.

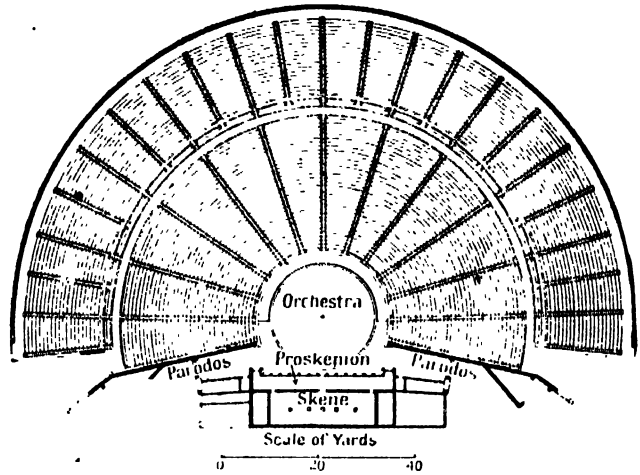
Photo. Verschlingstadt

became the first true dramatist of Europe: to bring two persons into confrontation and collision—that is the dramatic manner. It should be remembered that the use of masks enabled two actors to provide a much larger number of persons. The chief actor was called the protagonist. Aeschylus composed something like a hundred plays, of which (in addition to many fragments) we possess seven.

The Suppliant Women, composed about 490 B.C., has as chorus the fifty daughters of Danaus who seek refuge in Argos from their fifty cousins who pursue them from Egypt for marriage. The Argive king and Danaus induce the Argives to protect the suppliants. An Egyptian herald, finding the women alone, is about to drag them away to his masters, when the king returns and rebuffs him, braving the threat of war. This play is markedly archaic: the action is tight in compass; the dialogue is stiff, and the lyrics, though rich in their theology and language, lack flexibility and grace.

The drama entitled The Persians (about 470 B.C.) depicts the overthrow of King Xerxes' fleet at Salamis; the battle is related in magnificent narratives by a messenger, commented upon by the choral odes and by the lamentations and prophecies of the ghost of King Darius. This is the only surviving Greek historical play, and forms an important document: Aeschylus fought at Salamis, as at Marathon. We observe a great advance upon the preceding tragedy. Not only do the episodes show far more naturalness and force than those of the Suppliant Women; there is a notable improvement of construction, at any rate upon Phrynichus, who composed a play on the same subject.

The Seven against Thebes (467 B.C.) deals with the attack upon Thebes in central Greece, by the Seven Champions and with their repulse by King Eteocles. This is rather a splendid pageant than a play. The chorus of Theban girls express in a superb ode the perils and excitement



PLAN OF THE THEATRE OF EPIDAUROS

The theatre of Epidaurus is singular in preserving the original circular form of the orchestra. The auditorium is rather more than semicircular and planned to give the spectators in the wings a clear view of the stage. The stage ('proskenion') and stage buildings ('skene') were added in later times.

of a siege. Another fine element is the series of speeches, alternately describing one of the invading Seven and one of the Thebans selected to encounter him.

Prometheus Bound is perhaps not the greatest play of Aeschylus, but it is his noblest conception. Zeus, king of the gods, having decided to destroy mankind, Prometheus the Titan revolts, and saves men by bringing down to them from Heaven the fire by which they learn crafts and civilization, thus lifting themselves from misery. For this (and here the play opens) he is nailed by the servants of Zeus upon the Caucasus and for long ages is to suffer beneath the beak of an eagle. He endures all with noble dignity and courage, reciting to the chorus of sea nymphs the story of Man's salvation, comforting the distracted princess Io by his prophecies, and telling of his own deliverer (her descendant) who shall dethrone Zeus. All attempts to make him tell how Zeus may avoid this are fruitless, even when Zeus sends a frightful convulsion which buries Prometheus beneath the earth.

The last three plays form a trilogy relating the murder of Agamemnon, the vengeance taken by his son Orestes, and the justification of Orestes for his matricide. Of these the first, which is known as the Agamemnon, depicts the return of that king from the sack of Troy, the plot against

him by his queen Clytaemnestra and her lover Aegisthus, the uncasiness and grief of the infirm elders who suspect the plot, the agonised prophetic outbreaks of the Trojan Cassandra who foresees the king's murder and her own, the slaughter, the insolent triumph of the conspirators. This play is generally thought the greatest tragedy in Greek, its most splendid elements being the odes which express so marvellously the pathos

**Aeschylus' teaching** of war and bereavement, and the terrific scene where Cassandra's vision of blood grows clearer as she raves. The Libation Bearers (Choephoroe) is named from the maidens who bring offerings to Agamemnon's tomb, and shows the return of Orestes from exile, his slaying of his mother Clytaemnestra, and the horror which envelops his soul as the avenging Furies begin their assault. In The Eumenides ('Kindly Ones,' a euphemistic name for the Furies) we find Orestes pursued over the earth by these avengers, but comforted by the god Apollo, whose oracle commanded the matricide. At Athens the case is tried by the Court of Areopagus presided over by the goddess Athena, and Orestes is acquitted, the Furies being pacified by the gift of honoured domicile in Athens, while the Areopagite court takes over their function of guarding righteousness.

The greatness of Aeschylus consists, above all, in two qualities: immense

spiritual force and immense dramatic power. Of all Greeks he had the deepest sense of religion. His profound passionate consciousness, not of gods merely, but of God, his burning realization of sin, of moral damnation, his instinct to look at the Universe as the soul's battleground, make him unique among his countrymen. In *The Suppliant Women* he conveys an overwhelming impression of God as the only being who really exists. In *The Persians*, not a single Greek who joined in the national deliverance is named, but 'God,' 'Zeus,' recur incessantly. As for Prometheus, its theological and moral splendour are even to-day almost a proverb. In the whole trilogy of which this is the extant part, it appears that Zeus, who began as a youthful tyrant, gradually learned wisdom and pity from his great foe, thus at length taking over his position as the friend of humanity. This amazingly bold idea, that God Himself only by degrees attains perfection, lies at the base of our sole remaining trilogy. The Furies are right in their condemnation of Orestes, though the matricide was commanded by Zeus through Apollo; yet Zeus is right, because Clytaemnestra's murder of her husband and king must be punished. The solution is not merely the pacification of the Furies: it is a reform of the moral government of the world under Zeus.

The other feature was Aeschylus' dramatic instinct. Great tragedy consists in the confrontation of persons, important and



**ORESTES SLAYING AEGISTHUS BEFORE CLYTAEMNESTRA'S EYES.**

In the legends circling round Orestes the Greek tragedians found a most inspiring subject. Both Aeschylus and Euripides based tragedies upon it and Sophocles dealt with it in his *Electra*. Painters, too, exercised fine art upon it, as in this vase which shows Orestes pausing in the act of stabbing Aegisthus to watch his mother, Clytaemnestra, who threatens him with an axe which Talthybius is wresting from her—sanguinary details of murder never represented on the Greek stage.

*From Pfuhl, 'Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting,' Chatto & Windus*

impressive in themselves, who are also the vehicles of ideas or questions or interests permanently momentous to human beings. Without the first, we have grandiose, misty composition, as in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*; without the second, we have 'theatricality,' as in Shakespeare's *Henry the Fifth* (on a high plane) or (on a lower) Wilson Barrett's *The Silver King*. In all great work we find the individual and the general interest both very marked. But as a rule one overpowers the other. In Aeschylus' matured work the two are exactly equal.

The second great tragedian, Sophocles, is often proclaimed as supreme among ancient dramatists. He is not so profound nor so instinctively religious as Aeschylus, but there is no special reason why a playwright should be so; indeed, reasons might be adduced on the other side, with the reminder that Shakespeare is less religious than Milton. If it may be so phrased without offence, Sophocles had as much depth and religion as were compatible with enduring popularity. He is by far the best instance in literature of a truly noble writer possessing all the desirable qualities, each in the highest degree that is possible

**Sophocles' genius analysed** if the others are not to be hampered. Sophocles is as full of pathos as is compatible with the handsome mellowness of his general effect. He commands superb language just near enough to ordinary speech never to be thought affected. He ponders the mysteries of the Universe deeply enough to shake the heart without agonising it. Here was a man who did and does please everyone, yet never by a false note, never by any declension from the greatest that was in him. Sophocles is the consummation of the Athenian Age. If we prefer Homer to him, it is because we prefer action to thought; if Shakespeare, it is because colour is more to us than balance; if Goethe, it is because we value intellect above emotion; if Dante, it is



ORESTES AND THE PLACATED FURIES

This fifth-century vase painting depicts the now purified Orestes resting after his acquittal by the Court of Areopagus, while the Furies, propitiated by a new ritual in which they are worshipped as Eumenides (The Kindly Ones) sleep, undisturbed by the phantom Clytemnestra, who still cries for revenge.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

because God is more real to us than Man. The three main features of Sophocles are this balance of qualities, a magnificent diction and a superb sense of the theatre.

His diction cannot be appreciated without an intimate knowledge of Greek, but his skill as 'a man of the theatre' is clearly recognizable as greater than that of any other ancient of whom we have knowledge. For an important distinction must be made between the dramatist and the theatrical expert. Samson Agonistes is a fine play, but Milton was no theatrical expert. Sardou was a consummate expert, but already he is half forgotten. If Sophocles had been no genius, he would still probably have 'obtained a chorus' - that is, been allowed to compete in the great public competition - and some whole plays of his might still be extant, though fewer, no doubt, than the present seven.

By 'sense of the theatre' is meant an instinct for effects which, though they may possess no particular, or only a moderate, power in the reading, are yet thrilling to the eye and emotions of a prepared spectator; the theatrical expert is a playwright who uses his audience for his effects as definitely as he uses his scenery. Take a crude but common type. A says to B: 'Tell me this secret on which so much depends.' B answers, 'I will not tell you now.' That is theatricality, if the reason for B's silence is nothing but the

author's desire to keep the audience on tenter-hooks. It is good drama if the reason is sound from B's own point of view. At the close of the *Electra* (a play on the same subject as *The Choephoroe* of Aeschylus) we find a passage of theatricality. Orestes has slain Clytaemnestra within, and Aegisthus arrives thinking that Orestes has been killed. He orders the body to be brought forth and on uncovering it discovers his error and his own doom. This scene is composed magnificently, but it is not demanded by the previous and subsequent events: it is therefore direct thrill, and is the nearest example to pure sensationalism in Sophocles.

In the same tragedy, however, we find a magnificent feat of this theatrical sense. A stranger brings to *Electra* a funeral urn which he says contains the ashes of her brother Orestes. She utters over it a moving lament, while we, the audience, know that the stranger is Orestes himself. But he has been forced to this deception since he is in the presence of enemies; in fact, he does not know her for his sister till her speech of sorrow reveals her.

Sophocles seems, indeed, to have invented intrigue: that is, plot devised by the personages themselves, as in *Hamlet's* device of the play which he stages, the tricks of *Iago* and a thousand such incidents. It is true that Aeschylus in *The Choephoroe* has a chorus who induce the Nurse to falsify a message so as to help their friends; but it may be that he is influenced by Sophocles, then nearly forty years old. In any case the younger poet is far more of a master in this respect. *The Philoctetes* is the most elaborate



**SOPHOCLES : MASTER OF TRAGEDY**

Sophocles (496-406 B.C.) won the first prize for tragedy in 468 B.C., Aeschylus being placed second, and thereafter was chief favourite on the Athenian stage, winning the first prize twenty times.

*Lateran Museum photo, Anderson*

instance; in it *Odysseus* contrives, in masterly fashion, to bring *Philoctetes* into his power by playing upon the very fear of him which the other feels.

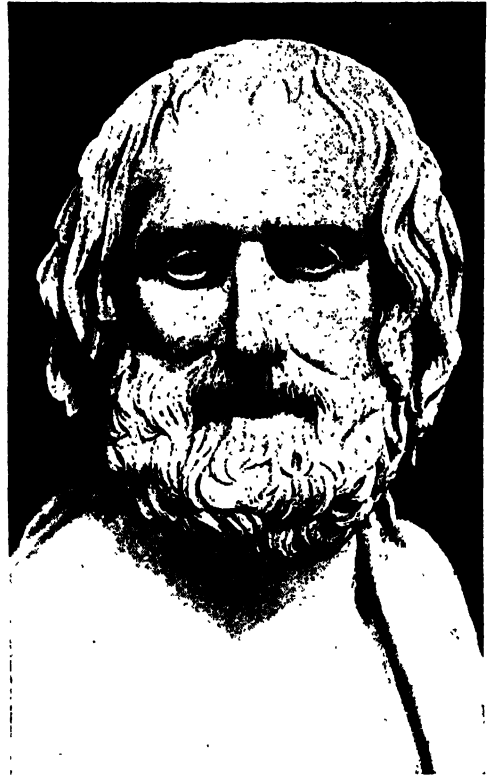
And in the more normal excellences of tragic art Sophocles shows unsurpassed skill. Throughout, he causes events to arise from character above all, leaving to chance but a narrow slice of territory. In this excellence the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is the greatest of Greek plays. *Oedipus* moves steadily forward to disaster because of his own nature, virtues and faults alike: his noble will-power, his courage, his quick temper are all visibly essential to the revelation which overwhelms him. In the *Antigone*, if *Creon* and the princess had not been precisely what they were, *Antigone* and the others would not have died.

There is an illuminating contrast between Sophocles' handling of character and the method of *Euripides*, the third of the Three Masters. In the earlier poet the conflict of ideas comes from the conflict of two simply conceived persons—*Antigone* and *Creon*, *Philoctetes* and *Neoptolemus*, *Deianira* and *Heracles*; in the later, increasing subtlety of psychology tends to show the conflict as raging in the head of one person, *Medea* or *Phaedra*. Again, as contrasted with Aeschylus, Sophocles gives more weight to human nature than to theology; but he by no means excludes the supernatural. His plays are full of divine influence considered precisely at the point where it most definitely impinges upon human affairs, namely, the oracles of the gods.

*Euripides* has been much studied in our own day owing to the vogue of Professor

Gilbert Murray's translations. These, remarkably beautiful in themselves, are yet in style more florid, more 'poetical,' than the original. But Professor Murray's work is not the sole reason for this popularity. The poet is in tune with our own age, for he too lived through a war, which, however microscopic compared with ours, yet shook the Greek world to its foundations. Later antiquity, too, prized him highly: we have nineteen plays attributed to him, against seven of Aeschylus and eight of Sophocles. His great qualities are a passionate sense of beauty in strange places, extraordinary cleverness, an intense questing alertness of spirit and mind.

His method is ostensibly that of his predecessors—to treat an ancient story of tragic type by means of the interaction of recognized characters, breaking his account into episodes by lyrical passages. But the spirit is utterly different, in two ways. First, the tone of his dialogue is lighter, more flexible: it is not usually



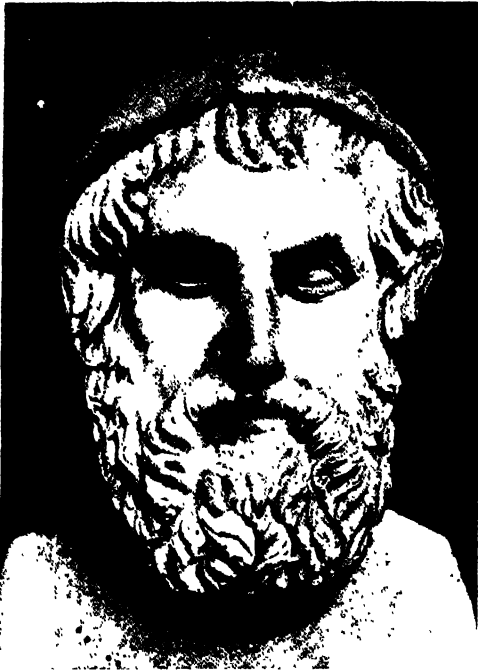
**EURIPIDES, THE POETS' DRAMATIST**

Euripides (480–406 B.C.) wrote more than ninety plays. A master of the tender and the pathetic, he has been the favourite dramatist of many of the world's greatest poets and has retained wide popularity throughout the ages.

*Naples Museum; photo, Brogi*

colloquial, but with vast skill he has made it brisker, cleverer, and so less stately. J. A. Symonds compared the Three Masters to Michelangelo, Raphael and Correggio. This is good, but it ignores the occasional twinkle in Euripides' eye. The other main difference is the implications of his plots. Externally, the action leads up to the edifying, or at least familiar, result dictated by the received legend. Actually the effect upon us is that the gods are villains, or fools, or non-existent as persons, that the heroic figures of myth are extremely human, marked by sordid crimes or pitiful weakness. That is why Euripides so often uses the 'god from the machine'; if the story as he represents it is to close in the accepted manner, a downright miracle of reversal must occur.

A woman in Aristophanes says bluntly: 'This man (Euripides) in his tragedies,



**BUST OF SOPHOCLES**

The statue in the opposite page is probably a copy of the one dedicated by Lycurgus in 330 B.C. in the theatre of Dionysus. This bust is of later date; but it admirably portrays the serene dignity of the great dramatist.

*From Poulsen, 'Greek and Roman Portraits,' Oxford University Press*





#### HOW THE CHORUS IN SATYR DRAMA WAS DRESSED ON THE ATHENIAN STAGE

Since it was from the ritual at the festivals of Dionysus that the Greek drama originated it need cause no surprise that the oldest Attic comedy was marked by some of the licence indulged in by rural revellers at the Bacchic processions. But though partaking to some extent of the nature of comedy, the so-called satyr drama as developed by Choerilus of Athens and Pratinas of Phlius about 535 B.C. was in form and in themes the same as tragedy, though with the choric dance different and performed by satyrs. Satyr plays were written by tragic poets and performed only in conjunction with tragedies.

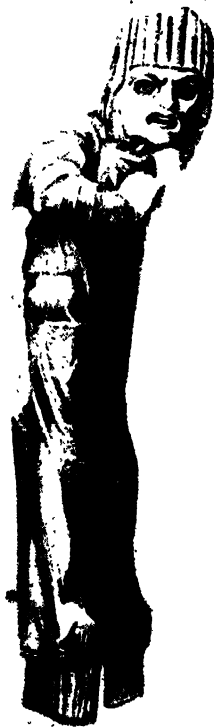
has persuaded the menfolk that gods do not exist.' Yet they appear frequently. Euripides' method is the 'reductio ad absurdum,' exemplified best in his *Ion*. Apollo determines to establish his own unacknowledged son *Ion* (at present a server in his temple at Delphi) as prince of Athens by causing *Xuthus*, husband of the Athenian princess *Creusa*, to suppose *Ion* his own son. The plot fails; *Creusa* (really the mother of *Ion*, whom she does not recognize, having exposed him at birth in the expectation that he would therefore die), enraged that *Xuthus* should have a son when she has lost hers, seeks to murder *Ion*. This attempt is frustrated, and Apollo's priestess, by giving *Ion* his birth-tokens, enables him to recognize his mother. Their joy is cut short by the lad's inquiry, 'Who is my father?' *Creusa* tells him, 'Apollo.' At once he sees that the god must have told a lie to *Xuthus*, and insists on entering the shrine to cross-examine the oracle. But he is abruptly checked by the apparition of *Athena*, who smothered the whole question by a bland announcement that 'Apollo has done all things well.' One great element, then, in Euripides is the proof that the traditional gods do not exist, coupled, or rather interwoven, with a demonstration of the manner in which their existence has been accepted in more credulous times.

But there is vastly more than theology. Euripides was not only a rationalist but a poet—a poet restless and at times self-torturing. This restlessness produced two fine things: the lovely, wistful lyrics which relieve so wonderfully the sin and heartbreak of those masterpieces the *Medea*, the *Bacchae*, the *Hippolytus*; and the sympathy marking his portrayal of characters

with which the legend has dealt harshly or not at all. Besides his famous and magnificent understanding of women (so neglected in Athens), we find on every hand nameless peasants and slaves who not only become in his work real people with features of their own and special experiences of life, but also mark and mould the plot. The great figures appear strangely different as the light is shed from a new quarter. A tremendous sinner like *Clytemnestra* becomes a commonplace, rather vulgar, rather likeable woman; an overpowering hero such as *Achilles* turns out a pathetic fool. Euripides is full of unfashionable heroism, disconcerting points of view. Fault is always being found with him, and he is always loved.

Our information as to Greek Comedy is more scanty, partly because we have only one great author as against the three tragedians, partly because (comedy being for so long purely popular and unofficial) even Aristotle had little knowledge about its early course. The playwrights were divided by ancient scholars into the Old, the Middle and the New Comedy. The second category was and is far the least important, a rather negative stage intervening between the Old and the New, which differed immensely.

Of the Old Comedy the three chief poets were *Cratinus*, *Eupolis* and *Aristophanes*, who seem to have corresponded to *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides* respectively in calibre and temperament. Only fragments survive of the first two. Of *Aristophanes* we possess eleven complete plays, besides the usual debris. He has tremendous zest, a riotous sense of fun, a lyrical charm unsurpassed by any Greek, a great deal of (usually incidental) grossness, and magnificent in-



A TRAGIC ACTOR

High-soled buskins and hair piled high above a mask, as seen in this delightful ivory statuette, gave the Greek tragic actor a stature of some 6 feet 6 inches.

Monumenti dell' Instituto



#### A MASTER OF COMEDY

Aristophanes (c. 445-385 B.C.) was the chief representative of the Old Comedy. Besides being a supreme comic genius with irresistible humour and brilliant wit, he was a great poet, comparable with Shakespeare for lyrical beauty and charm.

*From Baumeister, 'Denkmäler'*

ventive power. He suggests Shakespeare more readily than does any other ancient writer, most of all through his quenchless vigour and lyrical sweetness. A marked difference between them is that Shakespeare is pre-eminent for magnificent characters, Aristophanes (whose characters are mere types or else amusing burlesques) in richly comic situations.

His dramas all have much the same plan. First, there is a vast explosive idea which sets the world on its head. When this project has been effected by the hero there comes a 'parabasis,' or long address by the chorus to the audience, openly in the poet's name. Then follows a succession of scenes—rudimentary dramas—which display the results of the hero's achievement, after which the comedy ends with a spectacular 'triumph' of the hero.

All these elements are well exemplified by the Peace. Trygaeus, an Athenian

farmer, filled with misery and disgust by the long Peloponnesian War, mounts up to Heaven on a giant flying beetle to remonstrate with King Zeus. But all the gods have departed save Hermes (Mercury), who acts as caretaker. In their place they have left the War Spirit, who is seen fiercely compounding in his mortar a salad of cheese (Sicily), honey (Athens), leeks (Prasiae), onions (Megara), and failing to pound all to pulp only because both pestles are lost—an allusion to the fact that Brasidas of Sparta and Cleon of Athens, the leaders of the war parties, have both just died. He disappears, and Trygaeus, learning from Hermes that the goddess Peace has been buried in a cave by the War Spirit, calls the states of Greece together that she may be rescued. In a wild scene of struggle, exhortation and abuse she is at length hauled up into daylight. The chorus of farmers greet her joyfully and Trygaeus explains how war broke out. Then the Parabasis describes the merits of Aristophanes, following this up with a comic song. Amid great rejoicing, preparations begin for a sacrificial banquet, when a priest enters, vigorously begging for a share in the victim; he is driven off. A second Parabasis follows. Then come other interrupters, tradesmen who have found profit or ruin through the institution of the peace. The play ends with the marriage-procession of Trygaeus and the goddess.

Such huge comic inventions are found in all the plays. In *The Birds* a discontented Athenian persuades the birds to starve out the gods by founding a city in the air; in *The*

**Comic inventions  
and technique**

*Frogs*, Dionysus, disgusted with the surviving tragedians, goes down to Hades to fetch the dead Euripides, but brings back Aeschylus; in the *Plutus* the blind god of wealth, who gives prosperity to the undeserving, is restored to sight with sensational results. Another 'splendid achievement of Aristophanes is the charming and buoyant lyrics; for example, the invocation of the nightingale (we quote the translation by Rogers):

Awake, my mate!  
Shake off thy slumbers, and clear and strong  
Let loose the floods of thy glorious song.

Through the leafy curls of the woodbine  
sweet

The pure sound mounts to the heavenly seat,  
And Phoebus, lord of the golden hair,  
As he lists to thy wild plaint echoing there,  
Draws answering strains from his ivoried  
lyre,

Till he stirs the dance of the heavenly choir,  
And calls from the blessed lips on high  
Of immortal Gods, a divine reply  
To the tones of thy witching melody.

In the last of his surviving plays we find an important change: the *Plutus* (Wealth) shows a great advance towards the New Comedy. This latter is so unlike the Old that one might feel reluctance to class them under the same head. Menander differs from (most of) Aristophanes much as Congreve differs from Shakespeare. In place of the riotous zest, the showering jokes, the personal satire, the indecency, the poetic brilliance, which mark the Old, the most notable quality in the New Comedians is a style quiet, sophisticated, elegant; in short, the comedy of buffoonery has been succeeded by the Comedy of Manners. The new work appeals mainly to the intellect where the old appealed to high spirits.

We have always possessed a clear notion of Menander's dialogue from a large collection of small fragments. As to his merits in plot and character drawing it was usual to assume that the six Latin comedies of Terence were translations of Menander and others. We can now read very considerable portions of several Menandrian plays, recovered late last century from the Egyptian sand. It is plain that he was as like Molière and Congreve as a Greek could well be. The characters are types, admirably conceived, but not as individuals. The plot is neat, far more complicated than in Aristophanes, and depends not only upon character, but upon accidents also—those accidents of meeting and misunderstanding which are especially common when a small set of people, as always in the comedy of manners, and in a Meredith novel, are thrown closely

together and invisibly shut off from the general world. The dialogue is wonderfully supple and elegant—witty, not funny.

Towards this style, we have said, Aristophanes himself was moving: the *Plutus* points the way from *The Birds* to Menander's *Girl With Bobbed*

Hair. The reason for this change was the Peloponnesian War. Athens

had been utterly defeated after twenty-seven years of struggle and growing disillusionment. Her spirit became less vigorous and more sophisticated: a somewhat jaded cleverness became her leading note. And the ancient comedian, like the modern novelist, reacted more quickly to such changes than any other artist. So Aristophanes began the change.

But another playwright contributed to the New Comedy—Euripides. The dialogue of Menander owes much to the comparatively light and buoyant style of such 'tragedies' as the *Helena*. In the machinery of Euripides' plots, also, many 'New' ideas are found for the first time, such as the recognition of long-lost children by birthmarks and amulets. Moreover, his pervasive ingenuity had a strong influence upon the later comedians. There is a direct genealogy from Euripides, through Menander, Terence, Molière and Congreve, to modern social dramatists such as Henry Arthur Jones and Sutro.



BIRD DANCE BY A GREEK CHORUS

Aristophanes produced *The Birds* in 414 B.C., a piece of delightful nonsense enriched by lyrical passages of exquisite beauty. An idea of how it was 'dressed' may be gathered from this vase painting—earlier than the play by some seventy years—of a chorus attired as birds with wings and feather-covered skins.

From the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

It is remarkable that Plato, for all his quarrel with the poets, not only quotes them but adopts a quasi-dramatic form for his own writings. They are all (except the Letters) thrown into dialogue, and though this personal note is slight and formal in some of his severer works, it is in others very marked and adroit. In the First Book of *The Republic*, in the *Symposium*, in *Protagoras*, the setting and the characterisation are elaborate and delightful. The *Symposium*, for instance, depicts a dinner-party given by the tragic poet Agathon, among the guests being Aristophanes and Socrates. They agree to amuse themselves, not by the usual hired music, but by their own ingenuity; each in turn is to pronounce a eulogy of Eros, the Love God. From this series of speeches comes the modern use of the word 'symposium.'

Plato puts into the mouth of each guest a different type of rhapsody, that given to Aristophanes being a truly marvellous imitation, not of his literary style but of his quaint and rich inventiveness how human beings were at first double, with two heads, four arms and so forth, how God in annoyance with them slit each vertically into two, and how in this later world each half is running about in search



MAKER OF THE NEW COMEDY

Menander (342-291 B.C.) represents the so-called New Comedy—the comedy of manners which essentially is the comedy of to-day. He is said to have written a hundred and five comedies and to have gained the prize eight times.

From Poulsen, *'Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses,' Oxford University Press*

of its affinity. This blend of beauty, pathos and absurdity is absolute Aristophanes. Socrates' speech is still more celebrated. He gives the story of Eros' birth which (he says) was told him by Diotima, a woman of Mantinea, who taught him also the true work of Love—namely to bring forth offspring 'in the beautiful,' but offspring spiritual rather than physical.

When Socrates has done, the party is interrupted by a band of revellers, at their head the glorious but ill-starred Alcibiades, exalted by wine and insisting upon adding a contribution of his own to the discussion, a eulogy not of Eros but of Socrates, and one of the most eloquent, beautiful and audacious outbursts in Greek or any other literature:



EXUBERANT BUFFOONERY OF THE OLD COMEDY

How little the broad fun of pantomime has changed in 2,400 years is proved by the design upon this vase. What first suggested it cannot now be told, but *The Knights* of Aristophanes some years later may very likely have appeared on the stage with actors thus attired and mounted on similar steeds.

Berlin Museum

. . . . As for myself, gentlemen, if I did not fear you would think me completely drunk, I would take an oath to the effect this man's words have always exercised upon me. When I listen to him, my heart throbs and the tears flow more copiously than those of religious hysteria. When I heard Pericles and other excellent orators, I felt admiration, but nothing of this kind: my soul was not filled with heartbroken revolt against my own sinfulness. But Socrates here, grotesque as he looks, has often used me so that I thought life not worth living without conversion.

But one must not glide off into an account of Plato's teaching. This is not the place to estimate his stupendous contribution to philosophy (see Chapter 47). Yet on the literary side, too, he is among the greatest, capable of every variety of excellence in prose, from the awe-inspiring account of the Creator in his *Timæus*, the passionate love of holiness in the

Phaedo, to the exquisite grace of the Charmides and the banter of the Euthydemus. His dialogue form allies him to the Athenian dramatists, but indirectly: he derives it from the Sicilian mime, that rudimentary dramatic type to which Aristotle refers the origin of Attic Comedy and of which the sketches written by Herodas in Alexandrian times are the descendants. Plato uses this form partly to invest with vivacious interest work intended for readers who were accustomed to drama, partly to reproduce the oral method of instruction adopted by Socrates, who is the chief speaker in nearly all the dialogues.

Aristotle must here be practically ignored. Though his philosophy and science are of the first importance, his writings, considered strictly as literature, possess very slight interest.



A COMIC DRAMATIST IN HIS STUDY

This relief, a Roman copy of an Hellenic work, represents a comic poet, possibly Menander, working in his room and looking at a mask. In Athenian comedy of the fourth and third centuries B.C., and in the Roman comedy derived from it, certain stock characters were constantly reappearing and their characteristics were shown in the exaggerated features of their masks—wide-open mouth, snub nose, cheeks puckered with laughter, wrinkled foreheads, and so forth.

*Louvre Museum; photo, Anderson*



#### ORATORY PERSONIFIED

Demosthenes (c. 383-322 B.C.) was the greatest orator of any age. Passionate patriotism inspired his conduct and gave a fire to his polished eloquence which burns undimmed to this day. Hands and scroll in this statue are restorations; the original hands were clasped.

*Vatican Museum; photo, Anderson*

Among his contemporaries were Alexander the Great and Demosthenes, the finest orator of antiquity, whose most famous works, the *Philippics*, the *Olynthiacs* and *On the Crown* are concerned with his long struggle against the rising

power of Alexander's father, Philip, King of Macedonia. In vain he strove to rouse the Athenians to understand their peril, to show themselves worthy of the Athens which had routed Persia and held out as if by miracle for nine years when all seemed lost in Sicily. The old spirit was gone: plague and twenty-seven years of disastrous war had left a people keen and artistic indeed but no longer buoyant and vigorous in politics.

The word 'Philippic' has become a traditional name for a speech of fierce invective: Cicero's orations against Antony are rather strangely so called. But Demosthenes' own speeches are more than this. Besides abuse of the Macedonian and revelation of his designs upon Greece, there is a great deal of reproachful incitement addressed to the Athenians, and much sound political philosophy, thrown into easily understood, brilliantly eloquent language.

But it is not only language, not only speech-making. The majority even of fine orators have left speeches so composed that we feel 'what splendid stuff this is!' and can imagine ourselves reciting passages with gusto on a hillside. But no boy at any school speech-day ever recited any of these: it would be indecent and absurd. Demosthenes exerts such terrific force, such a tingling sincerity, that the events themselves live on in his sentences; as we read we are on the point of crying aloud to his long-dead audience, 'Cease applauding, and act as he bids you!'

Most eloquence is an admirable comment on events or prospects; the words of Demosthenes transform events, and become themselves a part of human experience. Such an effect is found as a rule only in single inspired sentences, as when Edward the First in the story exhibited his new-born son to the Welsh chieftains at Carnarvon: 'Here, is your man'; or when S. Telemachus stopped the gladiatorial shows by shouting in the arena, 'Would you have blood? Behold Christ's!' Demosthenes wields this electric power throughout a whole oration. He has no rival except Burke in his power of combining narrative, argument, emotion, reproach, exhortation into

one running fire before which meanness, folly, tyranny and cowardice shrivel to cinders.

You go about the market-place asking one another for fresh gossip, 'Is Philip dead?' 'No, by Zeus, but he is ill.' What does it matter to you? Even if he dies, you will speedily make another Philip, it is this is the attention you give to your affairs.

It is easy to speak more beautifully than that, but Demosthenes drives the intolerable sting across twenty-three centuries.

Among the lesser Greek orators mention must be made of Aeschines, the floridly brilliant opponent of Demosthenes and Philip's supporter; and of Isocrates, who wrote pamphlets in speech form which profoundly influenced the style of Cicero and, through him, modern oratory.

Demosthenes, Aristotle and Alexander died almost at the same time, and with them the Greek spirit may be said to have expired. There followed an immensely long period during which a vast amount of literature appeared, much of it good, much of it important, but showing little of the distinctively Greek genius. Josephus, who described the Conquest of Jerusalem, composed his narrative first in Hebrew, afterwards

**Later Hellenistic Literature** translating it into Greek. Plutarch reads more like a modern French or English writer than like Thucydides. The tremendous conquest of Alexander, in fact, ended the Greek world proper, partly by destroying the power of the old city states, partly by throwing open the Middle East to Greek civilization. What followed was a wide diffusion of diluted Hellenism. In the great city which the conqueror founded, Alexandria, there grew up under the Ptolemies a distinguished school of writers whose characteristics were ingenuity, learning and sophistication.

By far the most famous and most original of these was Theocritus, the pastoral poet. His idylls ('little pictures') are vignettes of contemporary life, sometimes photographic, sometimes beautiful through sincere feeling and their exquisite, rather sugary style. His pastorals deal with the every-day life of shepherds and other peasants—their flocks, their sweet-

hearts, their naive hopes, quarrels and anxieties. One snatch of exquisite poetry was taken by Blackmore as the motto of Lorna Doone. This translation gives some rough idea of it:

No wide domain, nor golden treasure,  
Nor speed like wind across the lea,  
I pray for: here I find my pleasure,  
In this cliff-shade embracing thee,  
My grazing sheep to watch at leisure  
And sing to yon Sicilian sea.

But C. S. Calverley has published an admirable rendering of the whole collection into English verse, and there the reader may enjoy such

little masterpieces as **Idyllic Masterpieces of Theocritus** the celebrated Fifteenth Idyll, which

represents two women of Alexandria gossiping about servants, clothes and husbands, later visiting the festival at the palace after an exciting journey through streets crowded with sightseers and Household Cavalry; or the Twenty-eighth, an exquisite letter to a lady accompanying the gift of an ivory distaff; or the Second, where a girl seeks by incantations to win back her faithless lover; or, the finest poem of Later Greece, the Seventh Idyll, depicting the harvest festival, rich with the drowsy loveliness of early autumn.

There we lay  
Half-buried in a couch of fragrant reed  
And fresh-cut vine leaves, who so glad as we?  
A wealth of elm and poplar shook o'erhead:  
Hard by, a sacred spring flowed gurgling on  
From the nymphs' grot, and in the sombre  
boughs  
The sweet cicada chirped laboriously  
Hid in the thick thorn-bushes far away  
The tree-frog's note was heard; the crested  
lark  
Sang with the gold-finch; turtles made then  
moan,  
And o'er the fountain hung the gilded bee.  
All of rich summer smacked, of autumn all:  
Pears at our feet, and apples at our side  
Rolled in luxuriance; branches on the  
ground  
Sprawled, overweighed with damsons

The First Idyll, which contains the exquisite Lament for Daphnis the shepherd, has prompted many imitations. Bion (another idyllist) wrote a Lament for Adonis, and Moschus a Lament for Bion. Milton's Lycidas belongs to the same type, despite its allegory; Shelley's Adonais



and Arnold's Thyrsis, for all their new magnificence, are prompted by the Theocritean idea, as the Greek names show, if nothing else.

The Alexandrian period, it will be seen, produced a great uprising of what we call romance, and though it was long before a genuine novel appeared, the epic of Apollonius Rhodius has many marks of the novel, especially in the splendid picture of Medea's passion for the foreign hero Jason. The later ages of Greek literature were largely concerned with tradition—the study and interpretation of the mighty past.

Among the most celebrated authors is Plutarch, from whom we learn more than from any other one man about the history and spirit of ancient Europe. His vast knowledge and industry, his pleasant style, his fine natural love for whatever is generous, have given the *Parallel Lives* an influence unique among secular books. His method is to compose biographies in pairs—a Greek and a Roman whose careers are somewhat alike, such as Coriolanus and Alcibiades—adding a comparison. Plutarch wrote many other works, treatises on points of morals, religion, literature, music, which are massed together under the title *Moralia*.

Another brilliant heir of the complete Graeco-Roman culture was Lucian, a marvellously facile and attractive writer of short pieces filled with amusing satirical studies of gods, men and women: his best-known book, *Dialogues of the Dead*, has prompted several brilliant modern imitations. About the same period was composed the greatest critical work of antiquity, that essay *On the Sublime* which has been wrongly attributed to Longinus. It is an acute, brilliant and informing study of elevation in literary style, rather than the 'sublime' in the sense used by Burke in his own treatise.

The novel is a very minor element in Greek literature. Men of the great period would have been amazed by the very conception of a novel, for, interested in their personal careers and emotions like the rest

of us, they yet felt that literature should deal with communal, not individual, concerns; and though brilliant characters are to be found in epic and tragic poetry, they are yet closely involved in national interests. Moreover, a novel is entirely 'untrue,' and they saw no value in the 'untrue' except as allegory or politics. It was only after the Greek world had been absorbed in the Roman, and public affairs had been centralised, that the interests of the apparently commonplace individual became a leading topic of literature. Even then the novel was altogether inferior to modern fiction in every respect save thrilling situations. Heliodorus wrote the *Aethiopica* ('A Story of Africa'), which is full of the perils and escapes of two lovers. Less excitement, but far more beauty, invests the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus.

The same causes favoured the growth, if not the origin, of that great collection known as the *Anthology* ('Garland'), a storehouse of brief poems, often called epigrams, on love, death, art, anything and everything which permanently attracts humanity. An epigram is originally a brief poem on one definite point—it may be an epitaph or a joke; the modern meaning of the word is due to the Latin epigrammatist Martial, who usually provides such poems with 'a sting in the tail.'

Nearly all these tiny works have common characteristics: frugal neatness in style, directness and simplicity of thought and feeling, definiteness of subject. Many of them are among the finest things in Greek and correspond to the engraved gem in manual art. It follows that they are difficult to translate, for all their simplicity. But Shelley himself has left a version of one by Plato, though even he must omit one point, the name of the dead man being Aster, which means 'star':

Thou wert the morning star among the living,  
Ere thy fair light had fled;  
Now, having died, thou art as Hesperus,  
giving  
New splendour to the dead.

# THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

How they conceived the Objects of their  
Worship and represented them in Art

By LEWIS R. FARNELL D.Litt.

Rector of Exeter College, Oxford; Author of *Cults of the Greek States*, *An Outline History of Greek Religion*, etc.

THE right appreciation and interpretation of Greek religion have been achieved mainly by the work of scholars of the present and immediately preceding generations. They have been greatly aided by the growth of the science of comparative religion, which is the systematic study of the higher religions of mankind; by the science of anthropology, dealing with the religious phenomena of the primitive races; and especially by the discovery of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization that preceded the dawn of Hellenism. It is the achievement of their work that we can now recognize the vital part played by religion in the moral and political life of Hellas, and in the shaping of Hellenic literature and art; that we can discern in it certain distinctive traits corresponding to the distinctive Hellenic temperament, and that we can trace its influence on the later religion of Christendom.

The sources of our knowledge of it are various and in most directions abundant, being literary, artistic and epigraphic. The mass of inscriptions, bequeathed to us by public and private devotion and revealing cult-practices, cult-invocations and the organization of worship, is already vast and increases yearly. But of the various sources it is Greek literature and Greek art that contribute most to our deeper intelligence of the religious consciousness and ideals of the educated Hellene. And it is the whole of Greek literature, the works of imagination as well as the works of science and learning, that must be ransacked for a full knowledge of the subject.

Of the imaginative works, some deal directly with religion, such as the Homeric hymns of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., and much of the lyrical

poetry, since in this general category we include hymns composed by many of the great masters and intended for divine service. Others, such as the Homeric epic poems, the odes of Pindar in honour of the victorious athlete, and the whole of Attic tragedy, are indirectly but none the less intimately concerned with the religion as they interweave their secular narrative or dramatic plot with divine agencies, and with much profound reflection on the divine characters and the dealings of providence with Man. For the most part their themes are concerned with what we call mythology—the narrative or the presentation of the doings of heroes and heroines, gods and goddesses. And it is essential to clear one's mind at the outset, as the older generation of scholars and men of letters failed to do, concerning the relation and distinction between Greek religion and Greek mythology.

Every religion has its mythology, which is rarely adequate in all its details to the serious belief of the worshipper. Greek mythology, the most beautiful, on the whole, that comparative folk-lore can present to us, and enshrining certain beautiful divine legends, such as the story of Demeter and her daughter, was nevertheless capable of framing licentious and immoral stories concerning the divine personages; stories that represented them as lustful, cruel and unjust; stories that may reflect a remote and savage past and savage imagination; but they need not have possessed the mind of the worshipper or prevented him praying to his divinity at his need as to a power of righteousness, benevolence and mercy. For they were enshrined in no sacred books, to which

orthodox faith might compel belief. Any one could discard them as —to use a phrase of Euripides—‘the unhappy stories of bards.’ Nevertheless, it is important to realize that the careful study of Greek mythology throws abundant light on the popular religious conceptions and the popular religious temperament. And of direct value is that portion of it that may be called ‘hieratic,’ a term that may be applied to those myths, only a scanty proportion of the whole, that illustrate or are invented to interpret ritual: from which we may occasionally gather evidence of some ritual, such as human sacrifice, once prevalent in a prehistoric period.

The public and private speeches that have been preserved of the great orators of Athens are usually ranked among the higher literature of Greece.

**Sources of our information** Very frequently these give us incidental flashlights on the religious faith and feeling of the average Athenian of the fourth century; for the orator is a trustier spokesman of the average man than the poet or the philosopher.

As regards the philosophic literature, while it is of supreme importance for the history of the higher religious thought of Greece, it contributes but scantily to our knowledge of the real popular religion, though much may be gathered from Plato's *Laws*, and, for the later days of paganism, from the writings of Plutarch. The religious ideas of the leading schools of philosophy cannot be considered here, but they are duly treated in Chapter 47.

Finally, the art of Greece is at least as illuminative as the literature for our appreciation of the religious imagination of the people. We may confidently assert that no religion of the world has owed so much to the art that embodied it as the Hellenic. For there was close and deep accord between the religious perception and the artistic instinct of the Hellenic; and examples will be given below showing how the artist was able to ennoble the personalities of the polytheism and to strengthen its hold on the people's faith.

In view of the abundance of our data and the unlimited diversity possible in the different centres and areas of the Hellenic world, it is difficult to give a succinct and

at the same time complete statement of the religion of Hellas as a whole. But we can describe at once certain general features of it that mark both its type and its specific character, as presented and preserved from the age of Homer down to the close of its history. It is an organized polytheism consisting of a hierarchy of divinities, male and female; more elaborately organized than the Vedic or Babylonian or Egyptian or Teutonic, the deities being grouped in a scale under the supremacy of the High God Zeus.

The deities are sharply defined, concrete and individual, with special moral characteristics and often with special interests and functions, and more anthropomorphically imagined than those of any of the other higher religions. That is to say, they are not mere ‘numina,’ to use the term that describes the figures of the old religion of Rome, half-realized, impalpable and indefinable potencies, still less are they pure spirits, but glorified beings of immortal body and immortal soul, stronger, more beautiful and wiser than men. They are called *Theoi*—that is, concrete divine persons; and for the Greek imagination Apollo was no less definite and real and individual than Achilles. This account applies most fittingly to the higher and leading divinities, to Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite. We cannot interpret these as nature powers or physical deities, whose characters were merely developed from any element or department of the natural world.

It is true that the Greeks of all periods remembered that their supreme deity, Zeus, had been in the ‘Aryan’ period the sky god, or the divine sky pure and simple; but already in the Homeric poems he is presented as much more than this. Even Poseidon, who has more of the elemental character than the others, is more than a water god, being also a builder of cities and an upholder of tribal and inter-tribal organizations. As for the others mentioned above, they have in the earlier period no discoverable nature connexion, nor can we discover the elemental source from which they may be supposed to have developed. There is no reason for believing

**Greek gods not pure nature Spirits**



#### MINISTERING TO A DEDICATED ANIMAL

As we might expect in an agricultural people, the Greeks maintained the sacrifice of domestic animals as an important element in their cults. The bull was consecrated to many deities - that represented above, in a vase-painting of the Periclean age, probably commemorates a victory in the Dionysiac festival.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

that Apollo was originally a sun god or that Artemis was a moon goddess; the sun and the moon are later intruders into their cult and their myth. It was the misfortune of nineteenth century scholarship, dominated partly by the dogmas of Max Müller, that the study of the classic religions was wasted in striving to interpret each one of the personalities of the polytheism as a personification of some department of nature, sky, dawn, night, thunder and lightning or wind. They ignored the possibility that the Hellenes both before and after they entered Greece and spread over Greek lands may have adopted many divinities as full-blown, personal Theoi, whose origin was neither known nor inquired into.

For the manifold polytheism of Greece was by no means a pure Indo-Germanic inheritance. Whether in their original homes the peoples of Indo-Germanic speech had already the worship of personal gods is a question that does not here concern us. We are at least sure that the northerners of this group, who in the second millennium B.C. were pushing through the Balkans into the land we call Greece, and who by fusion,

with a gifted and more civilized Mediterranean race already well established there produced that happy blend called the Hellenes, brought with them certain personal deities either aboriginally their own or borrowed from certain alien people along their migration route; and then, when settled in the land, adopted much of the religion of the older and more advanced people. We may call these latter the Minoan-Mycenaean, and their religion, at least in its broad outlines, is revealed to us mainly by the thrilling discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans in Crete (see Chap. 25).

We discern that it was of the type of personal theism, mainly anthropomorphic, and that in the religious imagination and devotion of the Cretans the goddess was markedly predominant over the god. And this affords us one test whereby we can analyse the multifarious polytheism of later Greece and distinguish between the Northern-Aryan elements and the Minoan-Mycenaean. For the northerners, in accord with the other leading Indo-Germanic peoples, had organized their religion mainly



#### SUPERSTITIOUS RELIANCE UPON AUGURIES

Alongside the advanced intellectual culture attained in ancient Greece there flourished a primitive faith in oracles and omens. Divination from the entrails of animals was practised, as in Mesopotamia and Etruria; here we see a warrior examining entrails to discover the auspices before departing for the wars.

*From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'*

on the basis of the monogamic patriarchic household, so that both in the celestial and in the human sphere the supreme power is masculine. In fact, so far as the records of any people of Indo-Germanic speech suffice as a basis for judgement, nowhere is there any trace of a goddess independently predominant. Aided by this clue, as well as by linguistic and other evidence, we can pronounce that Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, Dionysus, Dione, the real wife of Zeus, Hestia the hearth goddess, Demeter the earth mother or the barley mother, were of northern origin; while Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis, Rhea, Hephaestus the smith god, belonged to the pre-Hellenic Mediterranean stock. These latter names have no proved or probable connexion with any known language, and the Minoan language is still unknown. They are also the names of deities predominant in lands deeply infused with the Minoan-Mycenaean culture, such as Attica, Boeotia, the Peloponnese, Crete and Cyprus.

In all these communities, indeed, the northern Zeus was admitted and accepted as theoretically supreme. But Athens and Attica through all the ages were always more passionately devoted to Athena, the Madonna of the state: and Argos, the later city that inherited all the Mycenaean tradition, clung with equal ardour and



THE TRIPLE GOD OF NATURE

Since he was supreme god of the physical universe Zeus had different aspects. On this vase from Chiusi, he is identified with Hades of the underworld and Poseidon the sea god by the lightning symbol which all three figures carry.

From Farnell, 'Cults of the Greek States'



#### SYMBOL OF RELIGIOUS FUSION

The survival of the cult of Hera, a Minoan-Mycenaean goddess, in Hellenic Greece was given mystical sanction by the myth of her marriage with the northern Zeus. This fifth century vase painting shows the pair on their marital couch.

British Museum

persistence to the pre-Hellenic goddess of the land, whom they called Hera. The name is interesting. It is the only example of an undoubtedly Hellenic name applied to the pre-Hellenic, Minoan-Mycenaean goddess. For it is naturally explained as having affinity with the Greek word 'heros' and therefore as meaning 'excellent,' a reverential epithet applied by the northerners to the great goddess of the land. Calling her, then, the Excellent One, they satisfied their 'Aryan' consciences by making her the lawful wife of Zeus. The true name of his consort, formed on the same principle as some of the Vedic names for the wives of gods, was Dione, a female derivative of the name of Zeus, by which she was always known and worshipped at Dodona. But Hera of Argos, though she had to perform some ritual of a sacred marriage with Zeus, took little account of him and overshadowed him in the minds and hearts of her Argives. The Hellene, then, inherited much of the religion, as he inherited much of the art, of Crete and Mycenae.

Below this worship of high personal deities, we find a mass of phenomena belonging to a lower and less fully developed stage of religion, at which the divine

power is vaguely and more animistically conceived. When Aristophanes marks the superiority of the Hellene to the barbarians by asserting that they worshipped the sun and the moon, while the former worshipped real personal gods such as Zeus, Hermes and Apollo, his statement was true enough, but was not the whole truth. Everywhere and, so far as we can see, through all the pre-Christian period the Hellene had some feeling of reverence for the sun and moon and the various winds. A few communities might even worship a particular star such as Sirius; all of them were passionately prone to the worship of rivers, and the love of the homeland was deeply linked with this; everywhere we find the worship of Nymphs, 'the Brides,' the mysterious powers that lurk, unseen or half-seen, in the wild, the meadow and the wood, powers sometimes dangerous but easily won to bestow blessing. The very name 'Brides' or 'young women' shows the anthropomorphic trend.

The Greek religious feeling about rivers reveals most clearly the different stages of the religious perception, stages that we may distinguish as lower and higher. Perhaps the earlier stage of such feeling is revealed by Hesiod's phrase, advising the stranger when he is crossing a dangerous ford to bend over and pray 'into the divine water'; this has been called animatism, the feeling that the water itself is a conscious being, alive and in some sense divine; and at this stage, if offerings are made to it, the animal—bull or horse might be thrown in alive for the conscious element to consume as it liked. Or the imagination, becoming more definite, can shape a spirit in the water, permeating and controlling it, and may endow this 'numen,' this vague divine being, with more and more personality till a river god emerges, more or less anthropomorphically conceived: this is animism passing

into personal theism. And now the river god can leave his element and come to an altar erected on his bank, can beget human offspring and enter into political life. These various ways of imagining and worshipping the rivers are reflected in the earliest poetry of Greece.

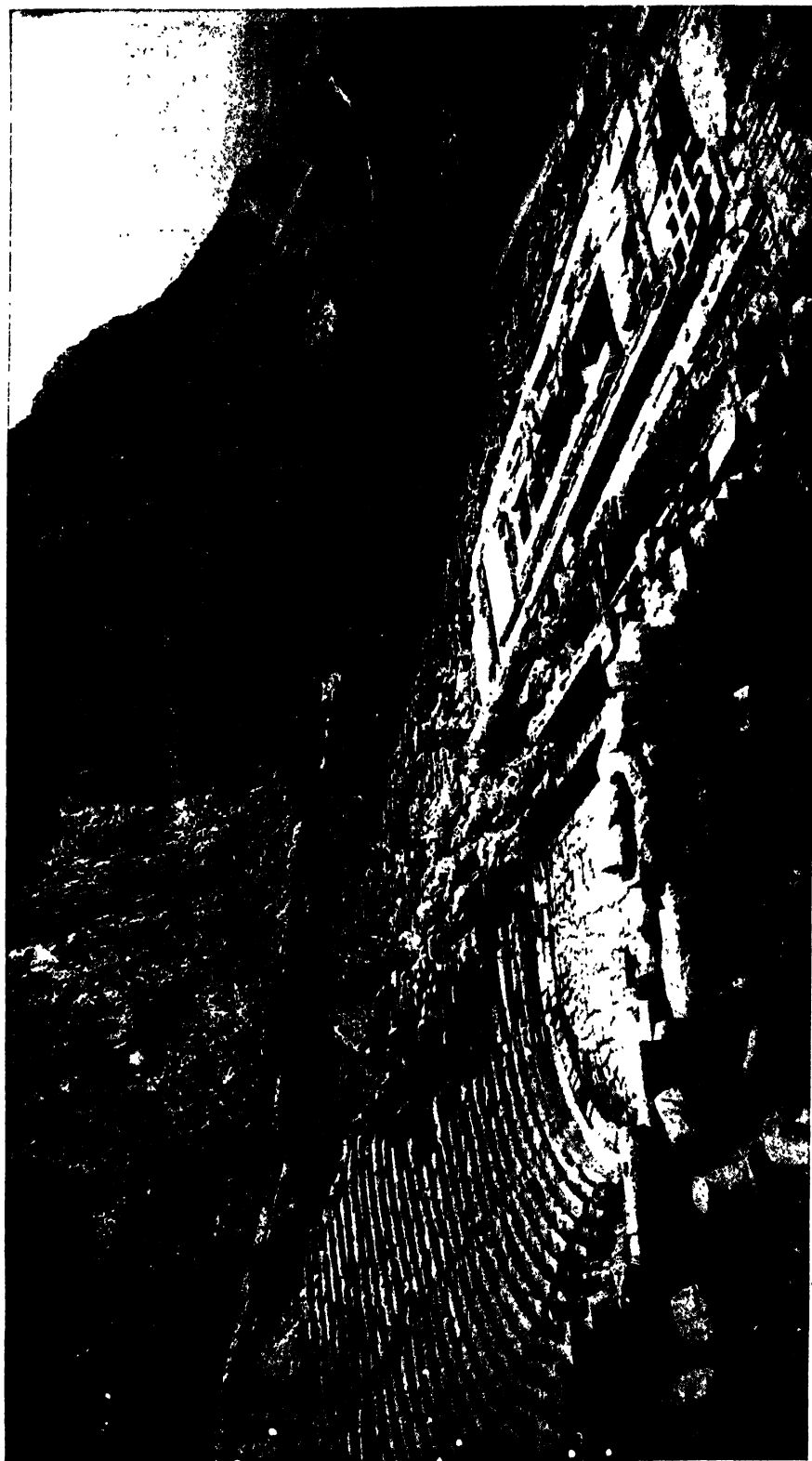
Again, we detect a primitive religious feeling when we study the worship and personality of Hestia. The name, formed from an Indo-Germanic root, designates the hearth, the permanent place of the household fire, unknown to the Minoans and so necessary to the northerners. In the sacral sense then we must render Hestia as 'Holy Hearth,' the hearth itself being considered as holy and divine, perhaps because of the primitive feeling concerning the weird element of fire. Hestia, then, or 'Holy Hearth,' protects the suppliant and the stranger as well as the children of the house; and small



QUEEN GODDESS AT HER OWN WEDDING

The sacred union of Zeus and Hera was regarded as the divine prototype of monogamous marriage on earth, being celebrated in the temples with appropriate ceremonies. Here we see it in a dignified and beautiful relief (probably fifth century B.C.) from the temple of Selinus; note the bridal veil worn by Hera.

Palermo Museum



#### HEADQUARTERS OF THE ACCOMPLISHED PRIESTHOOD THAT PUBLISHED THE WORDS OF THE DELPHIC ORACLE

The most influential cult in Greece was that of Apollo of Delphi, owing to the skilful exploitation there of volcanic gases issuing from a cavity in the hillside. The intoxication that they produced in those who breathed them was believed to be prophetic inspiration derived directly from the god; and female ministrants—the Pythian maidens—were regularly subjected to the effects of the fumes, when their ravings were 'interpreted' by the resident hierarchy. The ostensible source and actual wisdom of the answers that the priests returned to questioners made them powerful and wealthy, and had an immense influence over Greek affairs. A magnificent temple, whose foundations we see here below the theatre, was built round the vent whence arose the gases.

*Photo, Alinari*

portions of the sacrifice intended for the high gods will first be flung into the Hearth, as the central and primary power of the household. Then the anthropomorphic impulse works upon this and evolves a fair maiden goddess, who may not marry—because after all she is the Hearth, which is essentially pure—but by way of compensation receives from Zeus the privilege of the first offerings. Greek poetry and art do their best for her personality, but they never succeeded in establishing it in the popular imagination and worship. She does not enter into mythology or human drama; she remained a power because of the sanctity of the household hearth, and still more because the city preserved a public hearth which was the symbol of its continuous life; but her cult belongs to animism rather than to personal theism, and has much affinity with that of the Roman Vesta.

There are many other factors in the domain of Greek religion that belong to the level below that of the High Gods. Among them is the worship of gods or 'daimones' that may be called 'functional' because their power and activity are limited to a single function, so that the name that Usener invented for them, *Sondergötter*—'specialist-gods' we may render it—is not inappropriate. Such are the Hero of the Ploughshare—known to us through Browning's poem—Echetlus Eunostus the Hero of the Good Harvest the Bean Hero, who looks after beans the Hero of the Mill, who supervises the grinding of corn. It does not appear that the man of the people was deeply concerned about this kind of being, who has many close parallels, if we can trust S. Augustine and Varro, in Roman religion. What is interesting to observe is how the Greek anthropomorphic fancy,



#### SACRED WAY TRODDEN BY THE FEET OF COUNTLESS PILGRIMS

At Delphi nothing that might help to capture the imagination of the many visitors was lacking. From the entrance to the enclosure of Apollo to the great temple wherein the oracle resided ran a cobbled road, serpentine in its windings but leading those who followed it amidst all the magnificence of the holy place. Typical of the grandeur of the precinct was the Great Altar, the remains of which are here seen, to the left of the Sacred Way. See also the reconstruction and plan in pages 1312-13.

*Photo, Alinari*



so strangely differing from the Roman, worked upon some of these nebulous and ineffectual personages, attaching for instance to Eunostus a vivid personal story of despised love, and assigning to the Hero of the Plough a heroic part in the battle of Marathon.

Still more nebulous and indefinite than these single functional daimones appear to be certain vague groups of powers, without individual personality or name, but bearing only a functional group-name, such as the Theoi Melichioi, the divine powers of the lower world that had to be propitiated for bloodshed. It may be a true account of some of these to describe them as groups of inchoate nameless personalities or as shadow-



#### SYMBOLIC OF THE POWER TO HEAL

While medicine and surgery were encouraged by the religion of Asclepios, faith cures were inseparable from it. One is commemorated by this tablet dedicated to the god, presumably in gratitude for restored health. The entwined serpent before which the sick man's litter has stopped was the emblem of Asclepios; see also the snake beneath the throne below.

*Ny Carlsberg Museum; photo, Munsell*



#### DIVINE PHYSICIAN WITH HIS DAUGHTER

As the god of healing, Asclepios was patron of physicians; his temples were hospitals and his priests combined some understanding of medicine with belief in magic. This votive panel represents Asclepios, accompanied by Hygieia, goddess of health, usually accounted his daughter, giving audience to worshippers

*National Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari*

powers, felt but only half realized, survivals of a more primitive religious thought of which the product might be called 'polydaimonism.' In other cases they may be clearly understood groups or associations of real and definite divinities.

In any case, we cannot discern within the limits of the history of the Greek race the general emergence of personal deities from lower forms: the personal gods are there, vivid, strong and in many cases fully formed, at the very beginning. The evolution of Greek religion consists mainly in the ever-increasing wealth of attributes and functions where-with the higher deities are invested, and whereby they are brought into closer contact with the life of the state, the family and the individual. They are the deities of a race that progressed through many centuries, and they progressed with their people. But this

progress did not demand the violent excision of lower and cruder elements or any revolutionary break with the past, such as Christianity demanded of paganism. In Greek religion there was no powerful prophet or Protestant reformer. Orpheus and others might at times have introduced a new god or a new pregnant religious concept, but not in antagonism to the traditional worship. The old lower forms survive without strong sense of conflict by the side of the higher and more refined; if any observance, such as human sacrifice, shocked the higher moral conscience it gradually faded away into mere legend or sham ritual.

The history of Greek religion then is not primarily concerned with the origin of gods.

The briefest account of it must deal with the attributes and various functions of the leading divinities in the different spheres and departments where they act for man. These may be classified as the world of nature including vegetation, human society in its various forms, the sphere of morality, the sphere of art, and finally the individual soul. Now some of the leading divinities, especially Zeus and Apollo, are found active in all these spheres; most of them in more than one, only the lesser deities being really specialised to one department.

Nature worship naturally includes the adoration of the great cosmic phenomena or powers, such as the sun, the moon, the stars. We soon discover in the study of Greek religion how small a part these played in the devotion of the Hellenic communities, and to this extent Aristophanes was right in his phrase quoted above. It was only at Rhodes that the figure of 'Helios,' the Sun, rose to the dignity of a High God of the state, and this was probably due to the powerful and abiding influence of a pre-Hellenic tradition. There is nothing in Greece parallel to the remarkable development of the sun god in Mesopotamia and Egypt. It seems, indeed, to have been a law of the religious psychology of the Hellenes that he could develop the higher ethical and spiritual concept of godhead only in regard to those divinities whose personal names did not obviously denote a material element or

fact. Even Ge, the earth mother, who was far more prominent in cult than were the celestial luminaries, could not rise to the higher plane of religion until she had shed her material name and emerged as Demeter and Kore, the radiant and benign personalities whose mysteries could satisfy the higher religious aspirations.

Nevertheless, as the agrarian and pastoral life played so large a part in the political economy of the Greek states, in spite of commercial expansion, all the higher deities were concerned with the growth of the crops, or the care of the herds, 'the peaceful sway over Man's harvesting.' Even Apollo, who appears as the incarnation of the intellect and the art of Greece, but who in his earliest period had been a hunter god of the woodland, preserved always his interest in flocks and herds and was worshipped as the protector of crops from mildew and mice.

In observing the nature worships recorded by the literature and the monuments we are struck by one fact of great



**LORD OF HEAVEN AND HELL**

By the Greeks Zeus was worshipped as king of gods, men and the dead. His majesty and power are suggested in this statue showing him enthroned and guarded by an eagle and Cerberus, the watchdog of the gates of Hades.

British Museum

significance, pointing to a certain unity in the perception of divine power that glimmers through the manifold diversity of persons ; namely, the aboriginal 'Aryan' sky god Zeus was operative and powerful not only in the sky but also on the earth as a god of trees and vegetation, and even below the earth as the life-nourishing god who sends up the seeds, and from whom Hades, the 'Unseen One,' is probably an emanation. He has power even over the sea and in the sea ; and according to one derivation the name of Poseidon, from of old a separate though cognate god, signified originally 'god in the sea.' The illustration in page 1366, from a vase of Chiusi, showing the three figures of Zeus, Hades and Poseidon, their affinity or identity being marked by the Zeus attribute of the lightning in the hands of all three, is an interesting expression of the

idea of unity in triplicity. Such a religious perception, found occasionally in the record of Greek nature worship, could aid the emergence of monotheistic theology and the philosophic idea of cosmic unity.

Another progressive feature that may be marked in Greek nature worship was the association of the dark world below the earth and of the powers lurking therein with the life that blooms in fruits and flowers ; whereby that world could shed its terrors and engender a higher mystic religion of happiness and peace.

But it was the association of religion with every function and department of the social and political life that was the distinctive feature of the Hellenic ; for among no other people do we find the deities so closely concerned with every part of the state organism ; and nowhere else do the attributes and characters of the higher divinities reflect so much of the life and aspirations of the citizens. And yet no people were further from theocracy than were the Hellenic communities ; for they never allowed religion to become their master, but they used it as a most useful ministrant and ally.

The city state, or 'Polis,' was based on the idea of kinship, having absorbed the narrower forms of union, the family, the clan or the tribe. And all these groupings were held together by cults in which special titles, expressing the social fact, were attached to divinities. The family was the simplest unit in the city state, and the monogamic union on which it was based was consecrated by a religious ceremony and was believed to be upheld by Zeus and Hera, preeminently the divinities of marriage, whose 'Holy Marriage' was the counterpart of the human and was performed in a public ritual by the Greek states, and in private by the bride and bridegroom. A relief from a metope of one of the temples at Selinus in Sicily



#### FEATURES THAT AWOKE REVERENT AWE

The tremendous statue of Zeus Olympius by Pheidias was celebrated in antiquity for its sublimity and power to move worshippers. The original has disappeared, but something of its magnificence is reflected in this great head of Zeus, thought to be a Graeco-Roman replica of it, which was found in Cyrenaica.

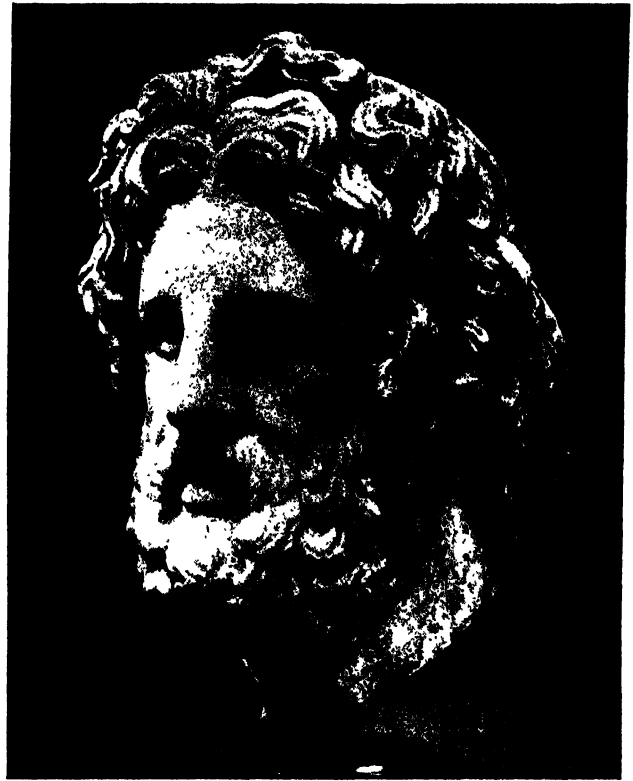
*Archaeological Department of the Italian Administration of Cyrenaica*

and a fifth-century vase in the British Museum (pages 1366-7) show us Zeus and Hera as the high divinities of the monogamic marriage.

From pre-Homeric days and throughout the later centuries the family gathered for worship round the altar of Zeus in the courtyard; and 'Zeus of the Garth' became the guardian of the family morality. It was he who maintained the rights and duties of the father, of the children to the parents, of brother to brother; and the religion worked strongly on this sphere of morality, which was a potent and abiding force in the conscience of the Greek world. 'Honour thy father and thy mother' was a law as deeply established in Hellas as in Israel.

The higher deities, especially Zeus and Athena, also presided over the wider kinship groups such as the 'genos' or clan, the 'brotherhood' or 'phratría,' and from these they received invocative titles such as 'Phratríos' or 'Phratría.' The theory that the city was a group of kinsmen was sometimes quickened by the belief that the deity was in a literal and physical sense the ancestor of the people, and in this case he would be invoked by such titles as 'the Ancestor,' 'the Father,' 'the Begetter.' Thus Zeus was the 'father god' of the Dorians and of the Acacidae of Aegina, Apollo the 'father god' of the Ionians, Poseidon of the Minyans. The dogma of the virginity of Athena prevented her becoming in the literal sense the ancestress of the Athenians, but as the foster-mother of their ancestor-hero Erechtheus she acquired for her beloved city the tender interest of a Madonna.

Whether regarded as the city ancestors or not, the higher deities of Greece took a deep and active part in political life, maintaining laws and institutions and inspiring counsel. Pre-eminent in this



#### SERENE MAJESTY OF THE KING OF GODS

The idealism and artistic genius of the Greeks were combined in the endeavour to invest their images of Zeus with the transcendent majesty that is evident in surviving carvings. None, perhaps, illustrates more adequately their lofty conception of the High God than this head of Zeus-Asclepius from Melos.

*British Museum*

sphere were always Zeus, Athena and Apollo. It is only the two former, the High God and his daughter, that were ever invoked and worshipped by the significant title of *Polieus* and *Polias*, 'the guardian of the city.' And by a similar title applied to both—*Boulaios* and *Boulaia*—they are acknowledged as the special powers that preside over the council of the state and inspire wise policy. In the imagination of Homer the goddess Athena had already appeared to have a special interest in those who were pre-eminent in wisdom and the craftsman's skill. This intimate association of the higher Hellenic deities, as well as many of the lower, with politics sometimes wins for them strange titles and brings them into strange places. The Athenians devised a religious basis for their democracy by invoking their goddess as 'Athena the

Democrat' or 'Athena-Democracy' (as if she were its incarnation); Zeus is found taking one of his titles from the orator's platform, a spot not haunted by religion in our modern states; Apollo was once elected a magistrate in a city of Asia Minor; even the wild wind god, Boreas, is styled 'Citizen' at Thurii, an Athenian colony in South Italy.

To show fully and impressively the part played by religion in the external and internal history of Greece demands a history of the Delphic oracle, much of which has been revealed by recent research and discovery. The verses of Homer show that already in his age it was beginning to be influential in the public life and among the settlements of the early Greek world; and there are reasons for accepting the legend that it associated itself with the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese. The later legislators, in framing constitutions for the Greek cities, consulted it and were supposed to be inspired by it. It was the natural authority to consult concerning matters of ritual or any change in the religious institutions. But above all, it was the chief instigator and director of Greek colonisation, to which

the main part of the later civilization of the Mediterranean is due; for it was the accepted belief that no new colony could thrive unless it was prompted by or had the blessing of Apollo of Delphi. We may, in fact, regard the Delphic oracle, skilfully directed by the priests, who were in touch with the various parts of the then civilized Mediterranean world, as the most effi-

cient colonial agency that any community has ever possessed for the direction of emigration.

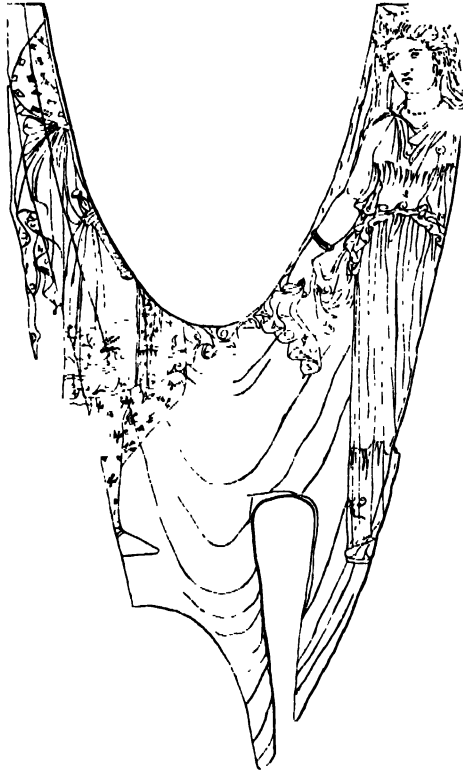
When the Mediterranean lands were finally settled and the independence of Hellas was ended, the oracle continued to exercise an important religious function as a director of the private conscience of individuals. In its political influence it occasionally reminds us on a small scale of the Catholic Papacy; but it never

aspired, or at least was never allowed, to tyrannise; and its counsels on the whole were on the side of righteousness and moderation.

A religion that is essentially tribal or civic or national is liable to certain drawbacks that may hinder the highest religious development. If a deity's life were wholly bound up with the city, the fatal corollary might be drawn that the deity perished with the destruction of the city. This was drawn in Mesopotamian religion, but never in Greece; for the belief in the eternity of the higher divine powers was common, as far as we know, to all the Greek societies; and every one of the leading members of the Pantheon was worshipped by many

states, or at least by more states than one. Therefore if one city was extinguished, another would maintain the cult.

Nor do we find in the Hellenic characterisation of divinity that intense spirit of tribal or national jealousy that infects the God of Israel in his early period. The frequent wars between the Greek cities evoked no 'theomachy,' no



CONSORT OF THE DIVINE KING

To Hera, wife of Zeus, was ascribed the majesty appropriate to the queen of the gods. Thus, while represented as graceful and almost maidenly in this engraved ivory panel (fourth century B.C.), she is supremely regal of mien

From Muns, 'Greeks and Scythians'

strife in heaven that could disturb the peace of Olympus; nor do we find any evidence that the Hellenic Zeus would naturally hate and be at feud with the gods of Egypt or Asia. In fact, already by the time of Homer, he is more than a tribal, more even than a national god. The Homeric phrase, constantly attached to him, 'Father of Gods and Men,' must be interpreted not in a literal and physical sense, but in a spiritual; and it accords with this idea that the Homeric Zeus is found to care equally for the Trojans and for the Achaeans. Here is the germ of a humanitarian world religion, overstepping the narrow limits of family, tribe or city. Some limitations, indeed, inherent in the old civic religion, still remained; no genuine Greek cult was propagandist; the stranger was frequently excluded by law from sharing in it, even witnessing the cult, so that even Aristotle could lay it down as a formula that 'it is by the citizens alone that the gods ought to be worshipped.' Nevertheless, in spite of its intensely political-civic character, the religion shows the progressive quality of the Greek spirit in the power of the religious imagination to expand.

The correlation between this religion and the legal system and ethics of Greece is the most intricate and almost the most important part of the whole study. Most religious systems of which we have record reveal the deities as guardians of justice and law; and righteousness and beneficence have come to be regarded as essential to the ideal of divinity in the more advanced communities. Nevertheless, a malevolent god is a known figure in the history of religions. It is interesting therefore to note that in the earliest picture of Greek religion that we have, the picture presented by Homer, there is no such figure. A faint hint of such a view of the deity might be discerned in Homer's statement concerning Poseidon, that the sea god was angry with the



**HERA, THE OX-EYED**

The large, prominent eye in this profile of Hera (on an Argive coin) is intended to realize Homer's description of her as being 'ox-eyed.'

From F. A. Gardner, 'Types of Greek Coins'

Phaeacians for their skill and devotion in saving life at sea; this is the pessimism of primitive folklore: the sea powers might delight in drowning people. But in spite of epic story and popular myth, which might represent any individual deity as vindictive and licentious, in the deeper moments of Greek religious thought already in the time of Homer the deities are regarded as beneficent and the friends of the righteous, and as being angry with those who neglect the cry of the afflicted. And the Odyssey opens

with the thought that the gods send no evil to man but only good, and that evil comes to them only through their own evil wills. The popular imagination could not consistently maintain this ideal, but it is interesting to note its proclamation here. When Plato bans the Homeric poems from his ideal republic because of their immoral stories about the gods, he forgets that his own dogma of the perfect goodness of God had already been in some measure anticipated by Homer.



**QUEEN OF THE HEAVENS**

Although Hera, except at Argos, was a domestic rather than a civic deity, her royal dignity was never forgotten; in this bowl painting at Munich, for example, she is invested with

• mantle, diadem and rod of authority  
After Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'



#### UNWORTHY COPIES OF A FAMOUS IMAGE

The ideal form of Athena accepted by all the Greeks was that which Pheidias gave her in the huge ivory and gold statue for the Parthenon. This masterpiece has long been destroyed, but some idea of it is conveyed by two crude copies surviving—that on the left is considered the more accurate

*British Museum (cast) & National Museum, Athens; photos, Mansell & Alinari*

Looking away from the literature to the actual cult, we find certain moral ideas, such as justice and mercy, reflected especially in the worship of Zeus; and the more advanced moral and legal view concerning homicide was propagated and fostered by the Apolline religion in Crete, Delphi and Athens. We may also pronounce the temple service in general to have been solemn and often beautiful. It is true that certain symbols of generation, such as the phallic emblem, appearing frequently in Greek vegetation rites, may strike the modern taste as indecent, but they need not be regarded as immoral; and they were not repugnant to the feelings of the most cultured minds in the Hellenic world. Of temple prostitution, the impure ritual found in Mesopotamian and



#### TRUE AND FALSE TESTIMONY TO THE GENIUS OF PHEIDIAS

The sublimity of Pheidias' great image of Athena may be very adequately restored in the imagination since, though neither of the statuettes which mechanically reproduce the attitude of the goddess does justice to her features, there was discovered at Athens a replica of the face in marble, so wrought as to imitate gold and ivory work (left); its nobility is essentially Pheidias. The decadent Roman 'copy' (right) with its smooth prettiness, is an attempt to improve upon the original.

*From Farnell, 'Cults of the Greek States,' and State Museum, Berlin*

Anatolian religion, there is scarcely a trace in any genuinely Hellenic sanctuary; and various legends attest the horror of the popular mind at any association of sex impurity with the sacred precincts of a temple. The Christian Fathers might revile Aphrodite as the harlot goddess; but at least in earlier Greek cult she was worshipped with austere ritual as a great goddess of the state and the family.

Doubtless the Hellenic religion fell far short of the Hebraic as a moral force constraining moral conduct; and at no period did it include the modern religious ideal of active philanthropy or service to mankind. But so long as it was alive and the Greek communities were free, it fostered the virile virtues of the citizen, patriotism, courage, the sense of duty to family, kindred and city, the duty of abiding by a sworn covenant and regard for the rights of the stranger; and it could even ameliorate the lot of the slave. It preached no ascetic self-denial, no superhuman ideals, but on the whole it inculcated that 'sôphrosyne,' or moderation, in act and emotion upon which Aristotle could base his ethics. The public ritual of the Greek states included a 'commination service,' in which certain offences against the state or the individual were denounced; but generally in the public worship there was no opportunity for preaching a higher morality. However, this gap in the religious establishment was to some extent filled by the Delphic oracle, whose influence on public morality



**ATHENA NOBLY REPRESENTED**

Though not an exact copy of the Parthenon Athena this statue of the goddess from Pergamum was obviously modelled upon it, assuredly reflecting its idealistic and serene beauty.

*Berlin State Mus.*

must not be under-estimated; for we find at least the tradition of the later period imputing to the Pythoness, the priestess who was the mouthpiece of the Delphic Apollo, many utterances that reflect the advanced ethical-philosophic thought of Greece.

But it is to the intellectual domain of art and science rather than to law and ethics that Greek religion made its most impressive contribution. The astonishing outburst of Ionic philosophy in the sixth century was indirectly indebted to the absence of any religious dogmatism or prejudice that could impede it. The Greek world had the advantage of possessing no sacred books that could impose as a duty of faith any definite belief about matters that were the proper domain of physical science or speculation. Therefore there was no inherent necessity in that society for such a conflict between religion and science as has darkened and impeded our intellectual and religious

growth. The Greek free-thinker only incurred danger if he proclaimed his disbelief in some deity's godhead: he was free, on the whole, to publish what he could discover about the origins of things and the movements of the heavenly bodies. Moreover, in the later period at least, it was often maintained that the intellectual life was divinely consecrated, as being approved by God, and especially by Apollo, the intellectual god par excellence. And Apollo, through his son Asclepius, who became the leading and most adored divinity of later Hellenic



paganism, must be credited with contributing something to the development of the medical art in Europe; for though the Asclepios temples, such as those at Epidaurus, Cos, Pergamum and Rome, which played the part of hospitals in the Graeco-Roman world, did not keep their ministrations free from the taint of magic and miracle, yet undoubtedly they admitted real surgery and the ideas of advancing medicine.

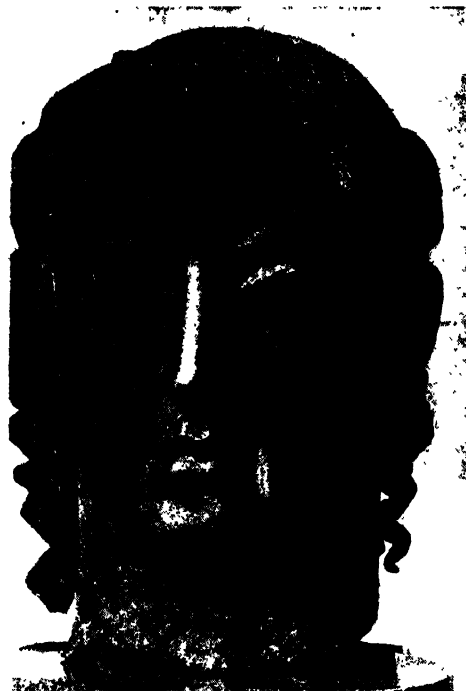
If the popular mind admitted the belief that the philosophic life was divinely sanctioned and inspired, it was the philosophers who had taught them this. On the other hand, it was from their own emotional-religious experience that the people drew the perception of the divine origin and inspiration of art and poetry. In this sphere it was the high deities, Apollo and Athena, who took the lead; but still more interesting are the divine personalities known to us as 'the Muses,' now conventional literary figments, but once real personal powers in the old polytheism, which more than aught else attest the strength in the popular mind of Hellas of the aesthetic emotion that could project upon the retina of faith such figures as these. They are almost unique in the religious history of the world.



#### GODDESS OF WISDOM AND WAR

Pheidias' conception of Athena has an interesting light thrown on it by a miniature of the Parthenon head on a gold medallion found in South Russia. Her massive and elaborate helmet is in itself a masterpiece of decorative art.

*From Farnell, 'Cults of the Greek States'.*



#### APOLLO THE BEAUTIFUL AND AUSTERE.

Patron of the arts and of medicine, Apollo was regarded as the divine poet and thinker. In the 'Chatsworth' bronze head seen above, the youthful countenance is austere moulded to show the sensitive, intellectual nature of the god.

*From Furtwängler, 'Intermetzi'.*

The mutual interaction of the art and the religion forms one of the most interesting chapters in the ampler history of Greek religion. No other polytheism has lent itself with such ready suggestion to the shaping and creative skill of the sculptor and painter; for by the sixth century, when the plastic and pictorial arts were developing power and expression, the various divine types had been mainly fixed in the popular imagination, kindled and refined as it was by the great epic and lyric poetry, with traits of such marked individuality and attractive humanity that the maturing skill of the artist could achieve an ideal embodiment that carried conviction. As regards the Olympian deities, at least, there was no vague mysticism of blurring indistinctness of outline that could baffle him or obscure his vision. Such sculptors as Pheidias, Scopas and Praxiteles, even the coin-engravers and ciseleurs, the fifth-century vase painters and the great

painters of the fourth century, could express in the divine features and forms the life-history, the ethical or emotional character of the god or the goddess, without any hieratic symbolism; and thus the natural anthropomorphism of the Greek mind engendered the most perfect religious art.

The masterpiece of the world's religious sculpture was the chryselephantine statue of the Zeus Olympius by Pheidias. It is something to be assured by the later Greek and Roman writers that its majesty and beauty were such that 'it seemed to have added something to the revealed religion'; that 'having once seen it, one could not imagine God otherwise'; that 'the sight of it was a nepenthe for personal sorrow.' But unfortunately no copy in any material with any artistic merit has come down to us. But a head from Melos in the British Museum (page 1373), whether we call it Zeus or Asclepios or

Zeus-Asclepios, gives us a most noble example of the manner in which Greek sculpture of the best period could render the countenance of the High God; 'so masterfully is the sublimity of thought and deep intelligence blent with the mild benignity of the loving and saving God.'

The ideal embodiment of Hera in the best Greek art, as the imperial goddess, the spouse of Zeus, who according to the Argive tradition yearly renewed her maidenhood, is more impressive than Homer's portrait of her. Two outstanding representations of her are here shown; the first, in page 1375, is from a bowl in the Munich collection, showing the goddess in majestic pose, wearing a golden crown, below which her yellow hair streams down in maidenly fashion, while the face is full and maternal, very calm and earnest, but not severe; the second, in page 1374, is from a scene representing the Judgement of Paris, incised on an ivory tablet once in the



• AUGUST FIGURES OF DIVINE BEINGS ON THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

Besides being associated with the arts, Apollo was the personification of many noble ideals, and was believed to inspire prophecy. He is represented in the centre of this group (the figure is sometimes unconvincingly identified as Dionysus) as young, possessed of extraordinary grace and dignity and with a countenance that expresses both poetic and intellectual power. In front of him is Aphrodite; and he is turning to speak with the bearded sea god Poseidon.

Athens, Acropolis Museum; photo, Alinari

Hermitage of St. Petersburg (Leningrad). The goddess Hera is here portrayed in forms almost as maidenly as Athena, but with fuller features; the beauty of form is blent with a queenly solemnity in the pose, and the expression in the countenance and eyes is profoundly earnest; it dates from the earlier part of the fourth century when something of the grandeur of the Pheidias style was still retained. With these masterpieces may be grouped the coin of Argos in page 1375, one of the most beautiful in the world, struck in the latter part of the fifth century; the eyes are treated so as to hint at the usual Homeric epithet, 'Hera the ox-eyed'; but what gives value to this countenance is the radiance that lightens it. Hera is not here the stern and repellent goddess of the Homeric poems, but the benign Madonna of Argos, such as she was represented by the great Argive sculptor Polycleitus, in



#### SPRING GODDESS

Kore, young and of a fresh loveliness, with delicate leaves among her hair to symbolise spring, is exquisitely depicted on this Syracusan medallion.

*Courtesy of Dr. Farnell*

his colossal masterpiece of gold and ivory, which may have inspired to some extent this coin artist.

Of Athena, the maiden goddess of war and wisdom, and the Madonna of Athens, the greatest representation in antiquity was Pheidias' masterpiece in gold and ivory, called Athena Parthenos, the temple statue of the Parthenon. Of this no complete or worthy copies have survived, but only two in-different statuettes showing the full form. But two works

(pages 1376 and 1378) have been found that convey to us some adequate impression of the countenance and head. One is a marble head of life size found in Athens, showing in the treatment of the marble the artist's desire to reproduce the effect of the ivory flesh and the gold hair; he has certainly succeeded in helping us to imagine the extraordinary inner life of the original. The same may be said of the second work, the gold medallion found



#### IDEAL BEAUTY GIVEN BY SCULPTORS TO THE GODDESS OF LOVE

Although she was regarded as personifying both spiritual and carnal love the cult of Aphrodite was on the whole austerely moral. This is illustrated by the absence of sentimentality and voluptuousness in the faces shown above. Both are of a pure beauty that suggests divinity. In the Louvre head (left) Aphrodite is represented as gravely conscious of her power; the other (in the Leconfield collection, Furtwangler) gives expression to the ideal of love without sensuality.

*The Louvre, and Furtwangler, 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture,' Bruckmann, A.G.*

in a grave of South Russia and brought to the Hermitage of St. Petersburg; the wonderful helmet of the Pheidias Parthenos with its wealth of imagery is here shown above a countenance of austere earnestness and tranquil power. The sculptor of the marble head and the ciseleur of the medallion were original Attic artists inspired by the ideal work of Pheidias.

The genius of Apollo, the intellectual god, the divine musician, the young god of purity, as he was imagined in the highest vision of Greek poetry and art, is perhaps best preserved for us by the Chatsworth bronze head and the slab of the Parthenon frieze, where he is seen in conversation with the elder god Poseidon.

As regards the ideal of Aphrodite, the Cnidian statue of Praxiteles (see page 1303), next to the Zeus Olympius the most famous statue in the ancient world, is only represented to us by copies. But there are two works that may show us what Greek religious sculpture could achieve in dealing with this type. One is the head of the goddess in the Louvre, of the Pheidias school and closely resembling the style of the Parthenon; the other the Aphrodite head belonging to the Petworth collection, once on loan in the British Museum, a masterpiece of Attic sculpture probably by the sons of Praxiteles. Both, though of different style, are of high spiritual quality, and show the character of the love goddess and the emotion of love as a divine force.

Among the world's masterpieces of religious sculpture we must rank the statue in the British Museum called the Demeter of Cnidus, a work showing the style of the Attic school in the fourth century. What the present writer has



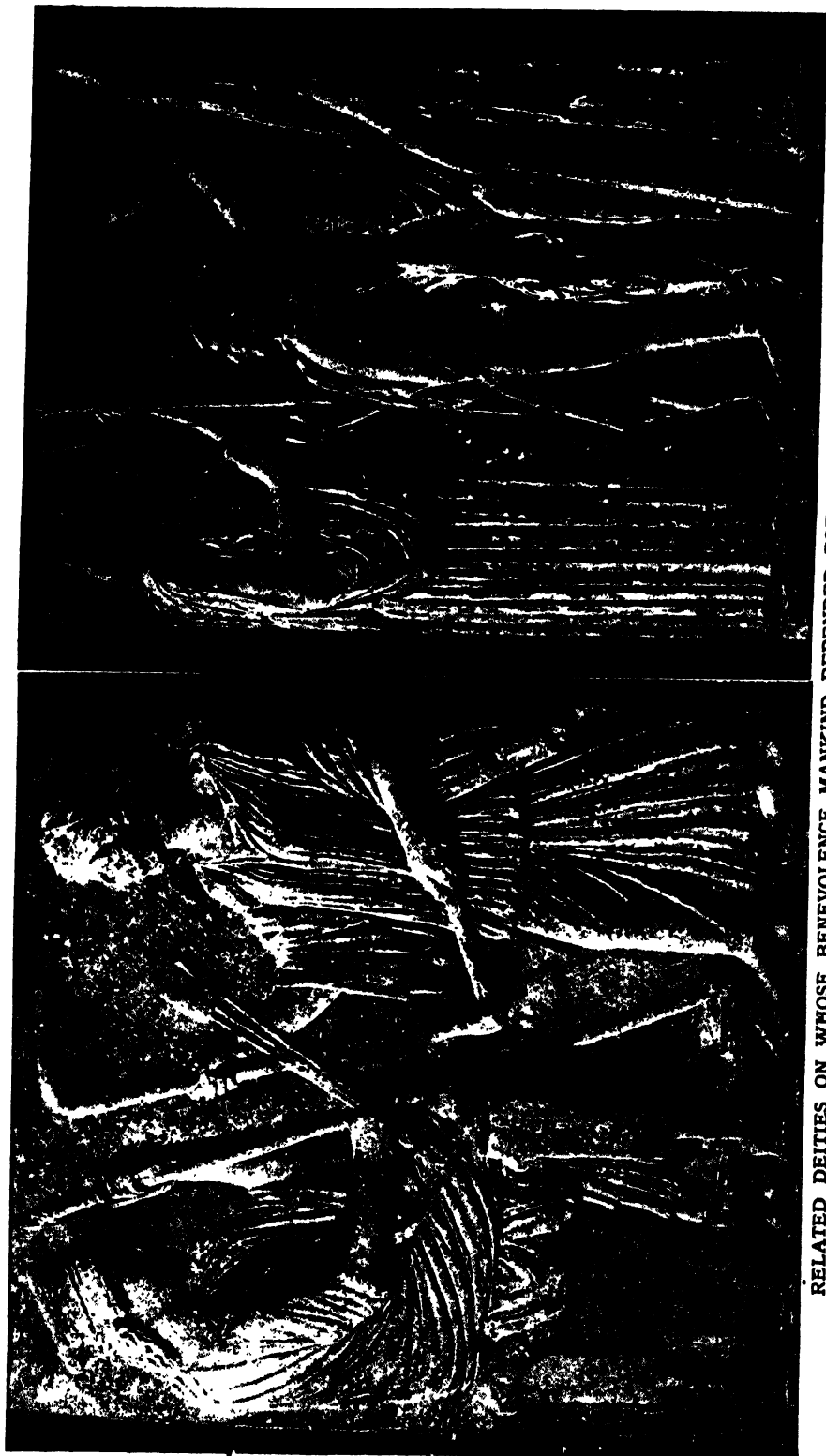
#### BENIGN CHARM OF THE EARTH GODDESS

The divine personality of Demeter, goddess of the earth and giver of fertility, was spiritualised by the Greeks, and the religion which centred in her was of widespread importance. All the stateliness, the beauty and the mystery of her cult are embodied in this fourth-century statue from Cnidus.

*British Museum : photo, Mansell*

written elsewhere concerning this monument may here be repeated :

It is in the head where the mastery lies. The character and story of Demeter are presented with a strange power of imagination in the face, where in the grace and sunny warmth of the countenance one seems to catch a glimpse of the brightness of the cornfield translated into personal forms. Yet the features bear the stamp of her life-experience, and the shadow of her sorrow is upon them like cloud blending with sunshine. To call her the Madre Dolorosa is



# RELATED DEITIES ON WHOSE BENEVOLENCE MANKIND DEPENDED FOR THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH

With Demeter was usually associated her daughter Kore, the 'Maiden,' that is Persephone. Kore was the goddess of spring, whose power was evinced on the young growing vegetation, particularly the young corn. The two goddesses were commonly worshipped together; both are depicted in each of these relief panels from Eleusis. In the older (left) Demeter is crowned and enthroned, and holding sceptre and corn-stalks, while Kore stands reverently before her, a torch in each hand. There is a close resemblance between mother and daughter in the other relief; they are represented standing with the youth Triptolemus, originally a local earth deity, but latterly worshipped in connexion with Demeter, as the divine plougher and distributor of corn.

*Eleusis Museum and National Museum, Athens; photos, Alinari*

only half the truth ; she is also the incarnation of the fruitfulness and beauty of the earth.

No less high a level of spiritual art is reached by the unknown coin artist who wrought the head of Kore, the daughter of Demeter, as the virgin goddess of spring, on a Syracusan medallion of the fifth century (page 1380) ; an exquisite piece of numismatic art, in which the loveliness of spring is blent with a touch of sorrow in the drooping corners of the mouth.

These few selected monuments of some of the leading popular divinities may suffice to indicate the contribution of Greek art to Greek religion. Working on the popular religious tradition the artist exalted it, purified and humanised it, and doubtless gave it a longer lease of life.

The facts so far presented reveal the Hellenic religion on its brighter side, the side to which the Olympian deities with their civic and social cults mainly belong : a religion helpful and stimulating to civilization, but unassociated with mysticism or with that which we call 'other-world-

liness.' This, however, is not the whole picture. There is another side which is called 'chthonian,' linked with the worship and fear of the darker powers that lurk in the world below the earth, with the Erinyes (Furies) who were evoked by the curse of the wronged and especially of the wrongfully slain, with a world of ghosts and possibly vindictive spirits that might spread 'miasma' or withering influence around the living and might engender those tremors and terrors that are the source of demonology. These must be guarded against by gloomy 'apotropaic' rites. We must take account of this 'chthonian' element in the whole, but we must not exaggerate it.

The Greek of the historic period seems to have been more afflicted with the fear of ghosts than was the Homeric Greek ; and this fear had a social value, making for the greater sanctity of human life and influencing the development of the law of homicide in the different states. Nevertheless, finding such elements in all the world-religions, if we compare the Hellene



#### WHERE THE MYSTERIES OF THE DEMETER CULT WERE CELEBRATED

At Eleusis, the principal sanctuary consecrated to Demeter and Kore, the goddesses were worshipped with symbolic rites known as the Eleusinian mysteries. These seem to have been of a mystical and exalted nature, making a strong appeal to the imagination even of highly cultured men. Above we see the foundations and broken column-bases of the temple of the Eleusinian mysteries, and behind them, the grotto of Hades, husband of Persephone and god of the underworld.

*Photo, Alinari*

before the period of his decadence with the other peoples of the advanced polytheisms, the Indian, the Mesopotamian, the Egyptian, we shall regard his temperamental and normal attitude to these matters as comparatively sane and well-balanced. Fears of the ghost-world, and an atmosphere permeated with evil influences have engendered for certain races, especially in Mesopotamia and Persia, a cathartic code, a ritual of purification for fending off the phantoms of impurity, that burdens the life of the individual and stifles progress; but their cathartic system sat lightly on the Hellenes and was no hindrance to their civilization. Again, the belief in evil spectres or demons, if brooded over to excess, can develop a sombre and oppressive demonology dangerous to the human soul. But Greek demonology was never a serious matter, and could not evolve such impressive powers of evil as Satan or Ahriman or a dangerously serious Hell; nor was the highest Greek philosophy or ethical-religious speculation deeply preoccupied with the problem of evil.

There was a factor in their religion that helped them in this matter. The darkest creations of the popular mind that make for demonology are associated with the world below the earth. In the religious imagination of the Greek this world was mainly dominated by the earth mother, Ge or Gaia, with or without a male partner. Her realm, though it might harbour goblin forms of terror, was also the creative source of fertility and verdure; and laying stress rather on this aspect of it, the Greek mind could refine the personality of the earth mother until she was worshipped under scarcely any other character than as the parent of all fruits and blossoms and the kindly fosterer of children. The greatest achievement in this humanising process was that which led in an early period to the emanation from Ge of such benign and radiant forms

as Demeter and Kore, who owing to their earthly origin are also the guardians of the world of souls.

The beliefs concerning the nether world and the fate of the soul after death are essentially linked with the question of the Greek mysteries and the diffusion of the Dionysiac cult; and the consideration of these is vital for the student of Greek religion from the seventh century onward. The Greek mystery, which might be organized either by a private family or clan or by the state, differed from the ordinary public cult primarily in its secrecy: that is to say, only the initiated and those prepared for initiation could be admitted; and the preparation included special purification and sometimes the application of certain tests. We can understand the reason for this when we observe that virtually all the mystery services in Greece were attached to chthonian powers, with whom the initiate desired to enter into special communion; also his full consummation was the vision of certain holy things or sacred objects, the sight of which brought him into privileged 'rapport' or divine communion with these powers. There was therefore a double danger; for the atmosphere within the holy precincts was 'chthonian' and therefore



**DIVINE MAIDENS OF THE SEA**

Typical of the very many minor deities acknowledged by the Greeks were the fifty Nereids. They were idealised as lovely sea nymphs of the Mediterranean—a poetic conception realized in these statues from Xanthus, in which they are represented

• with flowing garments symbolic of the waves.

• British Museum; photos, R. B. Fleming



#### DANCE OF RELIGIOUS ECSTASY

The worship of Dionysus induced wild frenzy in his devoted followers, the Maenads. One of them is depicted in this relief, whirling in a mad dance, a fragment torn from a living animal in her hand.

*British Museum*

ghostly, and such close contact with such powers was in itself perilous; and the catechumen needed special safeguards against influences that might blast the casual and unprepared intruder.

The mysteries of greatest prestige were those of Eleusis; in origin, perhaps, merely agrarian, they had acquired an eschatological value, offering posthumous happiness to the initiated, before 600 B.C., by which time it seems that the whole Hellenic world was invited to share in them. The influence that they exercised on the religious imagination of the Hellenic world was very great and remained strong till the end of paganism. The secret of this influence was not—as has been supposed—a sacrament, though some simple

form of sacrament was among the external preliminaries, but the revelation of certain objects of thrilling sanctity and the spectacle of a solemn and moving drama or passion play that included the story of the maiden earth daughter, Kore, the sorrow and search of Demeter, the reconciliation, a Holy Marriage and probably a Holy Birth; those who were privileged to see these things felt themselves to have entered into close personal intercourse with the powers of the shadowy world and therefore might expect blessing and favour at their hands when their departed souls entered the underworld. There is no proof of any teaching at Eleusis of a higher theology or morality; but the influence of these mysteries on the moral life was probably good.

The Eleusinian mysteries, for all that we know, were a purely Hellenic growth. On the other hand, the Orphic mysteries, which were of equal importance, though always belonging to private rather than the public religion, were of alien origin. They were associated with Dionysus, the wild and orgiastic god of Thrace who was making his way into Greece already in the tenth century. His cult with its nature magic, its ecstasy of self-abandonment



#### ORGIASTIC GOD OF NATURE

An inspiring and essentially mystical religion, though degraded by magical elements, centred in Dionysus. His spiritual nature is suggested by this imposing head, presumably a copy of a Greek original, discovered in a Roman villa.

*Courtesy of Prof. Federico Halbherr*



its proffer of divine communion, contrasted strangely with the sober and civic religion of Greece. Yet by the seventh century it had been admitted by the latter, disciplined and half-tamed. From its civic side it bequeathed to Europe the priceless gift of the art of tragedy. But its mystic and enthusiastic character, which might have been submerged in the atmosphere of the Greek 'polis,' was maintained and developed by the Orphic sectaries, who, claiming Orpheus as their apostle—he was probably a real religious founder—were winning a strong position in Greece in the sixth century and retained much influence until the last days of paganism. The religion and the theology that they preached contained many interesting and pregnant ideas, of which they may have found the germ in the old Thracian cult of Dionysus: the death and resurrection of the god; the divine origin of the human soul; its transmigration through a series of re-births in this world and the next; the belief in eternal happiness and eternal damnation combined with an idea of purgatory; and the power of the human soul to attain through purification and sacrament to complete union with God.

It laid all its stress on 'other-worldliness,' and was the first propagandist religion recorded in Europe; for its appeal ignored the barriers of city, caste, family or sex.

The later centuries of paganism are marked off from the earlier by the decay of the old civic and political religion, and by the growth of these private religious societies, called 'thiasoi,' into which a private individual could voluntarily seek admission and which held the members in fellowship by a common meal and by their pledged devotion to a special divinity of their own selection, to whom they stood in a privileged relation. And if this divinity were a power of the nether world, such a position brought with it the surety of posthumous happiness. For the later Greek was becoming more anxious about the salvation of his soul; and all the popular mysteries had come to concern themselves with this. Also, through the popularity in the later period of the cult of Asclepius, he was becoming habituated to the concept of the Man-god, who suffered and was glorified after death. And in these phenomena we see the foreshadowing of the new religion that was soon to triumph.



ECSTATIC WORSHIPPERS GATHERED ABOUT THE IMAGE OF THEIR GOD.

In one of his aspects Dionysus was revered as a vegetation god, and ceremonies in his honour took place before a tree stump upon which were hung a mask and draperies to represent the divine person. The ritual performed by Maenads before an image so constructed is illustrated in this Attic painting. Two of the devotees engage in frantic dance; another thumps a tambourine; while a fourth ladles wine—inevitable in the cult of Dionysus—from a bowl on the altar.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A.G.

# THE SPARTAN AND ATHENIAN EMPIRES

How the two chief Political Expansions from the Greek City State developed and why they failed

By W. R. HALLIDAY

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THE topic of this 'study' is in a sense the history of the failure of the Greeks to adapt their political ideals to the needs of a political unit upon a larger scale than the city state. Assyrians and Persians had been successful in creating organized empires covering a wide area, which were administered by a single authority vested in an individual autocrat. An elaborate and highly centralised machinery of administration made it possible to hold and to govern with considerable efficiency what military superiority had won, and the single ruler of a conquering people was able to impose his will upon a motley collection of alien races. But the Greeks, as will have become apparent in Chapter 36, approached the problem of creating a state upon a scale sufficiently large to be effective in world politics from a different starting point.

I do not mean to suggest that the Greeks themselves consciously envisaged the problem in this way ; for they did not. But the historian, surveying the development of European civilization from the vantage point of a distance of many centuries, can see that this was in fact the problem which circumstances forced upon them in the fifth century B.C. If Hellenism was to hold its own, it needed to find expression in some political form more considerable and materially effective than the very small city state. Thus the Persian War, while its result vindicated the political ideals of the city state, virtually condemned that type of polity as a practical and permanent form of their expression.

Defence against invasion had already necessitated a combination of cities in a

temporary political union, and the maintenance of the liberty thus secured necessarily involved the formation of an association of a yet closer kind, the Athenian Empire. It was indeed because they did not appreciate this broad aspect of the problem that the Greeks failed, and Hellenism was, in fact, secured as the permanent force directing the development of European civilization first by Alexander and his successors, and then by Rome. For Macedonians and Romans assimilated Greek culture, and succeeded where the Greeks had failed, in finding expression for it in political units which were organized upon a scale large enough to be practically effective.

The Greeks, we have said, approached the problem from a different starting point from that of the oriental monarchies. There you had a military race led by ambitious and powerful monarchs who possessed supreme authority among their own people, and were eager for the glory and profits of extending their sway by conquest. The chief problems of the Eastern empires were concerned with the conquest and government of alien races. Here, in the Greek world, the operations had always been upon a small scale and carried out by independent bodies of inconsiderable size. This is true even of the period of the migrations, for the invasions of the Balkan peninsula were essentially tribal in character.

When the movement spread overseas it was a case of individual bands of adventurers making local conquests. Neither their strength nor their ambition went farther than this. The Greek world

then settled down to the development of a single distinguishable civilization, it is true, but one which was divided up among, though it was equally shared by, a number of small political units which were fiercely independent of each other. In consequence, when overpopulation in the Greek cities caused the fresh expansion of the Greek people, which we know as the colonisation movement of the eighth and seventh centuries, that expansion was not controlled nor directed from a single political centre, and

**Diversity of  
the Greek World**

still less was it the expression of a national ambition to inherit the earth, or of an individual desire for glory or power or 'pleonexia,' 'the having more than it is right for you to have,' which the Greek critics of oriental despots considered to be the object of imperial ambition. It was rather a number of separate movements, simultaneously brought about by conditions which were common to them all, from a number of politically independent states.

Again, the reason why the Greeks were eventually forced willy-nilly to attempt some kind of larger political association was, as we have suggested, to secure the position of Hellenism in a world of international conflict. The problems of Greek imperialism will, therefore, be different from those of the Oriental empires also in this. The real difficulties of the Greeks will lie, not in connexion with the government of aliens, but in the subordination of Greeks to Greeks.

The colonisation movement of the eighth and seventh centuries was primarily due to overpopulation in the mother states, while contributing factors were the social and political fever of the time. The development of maritime commerce and colonial expansion naturally supplied a reciprocal stimulus to each other, and it is possible to distinguish a primary and a secondary phase of Greek colonisation. In the earlier stages land hunger was the chief motive force, and, in consequence, the sites were chosen mainly for their agricultural possibilities; in the later stages the preference was given to sites of commercial value, and there was a rivalry among colonising states

to plant settlements upon the main routes of Greek trade.

But throughout the period of colonisation the character of the Greek colony remained the same. It differed from the settlements of the migration period, for the colonists formed a body which was definitely organized by the mother state and was sent out to found a new town upon some definite chosen site. It differed profoundly, of course, from the Roman 'colonia,' which may not inaccurately be described as an hereditary garrison of Roman citizens planted at some point of essential strategic importance upon the main lines of communication. The nearest Greek equivalent to the Roman colony was the Periclean 'cleruchy,' of which we must say something later in connexion with Athenian imperialism. The Greek colony, again, was unlike the British colony, in which pioneers set up the flag of their country in a new land, owned allegiance to the Crown and accepted governors sent out from the motherland. For the normal Greek colony was politically completely independent of the mother state.

The regular procedure, when a colony was founded, was to ask the blessing of the god at Delphi upon the undertaking. In practice, no doubt, the sanction of Apollo had a real and definite value. The oracle was the central shrine of pilgrimage in the Greek world; and foreign potentates, like the kings of Lydia or Egypt, found that the cultivation of friendly relations with Delphi was the best way of keeping in touch with Greek politics. As more and more colonies were planted under his auspices, Apollo, or rather his priests, increased their political and geographical knowledge of the Mediterranean world. In consequence, Delphi was actually the place where the best information, both in quantity and quality, was at the disposal of intending colonists.

The mother state then appointed a leader ('oecist') for the colonising expedition to regulate the affairs of the new community. With him he took fire from the public hearth of the mother city, from which to kindle that of the colony. At the chosen site a Greek town was laid out,

usually on a square ground plan with streets crossing at right angles to each other, and the arable land was divided into lots among the colonists, after certain estates had been set aside for the endowment of the gods. The colony remained bound by a strong sentimental tie to the mother city, and it was normal to give expression to this by sending deputations with prescribed offerings to attend certain public festivals and sacrifices of the mother state.

Again, if a prosperous colony in turn sent out a colony of her own, it was usual to send to the mother state for the oecist of the new settlement. Very close ties, then, were realized to exist between states which were linked in the relationship of mother and daughter, ties which would justify mutual support against outsiders if need arose. But normally these ties were sentimental only, and the mother state claimed no power to dictate or control the government of her colony. The colony was an independent political unit, completely free to govern itself and to manage its own affairs, and bound to the mother state only by feelings of loyalty, not by any political or legal obligation.

The one considerable exception to this loyal but independent relationship seems to have been provided by Corinth and some of her colonies. It appears that the Corinthian tyrants Cypselus and Periander attempted to develop something not unlike what we should call a colonial empire, by founding a series of colonies along the western trade route from Greece to Italy, and by appointing members of the royal family to rule them. The policy did not effectively survive the tyranny, nor was it a success.

Periander's attempt directly to control Corcyra merely embittered the relations between this important colony and Corinth, and Corcyra was henceforward not merely independent but actively hostile to her mother state, and thus remarkable among Greek colonies. In some instances, however, Corinth continued to exercise a degree of political control over her colonies, which, again, was remarkable in the Greek world. We find, for example, that two civil magistrates were yearly sent out

by Corinth to Potidaea, which in 432 B.C. was in the equivocal position of being at once a colony of Corinth and a member of the Athenian Empire.

But we must not make too much of these exceptions. The normal custom was for the Greek colony to recognize very real sentimental ties with the mother state, but at the same time to claim complete autonomy and freedom from political interference. The colonisation movement, therefore, multiplied the number of Greek states and spread Hellenism over a wide area, but it did not create a Greek empire nor lead to a larger form of Greek state than the city.

We must now turn our attention to a form, not indeed of empire, but of a looser political association which throughout the fifth century was to play a very important part in Greece. Dorian Sparta, which had been planted in the fertile plain of Laconia, had been forced by circumstances to develop a peculiar and very specialised form of state. The Dorians, here as elsewhere, had reduced some of the native population to the condition of serfs. But whereas in Argos, Corinth, Sicyon and the other Dorian states of the Peloponnese the agricultural serfs eventually achieved political rights and were incorporated in an additional non-Dorian tribe, in Sparta the 'helots,' as they were called, remained the slaves of rulers who were numerically inferior to them in strength.

**The Peloponnesian League**

The economic pressure which other states had met by commercial and colonial expansion, Sparta relieved by conquest. In the eighth century the Spartans crossed the mountain range of Taygetus and conquered the fruitful plain of Messenia. The inhabitants were reduced to serfdom and forced to till the new land lots thus acquired, nor were they successful in a desperate attempt which they made in the seventh century to throw off the Spartan yoke. But Sparta's subsequent efforts to expand in other directions were checked, in the eastern Peloponnese by Argos and in Arcadia by Tegea. Her lack of success led in the earlier half of the sixth century to a far-reaching, reactionary reorganization of society and the state.

Henceforward Spartan institutions sacrificed all other considerations, artistic, intellectual and commercial, to one sole end, the creation of an efficient army. The citizen body became a small military caste ruling by force a numerically superior and discontented subject population. Unlike other city states Sparta possessed no walls. She trusted in her army, upon which her continued existence absolutely depended, as much because of the perpetual menace of her internal foe as because of danger from any external enemy.

The Spartan boy was early taken from his home and was brought up in a company or 'herd' of other boys. His training

**Peculiarities of Spartan Life** was devoted to the development of physical endurance and the martial virtues, and he learned first to obey orders and later some of the responsibilities of command. When he became a man, his time was occupied with soldiering. His inalienable holding of land was worked for him by helots who were provided for that purpose by the state and were forced to contribute a fixed amount of produce for his subsistence. He himself lived with his fellows in a military mess. The Spartan citizens were thus in effect an army of professional soldiers. The possession and use of money was forbidden them, and they were kept clear, so far as possible, of foreign contacts, strangers being discouraged from visiting Sparta and prohibited from settling there.

These reactionary changes produced immediately the effect desired. The Spartan citizen army—a professional army where the field forces of other states were mere militia—was strong enough to maintain a dominant position over the subject population. It was also the most formidable fighting force in Greece, and no other single state could hope to defeat Sparta in fair combat in the open field. Upon the unusual excellence of her army and upon its reputation of invincibility Sparta's dominant position in the Greek world rested.

The new Sparta no longer attempted to extend her territory by conquest and annexation. Indeed that might have dangerously dispersed her strength. But

she did not therefore abjure political ambitions. At the end of the sixth century the tyrannies of the northern Peloponnesians were tending towards disintegration. Sparta assisted in 'liberating' cities from tyrants, taking care to entrust the government of liberated states in each case to the conservative element, which would be in sympathy with conservative Sparta, and would be conscious that, in the last resort, it was dependent upon Spartan support against its local political rivals. In this way Sparta secured a directing influence over the more important states of the Peloponnesians with the notable exception of Argos, which remained independent, jealous and hostile.

By the end of the sixth century we find the Peloponnesian League in existence. Its success was due to the looseness of its organization. It included practically all the Peloponnesian states except Argos and those of Achaea, and beyond the Isthmus of Corinth Megara and Boeotia were also members. At one time Sparta had hoped to have added Athens as well, but that plan had been shattered in 506 B.C. by Athenian obstinacy, internal political rivalries in Sparta herself and the reluctance of Corinth to assist Sparta to become too powerful in central Greece.

Politically the Peloponnesian League was a loose federation, the individual members of which enjoyed complete autonomy as regards their internal affairs. Actually their autonomy was so far limited that Sparta in practice took care that oligarchies, favourably disposed towards herself, were kept in power in the various states. It would seem, further, that Sparta could intervene to suppress quarrels between members of the League. But its importance in the sphere of Greek politics lay in the provision made for joint military action; for there was no military land force in Greece, before the rise of Macedon, that was at all comparable in strength to the army of the Peloponnesian League.

If the procedure which was followed at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War was normal, as we have no reason to doubt, the League might be set in motion upon the initiative of any member. But

if the moving party were not Sparta, Sparta must first be convinced. If the Spartan Assembly approved the *prima facie* case for military action by the League, a congress of representatives of the constituent members was then summoned. The case was put before the Congress by Sparta, not by the original complainant; each member of the League had one vote.

If the Congress determined that action was to be taken and war declared, Sparta then took full control of the military operations. She was entitled to demand contingents of troops and supplies from all the members of the League, the former to a maximum, in each case, of two-thirds of the state's total fighting strength.

These allied forces were commanded by Spartan officers and the higher command and the direction of the campaign was entirely in Spartan hands.

The very loose political organization of the League made for its permanence, inasmuch as the Greek passion for political independence was not violated by a system under which the individual members retained their sovereign rights. As a military engine its power was unrivalled. In setting this engine in motion, Sparta had a degree of control which was denied to other members, for we have seen that the Congress could only be summoned if Sparta approved; and the motion was put to it by Sparta. If action were decided upon, Sparta had complete control in



#### RIVAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT SPLIT THE GREEK WORLD

Between the Persian War and the fall of Athens politics on the mainland of Greece were so complicated that only the permanent members of the Peloponnesian League are here shown; the allies of Athens, as distinct from the maritime states of the Delian Confederation, being omitted. In general, the western islands of Corcyra, Cephallenia and Zacynthus and the mainland states of Locris Ozolis, Acarnania and Thessaly were sympathetic to Athens; Plataea was a faithful ally throughout; and at one period Argos was in alliance and Boeotia was forced into the Confederation.

giving military effect to the policy of the League. It is not difficult to understand that before the emergence of a rival association of maritime states, the Athenian Empire, the existence of this formidable military weapon gave Sparta a unique authority among the states of Greece.

Athens had entered for the first time into the front rank of Greek states under Peisistratus. The foreign and colonial policy of that shrewd tyrant, indeed, anticipates the main lines of the foreign policy of Athens after the Persian War. In Greece, a close friendship with Thessaly and Argos; abroad, the advancement of the claims of Attica as being the mother-land of the Ionians, in order

**Athens enters Greek politics** to support pretensions to control the Cyclades; the establishment of Athenian strongholds on the Dardanelles in order thereby to control the trade route by which the Russian corn came to Greece; an exploitation of the natural resources of the Strymon region; all these are to be found again in Athenian imperial policy a century later. But the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, the rebellion and reduction of Ionia by the Persians and the subsequent invasions of Greece by Persia interrupted any continuous development along these lines.

Meantime, between the Marathon expedition and the invasion of Xerxes ten years later, the far-sighted statesmanship of Themistocles had trebled the size of the Athenian navy. Although the claim of Sparta to command the patriot forces was undisputed, the battle of Salamis demonstrated the importance of sea power, and in the fleet the Athenian, not the Spartan, contingent was the largest and most efficient. While the battle of Plataea in 479 was completing the work of Salamis in European Greece, the patriot fleet, in response to an invitation by the island Greeks, crossed the Aegean. The moral of the Persian navy had been destroyed at Salamis. Their fleet refused battle, and was ignominiously beached under the shelter of a land army at Mycale. But the Greeks pursued, landed and successfully stormed the Persian camp.

The Persians had been defeated, but there was still work for the victors to do.

They decided to combine with the island states of the Asia Minor coast to liberate the other Asiatic Greeks. So after Mycale the fleet sailed to the Dardanelles and laid siege to Sestos. Now the Spartans, whose military strength and political ambitions were centred in mainland Greece, had little interest or enthusiasm for pursuing adventures across the sea. In consequence, the Spartan contingent sailed home, but the Athenians, late though the season was, remained with their Ionian allies and pressed the siege to its successful conclusion (see Chronicle V).

This was in effect a psychological turning point. In the following year Sparta sent out her king to take command of the patriot forces which were still operating in the Hellespont, but the overbearing character of Pausanias, whose head had been turned by his victory at Plataea, accentuated the friction between Sparta and the Asiatic Greeks and played straight into the hands of the more diplomatic Athenian admirals. In 477, when a successor to Pausanias was sent out by Sparta, the allies refused to accept his authority and a definite federation was formed between the Athenians and the Asiatic Greeks, of which Sparta was not invited to become a member.

The object of the Delian Confederation—as it was called, because the shrine of Apollo at Delos, a very old cult-centre of the Ionians, was selected as its head-quarters—was to complete the war with Persia, by driving the Persian from those strongholds which he still possessed on the shores of the Aegean, and to provide the sole possible guarantee for the political independence of the Greek states of the Anatolian seaboard, which was the undisputed control of the sea behind them by a Greek fleet. To achieve this object there were two necessary requirements, ships and money; and some arrangements had necessarily to be made for their provision.

Now, one result of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Ionians, twenty years before, had been the destruction of the naval power of the Asiatic states. Many were in no position to supply naval contingents. It was clearly an equitable

arrangement that those members who benefited by the activities of the Confederation, but were unable to supply ships, should contribute money instead. From the first, therefore, there were two classes of members, those who contributed contingents and those who contributed money. As time went on the tendency was for members of the first class to pass into the second, until only two or three members were left who continued to supply ships.

It was found to be less troublesome to pay over a sum of money than to equip and man a naval contingent, and, of course, a homogeneous fleet was in practice a more efficient instrument than one which was made up of numerous small squadrons each provided by a different source. But the political result of the process of leaving Athens to supply the fleet for which the contributions of the other members paid, was to give Athens complete control of the fighting force of the Confederation. Although at first she had merely directed, she soon came to command, and what had been voluntary contributions to the common fund of a free association came to be regarded as tribute paid to Athens. Controlling the fleet Athens was completely mistress of the situation and able easily to reduce recalcitrant members, who singly were no match for the resources of the navy that was financed by the Confederation.

At the outset the naval forces of the Confederation were used for their ostensible purpose, the eviction of Persia from the Aegean seaboard. The conquest of Scyros, an island nest of pirates, in 473 and the compelling of Carystus in the same year to enter the Confederation could be justified as being in the common interests of a league of commercial maritime states. But in 469, when Naxos wished to retire from the Confederation, Athens at once took military action. Naxos was reduced; her ships were taken from her; she was assessed for tribute; a war indemnity was exacted; and five hundred Athenian settlers, 'cleruchs,' as they were called, were planted in the island. A similar fate befell Thasos, which attempted to leave the Confederation in 465.

These significant events betrayed the fact that the Confederation had ceased to be a purely voluntary association. In 454 the failure of an expedition to Egypt (see page 1232), in which the Athenian fleet was destroyed, was made the reasonable excuse for transferring the chest of the Confederation from Delos to Athens, on the ground that Delos was no longer secure from Persia. Henceforward the chest, which was administered by a board of ten Athenian officials called Hellenotamiae, remained at Athens.

The process by which the Confederation became virtually an Empire was gradual and, in the circumstances, was almost inevitable. How completely the position did in fact change is shown even in official phraseology. In inscriptions belonging to the earlier days of the Confederation there are references to 'Athens and her allies'; in the period immediately preceding the Peloponnesian War the references are to the 'subject cities' or, euphemistically, 'the cities,' the epithet being understood though not expressed.

We have seen how the control of the fleet inevitably gave Athens a power which was greater than that of a leading member in an equal federation. Other circumstances also helped to exalt Athens at the expense of those who had originally been her allies. From the first the Confederation had had a commercial aspect. It included most of the states which had been prominent in maritime commerce. Of the important exceptions, Corinth was mainly interested in the western trade route to Italy; and, as for Aegina, Athens made use of the unrivalled navy with which the Confederation provided her to eliminate completely (in 457) this dangerous island-enemy, whose outline looks like a barrier on the horizon from the Piraeus.

As a great commercial combination the Confederation performed a useful task in the suppression of piracy, and under the Athenian Empire the eastern Mediterranean enjoyed one of its brief spells of safe commercial intercourse. To the commercial aspect of the Confederation, again, appeal might be made to justify the force used in order to compel maritime states



to join. Thus Carystus in Euboea was incorporated by force, and the fifth-century critic of Athenian democracy, whose tract has come down to us among the works of Xenophon, tells us that economic pressure was applied to many of the smaller maritime states.

For a commercial federation there were obvious advantages in the adoption of a common currency. The excellent quality of the silver of Laurium, and the fact that the 'owls,' which

**Advantages of Common Currency** Athens struck from it (see illustration in page 1562), were actually worth their face value as bullion, made Athenian money more generally acceptable than that of the other members of the Confederation. From the first this advantage was pressed by Athens, and local minting was discouraged. In the middle of the fifth century she became sufficiently powerful to take the further step and to suppress the local currencies. Athenian weights and measures also came to be adopted with Athenian coinage throughout the Empire.

In the matter of jurisdiction, too, there was a tendency towards unification which was all to the advantage of Athens. She was fortunate in possessing the Solonian code, which was rightly regarded as the best civic code in Greece. The necessary provision for the regulation of the methods for settling commercial disputes was made in a series of agreements drawn up at different times between Athens and individual members of the Confederation. The content of these agreements varied according to the particular circumstances of each case and the date at which the agreement was drawn up. But as early as 466 the agreement with Chios, one of the most powerful and independent of the subordinate states, lays down the principle that all cases arising out of business contracts which had been made at Athens must be tried before the Athenian courts; and the tendency, as time went on, was to insist on the reference to the Athenian courts of an increasing number of commercial disputes. In some cases no actions involving more than a very small sum of money could be settled in the court of the allies, and practically, to the great indignation of her

subjects, Athens came to monopolise the exercise of civil jurisdiction.

Even in criminal jurisdiction Athens similarly encroached upon the sovereign rights of the subordinate states. Thus in 446 an Athenian decree allowed the people of Chalcis to hear in their own courts cases arising from such criminal offences as did not involve sentences of exile, death or loss of civic rights; all these 'capital' cases must come before the Athenian courts. Eventually, according to the Athenian orator Antiphon, no one could be put to death in a subject state without the assent of Athens.

Just as the Spartans had maintained oligarchies sympathetic to their own form of government in the states which were members of the Peloponnesian League, so Athens supported the democratic parties in her subject states. The artificial maintenance of the democrats in power in many communities bred an intense sense of injustice. Nor, if opportunity offered, did Athens hesitate to impose the government which she desired.

Thus in 455 there had been political disturbances at Erythrae. Athens assisted the democrats to expel the oligarchs, garrisoned the city with Athenian troops, and sent Athenian civil commissioners ('episcopi') to regulate affairs and to impose a new constitution. The immediate election of the democratic Council, which was to take control, was to be carried out by the commissioners and the Athenian commander of the garrison, for the future by the retiring Council and the Athenian commander of the garrison. The garrison, therefore, was permanent. Further, an oath was to be taken by the Council that no constitutional change would be attempted unless sanctioned by Athens.

We have seen that if a member of the Federation attempted to withdraw, it was treated as a rebel, was reduced by force and was punished. A usual sequel was the establishment of a cleruchy of Athenian citizens in its territory. The word 'cleruch' means the holder of a land lot. Land was confiscated in the territory of the state in question and was divided up into holdings, which were then allotted to

Athenians. There is evidence that these cleruchs did not work the holdings, which were farmed for them by natives.

They were, in fact, a body of Athenians resident in the subject state to secure Athenian control over it—almost an Athenian garrison. Athenian cleruchs remained citizens of Athens, and as such they did not, of course, pay tribute; they fought in the Athenian army in their own contingents, but the names of them dead were recorded upon the monuments of their Athenian tribe. The policy of planting cleruchies was greatly developed after 454. It served two useful ends from Pericles' point of view. On the one hand, it strengthened the hold of Athens on her Empire; on the other, it provided relief for the poorer Athenian citizens.

There remains the question of tribute. When the Delian Confederation was first formed, an estimate of the round sum necessary for the effective realization of its purposes had obviously to be made. It was calculated by Aristides at a figure which the allies then recognized to be a fair assessment of the needs of the moment, for it is almost certain that it was because of their satisfaction that Aristides was given his nickname of 'the Just.' The contribution, 460 talents per annum, was very considerably less than what the contracting states had annually paid away as tribute to Persia. Athens was content with this round total, and the inscriptions show that it was only once exceeded, in that financial period immediately after the Egyptian disaster in 454 B.C., when the naval loss incurred by

**Assessment of Aristides** Athens created a special need, and the sum demanded was temporarily raised to 495 talents 2,270 drachmae. For all other financial periods of which we have record, up to 425 B.C., the total is under the figure assessed by Aristides. Further, we may notice that though the total contributions remained below a constant limit the size of the Empire increased; the burden upon individual states consequently tended to diminish.

The incidence of the total assessment upon individual states was readjusted every four years. The method of making the assessment was not rigidly uniform.

As a rule, it was made upon a local survey checked by Athenian officials called 'tactae,' who were appointed for the purpose; but sometimes states seem to have been allowed to assess themselves. In any case, these estimates had to be confirmed by the Athenian Council (Boule), which, in a legal sense, made the assessment. A state which considered itself to be unfairly assessed had further the right of appeal to the Athenian courts.

When the amount of its quota was settled each state raised the money in the manner convenient to it, and paid it in to the Hellenotamiae at Athens at the festival of the Great Dionysia in April. The Hellenotamiae had to record the accounts in writing, and they were afterwards checked by the official state auditors, the thirty Logistae. A sixtieth part was then paid into the treasury of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens (it is from the official accounts of this transaction which were inscribed upon stone that we derive our knowledge of the Tribute Lists), and the rest was administered by the Hellenotamiae. Arrears from defaulting states were collected by Athenian officials called Eclogeis, and this necessary provision, according to Thucydides, caused a good deal of friction among the allies.

As the Confederation became more definitely an Empire and the voluntary financial contributions became more openly tribute, an increasing elaboration is noticeable in the official records. Finally in 443 the contributory states were grouped in five geographical districts for the purposes of assessment—Ionia, the Islands, the Hellespont, Thrace and Caria. In 440, however, the revolt of Samos seriously shook the Empire; and, though it was suppressed, Athens permanently lost many of her subject states. The Carian district disappears from the lists, and the cities in this area that still remained in the Empire were henceforward included for purposes of tribute in the Ionian district.

Before leaving the subject of the tribute there are two matters about which it is well to be clear. Two statements are still frequently repeated which the actual official accounts provided by the inscriptions show to be untrue. The first is that

part of the tribute was used to pay for the Parthenon and the other great buildings of Periclean Athens. We have now a great many inscriptions recording the accounts of expenditure on the great buildings and the sources from which the necessary money was drawn. These make it quite clear that the building programme was not mainly financed from the tribute but from Athens' surplus wealth.

The direct contributions from the fund administered by the Hellenotamiae to other than imperial purposes, beyond the small charge on the fund

**Maladministration** of three-fifths per cent.  
**now disproved** which was regularly paid to the goddess, that is to say to the Athenian state treasury, were quite negligible. At the same time, of course, the contention is so far true in that the Empire indirectly financed the Athenian democracy, since it made it unnecessary for the Athenians themselves to bear that burden of taxation for the provision of armaments which democracies so fiercely resent. Hence the Athenian democracy, unlike others, was ardently imperialistic. Had there been no tribute, there would not have been the same surplus available for other expenditure.

The second misrepresentation is the statement, which is sometimes made, that Athens continuously raised the amount of the tribute. This we have already seen to be untrue, since the total figure remained, except during a single financial period, below the original assessment of Aristides. But again some qualification may be permitted. The tribute did not represent the total financial profits, indirect and direct, which the Empire brought to Athenians and to Athens.

For individual Athenians, as the Pseudo-Xenophon remarks, the Empire created automatically a number of paid official posts. The concentration of the jurisdiction of the Empire in the Athenian courts made work for Athenian jurymen and brought money to Athens, thus benefiting indirectly a large number of citizens of all classes from boarding-house keepers upwards. Again, the financial policy of the democrats in Athens of exacting where possible heavy fines from their rich political opponents, by means of verdicts

which were not always scrupulously impartial, was applied to the wealthy and conservative in the subject states, with profit to the Athenian treasury.

But apart from these indirect benefits Athens derived other revenues from the Empire besides the tribute. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War Thucydides estimates the tribute at 600 talents. The actual tribute in the strict sense, as we have seen, was less than 460 talents. Thucydides is probably speaking loosely of the total revenue derived by Athens from the Empire. We do not know in detail whence the surplus represented by the difference between these sums came, but a large part of it was probably drawn from imposts upon commerce, tolls and duties of various kinds, which were exacted by Athens. For the Confederation in becoming an Empire had not lost its character of a commercial combination. The effective Athenian answer to Peloponnesian intervention at Potidaea was the Megarian Decree (see page 1239), which immediately precipitated the Peloponnesian War. This excluded Megarian goods (and Megara was economically dependent upon the export of her salt and her manufactured woollen cloaks) from all markets within the Athenian Empire.

In 432 broke out the Peloponnesian War. The occasions which immediately precipitated the specific crisis, the defensive alliance of Athens with Corcyra against Corinth, and the Corinthian intervention against Athens at Potidaea, have already been recounted in Chronicle V and we may pass over them. They were but occasions, in the same sense that the murder at Serajevo was the occasion of the Great War. The real causes lay deeper. The present bias towards economic interpretations of history has led some scholars to detect them in the commercial rivalry of Corinth and Athens, or even in an alleged attempt on the part of Athens to corner the supply of foreign corn.

That commercial interests and the security of the food supply were factors in a complicated political situation is doubtless true, but to exaggerate their importance is to distort the truth. The

**Underlying Causes  
of the War**

ultimate causes are probably political. This is the view of Thucydides, and I personally have no doubt that he is right. The reasons why war had become inevitable were, first, the almost inevitable jealousy and rivalry between the Peloponnesian League and the Athenian Empire, and secondly the attitude of her subjects and of Greek public opinion in general towards the 'tyrant state.'

With regard to the first, rivalry between the power which had been the dominant factor in the Greek world before the Persian War, and the new and even more powerful combination of states which had come into existence immediately after the war, was inevitable. A natural suspicion and jealousy were accentuated by the fact that they stood for opposed political principles Sparta for oligarchy, Athens for democracy. Dorian Sparta and Ionian Athens could also respectively appeal to traditional racial prejudices, which, however fictitious, have always proved effective in sustaining international animosities.

Further, Athens had used her new-found power to suppress her commercial rivals in Greece; Aegina had been crushed completely, Corinthian commerce had been seriously injured and the Corinthian monopoly of the western trade route had been challenged. Athens had even attempted to establish

**Athenian ambitions in Greece** a paramount influence over Boeotia and Central Greece. The attempt had been more than her strength warranted. The failure of the ill-judged Egyptian expedition had marked a turning point in her fortunes. In the Thirty Years Peace of 445 she had eventually to surrender her pretensions to a land empire in Greece and accept disadvantageous terms from the Peloponnesians.

But though peace had been made formally, it is absurd to suppose that the hostilities, fears and injuries of the preceding thirty years had been forgotten by the members of the Peloponnesian League. If no action was taken when the revolt of Samos from Athens in 440 provided an opportunity, it was mainly because Corinth was not yet ready.

As regards our second cause, the increasing discontent with the rule of

Athens would in any case have brought about the collapse of the Athenian Empire, which was seething with revolt. How Athens had gradually come to rule, where she had been invited to lead, we have already described. The grievances which perhaps most embittered her subjects, who were fully conscious that they were rendered helpless by an external will, were, the payment of tribute, the inconvenience of bringing their cases

to be tried before the Athenian courts, which were by no means im-

**Grievances against the Tyrant State**

partial, the presence in many cases of Athenian cleruchs on their land, and, in some cases, the artificial maintenance of democracies in power. Ultimately the real antagonism arose from the Greek passion for freedom and the unwillingness of any Greek community to suffer the abrogation of its sovereign rights. The restriction of independence symbolised in such matters as the limitation of jurisdiction, the suppression of local mints, the presence in some cases of Athenian garrisons or the regulation of constitutions by Athenian civil commissioners, was very different from the freedom assured by the loose loyalties demanded from members of the Peloponnesian League.

As a whole, Greek public opinion was on the side of the allies. Athens was regarded, not without justice, as a 'tyrant state' exploiting the governed for her own benefit and ruling by the sanction of arbitrary force. Hence the consistent sympathy of the conservatives in Athens itself with their fellows in the subject states, and their view that the Empire was a monument of injustice. To these the only answer of Pericles was 'let us look at the facts and not indulge in heroics. We have an empire; it may have been unjust to acquire it, but the security of Athens now depends on its retention.'

The Peloponnesian War presents a striking analogy upon a smaller scale to the Great War. The Greek world was divided into two rival and hostile groups which represented different political ideals and principles; at the outset neither party realized the scale and probable duration of the struggle; gradually its area extended until the whole of the Greek-speaking

world was involved ; it was a prolonged conflict which resulted in disillusionment and the material and economic exhaustion of all parties ; the decision was eventually reached through the intervention of a great external power, Persia, which had been neutral at the outset and which alone reaped material profit from the war.

The Peloponnesian War was decided in 405 when Lysander, with the fleet with which Persian timber and money had provided him, won the battle of Aegospotami, closed the Dardanelles to Athens and cut off her food supply. The

**Athens' place  
taken by Sparta**

result was the destruction of the Athenian Empire. But the ideal of the autonomy of Greek states, which had supplied the moral strength of the opponents of Athens, was not realized. Sparta but stepped into her rival's shoes. That was more consonant with the ambitions of Lysander and of Sparta, and there was justification too in fact. For if Hellenism was to maintain itself in the struggle for existence with world powers, its expression in some more considerable unit than the city state was a necessity. But where Athens had not succeeded, Sparta more egregiously failed. At best she succeeded in retarding the disintegration of the Greek world, which gradually pursued its course through the fourth century, until the rise of Macedon reunited it upon a new basis.

The policy of Sparta was that of the bully. For the control of states beyond the immediate reach of her infantry she was less powerful than Athens had been. She had never been and could never become a naval power. In consequence the Greek command of the sea was no longer effectual. Piracy again played havoc with maritime commerce and the Greek states of Asia inevitably fell back into Persian control, as soon as the Great King cared to insist upon his claims. It was, perhaps, fortunate for Greece that the vigorous Persia of Darius and Xerxes was no longer in existence, and that their feebleness and more embarrassed successors were content with diplomatic control. For the changed relations of Greece and Persia are clearly shown in the so-called Peace of Antalcidas, or King's Peace, of 387, when the King of

Kings dictated the terms of settlement between the states of Greece.

Sparta, we have said, attempted to rule as a bully. Lysander had initiated the policy of putting the government of subordinate states into the hands of very narrow oligarchies, 'decarchies' or committees of ten, which were dependent upon Spartan support. Sparta also appointed Spartan officials, 'harmosts,' to rule her subject states. Interference with political liberty, more undisguised and more drastic than that of which Athens had been guilty, everywhere bred animosity and hatred. These feelings were accentuated by the overbearing behaviour of individual Spartans in office ; for the narrow virtues of the Spartan training had been corrupted by success and governors tended to be domineering, avaricious and corrupt.

Sparta herself had suffered from the change in her circumstances. Her institutions, as we have seen, were of a peculiarly specialised kind and designed to maintain artificially a primitive form of military society. The new conditions and the larger stage upon which Sparta was now **Sparta corrupted** called to play the leading **by Success** rôle were fatal to the maintenance of the system. Equality and a regime of practical communism within the ruling caste could no longer be secured now that Sparta had imperialistic interests outside the Peloponnese. The peculiar virtues of the Spartan system and the Spartan character were not suited to conditions very different from those under which they had been cultivated.

Meantime, what was the situation in the Greek world ? The great war, it is true, had led some idealists to dream dreams of a united Hellas ; and Isocrates, throughout his long life, preached the doctrine of a League of Greek nations as a practicable policy. But, in fact, war then, as now, did not end, but rather embittered political animosities. The Greek states did not hate each other less because they were exhausted ; and during the fourth century they frittered away what little remained of their financial and military resources upon continuous wars, which dragged on indecisively precisely because of the real weakness and exhaustion of all

the combatants. Until 371, thanks to the continued superiority of her army to that of any other individual state, Sparta retained her leading position against an enfeebled Greek world which was united only in its animosity against her. In 371 the Spartan army was defeated in the open field by Epaminondas at Leuctra, and with this defeat the premier place in the Greek world passed to the victor, Thebes.

The leading position had passed from Athens to Sparta; it now passed from Sparta to Thebes, which was still less politically prepared for such a task. From Thebes it was in turn to pass to the Phocian robbers (see Chronicle VI), who seized the temple treasures of Delphi and, as long as the money held out, were able to support a mercenary army sufficiently large to terrorise Greece. A significant descent this in culture. The successors of Athens contributed no positive idea to the problems of imperialism. The policy of Epaminondas, the Theban leader, had one main object—to crush Sparta for good. In this he was successful. He created in the Peloponnesian new independent states in Messenia and Arcadia to hold Sparta permanently in check.

In thus smashing the Peloponnesian League, he extended to the Peloponnesian that process of disintegration into quarrelsome but powerless small units which had become symptomatic of the rest of Greece. Whatever sympathy we may feel for the patriotism and courage of Demosthenes, whose estimate of the actual power and resources of the Athens of his own day was distorted by the remembered glories of her imperial past, in the fourth century Hellenism had suicidally shattered itself upon that particularism which is the obverse of the Greek love of freedom. No other solution than that of Philip of Macedon could have been successful.

One other imperial experiment should perhaps be mentioned, that of Dionysius I in Sicily (405–367). Here a very remarkable man of dauntless courage, indefatigable industry and great powers of organization created an empire which embraced the Greek part of Sicily and the southern extremity of Italy. The oppor-

tunity and the justification arose from a national emergency, the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. Ruthless and arbitrary methods enabled Dionysius to concentrate sufficient power into his own able hands to save the island from Punic domination. The exigencies of an immediate crisis made autocratic methods inevitable, and enormous necessary expenditure involved hand-to-mouth finance and rigorous exactions from his subjects. When Dionysius died the immediate urgency of the Carthaginian peril had been postponed, thanks to his efforts. His empire, however, had no deeper foundation than this national peril, which was now averted, and the ability and determination of the ruler who was now removed by death. His weaker son was unable to maintain successfully a tyranny, the real justification for the existence of which appeared to have passed.

The Athenian Empire is, then, the most important and least unsuccessful attempt which was made by the Greeks, before the rise of Macedon, to construct a political unit upon a more effectual scale than that of the city. The Peloponnesian League indeed proved more durable, but that was due to the looseness of its political organization, which does not permit of its being described as a state. The Athenian Empire had performed two services, which its contemporaries hardly estimated at their full value. First, it did in fact complete the Persian War by asserting a Greek mastery of the Aegean, and its naval strength safeguarded the liberties of the Anatolian Greeks from Persian suzerainty, liberties which they inevitably lost when the Empire fell. Secondly, it put down piracy and made the seas safe for commerce.

But the Athenian Empire was short-lived, and was bound soon to collapse because of the offence which its very existence gave to Greek political ideals. The most difficult and delicate of all imperial problems are likely to arise where men attempt to rule others of the same civilization as themselves. For such an empire to endure there must be give and take. Just as in the smaller state, government must be for the benefit of

the ruled, not for the selfish benefit of the ruler; and the authority of the ruler must be based upon common consent, not upon the arbitrary exercise of force majeure.

That in the case of the Athenian Empire both sides failed to grasp these essentials was partly due to the fact that Greek practical politics and Greek political thought were circumscribed by the horizon of the small city state. A larger loyalty was well nigh inconceivable to the Greek, and for a subject state willingly and gladly to surrender the completeness of its individual and particular sovereign rights for the proud membership of a larger political entity would have seemed to him a strange, fantastic notion.

On the other hand Athens showed no perception that the political ideals of the state on a small scale must in some way be realized in the state on a large scale if it was to endure. That a city community existed for the mutual and collective well-being of its citizens, and that it was at once the duty and privilege of these to take an active part in, and contribute their individual share to, the corporate life was recognized. But the ideas of making subjects partners, or of conceiving the empire as an organic unity in the life of which they, as well as the Athenians, must be equal members, were quite foreign to Athenian imperialism.

I know of but one hint of such a thought. It occurs in a comedy of Aristophanes, in which the women are telling the men how they would put the world to rights if they had the vote:

First take the fleece and wash it, and get the burrs out, and so be rid of useless members of the state. Then card the wool into one big basket of good will, mixing in 'metics' and friendly foreigners and everyone useful to the state, and mix them all in, including the subject states, and make one ball, ready for spinning.

The natural instinct of states to which circumstance has given the control over

other peoples is to attempt to rule them with the high hand of disciplinary authority. Where the subjects are of the same race and civilization, the difficulty of maintaining the permanence of such a relation will be obvious. Still more difficult was it in the case of Greeks ruling Greeks, owing to the passionate love of political freedom that had become part of the Greek character. Further, we may notice that no political machinery existed which could be so adapted as to give the subjects a real membership of the state and a share in its government. The democracy of city states was government directly by the people, by the citizens, that is to say, who were on the spot to record their votes. On the small scale of the city the need for the delegation of political authority had not arisen. There was no representative system and therefore no practical machinery in existence by the adaptation of which a free state upon a larger scale than that of the city could be made to function.

In conclusion we may notice that if Athens did not perceive the nature of the sole terms upon which a great empire can be built to endure, only two other peoples, the Roman Success where Athens failed and the British, have succeeded where she failed.

For them, too, the lesson was not easy to learn, and each was taught by bitter experience. It needed the Social War of 90 B.C. to teach the Romans that the Italians must be incorporated as citizens in the Roman state, and there was but one man of the succeeding generation, Julius Caesar, who perceived the full import of the lesson. For Julius Caesar was unique among his contemporaries in foreseeing a time when not merely Italians but provincials too must become citizens, not subjects, of a great empire. A not dissimilar lesson was learned by Britain, mainly as the result of the loss of the American colonies.

END OF SECOND VOLUME







